

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME LIII

	PAGE
David, Jean, Les Scythes et les Tartares dans Voltaire et quelques-uns de ses contemporains . . . . .	1
Rowbotham, Arnold H., La Mothe le Vayer's <i>Vertu des Payens</i> and Eighteenth-Century Cosmopolitanism . . . . .	10
Frauchiger, Fritz, A Note on August Lewald . . . . .	15
Rositzke, Harry A., High German Vowel-Quantities. . . . .	18
Spitzer, Leo, <i>Lenguages dans Pèlerinage de Charlemagne</i> , V. 209 . . . . .	20
Campbell, Lily B., A Note for Baconians. . . . .	21
Ringler, William, An Early Reference to Longinus . . . . .	23
Malone, Kemp, Some Linguistic Studies of 1935 and 1936 . . . . .	24
Kurrelmeyer, William, Wieland und die Lemgoer . . . . .	79
Allen, D. C., Drayton's Lapidaries . . . . .	93
Shaver, C. L., The Date of <i>Revenge for Honour</i> . . . . .	96
Williams, Edwin E., Furetière and Wycherley: <i>Le Roman bourgeois</i> in Restoration Comedy . . . . .	98
Alden, Douglas W., Marcel Proust's Duel . . . . .	104
Kolb, Philip, A Lost Article by Proust . . . . .	107
Woolf, H. B., The Personal Names in <i>The Battle of Maldon</i> . . . . .	109
Ericson, E. E., "Bullock Sterteþ, Bucke Verteþ" . . . . .	112
Sloane, William, Some Notes on Character-Writing . . . . .	113
Krappe, Edith S., A <i>Lapsus Calami</i> of Jonathan Swift . . . . .	116
Allen, D. C., Spenser's Sthenoboea . . . . .	118
Tilley, M. P., Two Notes on <i>Dr. Faustus</i> . . . . .	119
Sturtevant, A. M., Gothic Notes . . . . .	120
Orians, G. H., Hawthorne and <i>The Maypole of Merry-Mount</i> . . . . .	159
Levin, Harry, Jonson, Stow, and Drummond . . . . .	167
Kelley, Maurice, Milton and Miracles . . . . .	170
Friedman, Arthur, Goldsmith and the Marquis d'Argens . . . . .	173
Dieckmann, Emma M., "Moore Feelynge Than Had Boece" . . . . .	177
Philip, Brother C., A Further Note on Old Age in Chaucer's Day . . . . .	181
Pertzoff, P. A., Some Errors in Russian in Well-Known Dictionaries . . . . .	183
Spitzer, Leo, Ancien Provençal <i>Sec . . . son agre . . .</i> . . . . .	186
Silverstein, Theodore, "Il Giusto Mardoceo" ( <i>Purg.</i> , XVIII, 29) . . . . .	188
Arjona, J. H., Un Dato sobre la fecha de <i>El anzuelo de Femsá</i> de Lope de Vega . . . . .	190
Hilborn, H. W., The Versification of <i>La selva confusa</i> . . . . .	193
Howell, S. E., Does Bretón's <i>Marcela</i> Stem from <i>Quijote</i> ? . . . . .	195
Weinstein, Sophie R., The Genesis of Zola's <i>La Confession de Claude</i> . . . . .	196
Henning, G. N., "Mortel, Ange et Démon" . . . . .	199
Robbins, R. H., The Earliest Carols and the Franciscans . . . . .	239
Bühler, C. F., <i>Libri impressi cum notis manuscriptis</i> . Part I . . . . .	245
Klaeber, Fr., Bede's Story of Cædmon Again . . . . .	249
Mariella, Sister, The Parson's Tale and the Marriage Group . . . . .	251



	PAGE
McNeal, Thomas H., Chaucer and <i>The Decameron</i> . . . . .	257
Carver, J. E., The Northern Homily Cycle, and Missionaries to the Saracens . . . . .	258
Rix, H. D., Spenser's Rhetoric and the <i>Doleful Lay</i> . . . . .	261
Draper, J. W., The Date of <i>A Midsommer Nights Dreame</i> . . . . .	266
Thompson, D. W., <i>Full of His Roperipe</i> and <i>Roperipe Terms</i> . . . . .	268
Avery, E. L., Cibber, <i>King John</i> and the Students of the Law . . . . .	272
McNeir, W. F., The Source of Simon Eyre's Catch-Phrase . . . . .	275
Tillotson, Kathleen, Drayton's <i>Noah's Flood</i> . . . . .	277
Graham, C. B., An Echo of Jonson in Aphra Behn's <i>Sir Patient Fancy</i> . . . . .	278
Bradner, Leicester, An Earlier Text of Addison's Ode to Dr. Hannes . . . . .	279
Christensen, Francis, The Date of Wordsworth's <i>The Birth of Love</i> . . . . .	280
Remak, H. H., Fontane über seine Ballade <i>Die Judin</i> . . . . .	282
Rossi, Joseph, Scott and Carducci . . . . .	287
Baudin, M., The Stateswoman in Seventeenth-Century French Tragedy . . . . .	319
Radoff, M. L., <i>Tout craché</i> and <i>cher comme crème</i> . . . . .	327
Rhodes, S. A., Arthur Rimbaud's Readings . . . . .	334
Holbrook, Wm. C., Secret Marriage in Eighteenth-Century French Comedy . . . . .	340
Morrisette, B. A., <i>Les Amours des grands hommes</i> of Mlle Desjardins and <i>le Docteur amoureux</i> . . . . .	344
Kaufmann, F. W., Grillparzer's Position in Nineteenth-Century Thought . . . . .	347
Eaton, J. W., The Beginnings of German Literary Criticism . . . . .	351
Williams, C. A., Two Versions of the Sixteenth-Century Song <i>Es ist ein Schnee gefallen</i> . . . <i>Ich sollt zu meinem Bulen</i> . . . . .	357
Utley, F. L., "Mannyssh Wood"— <i>Merchant's Tale</i> (IV) 1530-1536 . . . . .	359
Bazell, C. E., "Archimorpheme" and "Phonomorpheme" . . . . .	363
Spencer, Theodore, Shakespeare and Milton . . . . .	366
Hart, C. W., Dr. Johnson's 1745 Shakespeare <i>Proposals</i> . . . . .	367
Mizener, Arthur, Pope on the Duke of Buckingham . . . . .	368
Lang, Varley, Crabbe and <i>Tess of the D'Urbervilles</i> . . . . .	369
Rubin, J. J., Whitman and Carlyle: 1846 . . . . .	370
Parker, William R., Milton and Thomas Young, 1620-1628 . . . . .	399
Tilley, M. P., Borrowings in Grange's <i>Golden Aphroditis</i> . . . . .	407
Shaver, Chester Linn, Thomas Beedome . . . . .	412
McKillop, Alan D., <i>The Hero; or, the Adventures of a Night</i> . . . . .	414
Super, Robert H., An Unknown Child of Landor's . . . . .	415
Barnouw, A. J., The Cartload in the Gate . . . . .	417
Heltzel, V. B., An Early Use of Donne's Fourth Satire . . . . .	421
McManaway, James G., A Chaucerian Fisherman (?) . . . . .	422
Sturtevant, A. M., The Future Auxiliaries Gothic <i>Haban</i> and Old <i>Norse Munn</i> . . . . .	423
Schaffer, Aaron, An Autograph Letter of Mathurin de Lescure . . . . .	425
Sanchez, Joseph, Some Forgotten Works of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón . . . . .	427
Holbrook, Wm. C., Three Unrecorded Rousseau Editions . . . . .	428

# CONTENTS

V

	PAGE
Comfort, W. W., Racan and Molière. . . . .	429
Beall, Chandler B., An Uncollected Quatrain by Bertaut . . . . .	430
Salinger, Herman, Some Heine Notes . . . . .	430
Spitzer, Leo, <i>Kathole</i> . . . . .	433
Dieckmann, Herbert, J.-A. Naigeon's Analysis of Diderot's <i>Rêve de D'Alembert</i> . . . . .	479
Dean, Ruth J., Jean Baudouin's Version of the <i>Testamenta XII Patriarcharum</i> . . . . .	486
Tilly, M. P., Charles Lamb, Marston, and Du Bartas. . . . .	494
Wright, H. B., Biographical Allusions in Prior's <i>The Mice, a Tale</i> . . . . .	498
Sanderlin, George, A Note on <i>Beowulf</i> 1142. . . . .	501
Kirby, T. A., The Haberdasher and His Companions . . . . .	504
Wiley, A. N., The Miller's Head Again . . . . .	505
Frauchiger, Fritz, <i>Uf sant Zilorgentag</i> . . . . .	508
Taylor, Archer, "Ze Künis erhent ouch diu wip und niht die man." Tannhäuser, 5. 29 . . . . .	509
Hudson, A. P., <i>To Shake Hands with Death</i> . . . . .	510
Read, W. A., The Hitchiti name of Silver Springs, Florida. . . . .	513
Taylor, Warren, A Note on English Figures of Speech . . . . .	514
Steiner, Arpad, A French <i>Faustsplitter</i> of the Seventeenth Century . . . . .	515
Steinhauer, H., Hauptmann's Utopian Fantasy, <i>Die Insel der Grossen Mutter</i> . . . . .	516
Clark, D. L., Shelley and <i>Pieces of Irish History</i> . . . . .	522
Fitzhugh, R. T., Burns at Ellisland. . . . .	525
Fitch, G. B., Did Grandville Inspire the <i>Ile des Pingouins</i> ? . . . .	527
Ashcom, B. B., An Error in the Text of Alarcón's <i>Las Paredes Oyen</i> . . . . .	530
Beall, C. B., The First French Imitation of Tasso's Invocation to the Muse . . . . .	531
Green, C. C., The Paradox of the Fall in <i>Paradise Lost</i> . . . . .	557
Körner, Josef, Marginalien zu Heine. . . . .	571
Bandy, W. T., Baudelaire and Liszt. . . . .	584
Jordan, H. S., Théophile de Viau's <i>Fragments d'une histoire comique</i> and a Letter of Saint-Evremond's . . . . .	586
Heltzel, V. B., Breton, Elyot, and <i>The Court of Honour</i> . . . . .	587
Bowers, Fredson, A Note on <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> . . . . .	590
Loomis, C. G., Sir Cleges and Unseasonable Growth in Hagiology . . . . .	591
Herben, S. J., <i>Knight's Tale</i> , A 1881 ff. . . . .	595
Gerould, G. H., An Irish Version of <i>The False Knight upon the Road</i> . . . . .	596
Kuethé, J. L., <i>Brack</i> . . . . .	597
Boys, R. C., Boswell on Spelling . . . . .	600
Cross, Ephraim—On Spanish <i>munchos</i> , Portuguese <i>muito</i> . . . . .	600
Frank, Grace, <i>Faire ravoit les gages</i> . . . . .	603

REVIEWS	PAGE
Edwin Roedder, Volkssprache und Wortschatz des badischen Frankenlandes. [Carl Selmer.] . . . . .	46
C. C. Zippermann, Gottfried Keller Bibliographie 1844-1934; R. T. Hardaway, The Revision of C. F. Meyer's <i>Novellen</i> ; Lena F. Dahme, Women in the Life and Art of C. F. Meyer. [R. B. Roulston.] . . . . .	49
E. M. Butler, The Tyranny of Greece over Germany. [Ludwig Edelstein.] . . . . .	53
W. H. Bruford, Germany in the Eighteenth Century. [K. G. Wenderiner.] . . . . .	56
E. H. Sehrst und T. Starck (eds.), Notkers des Deutschen Werke, II. [F. H. Wilkens.] . . . . .	58
Ray Heffner (ed.), <i>The Faerie Queene</i> , Book Four. [H. J. C. Grierson.]	59
Marjorie Nicolson, A World in the Moon. [F. R. Johnson.] . . . .	61
C. L. Finney, The Evolution of Keats's Poetry. [M. R. Ridley.] . . . .	62
J. W. Aberdein, John Galt; F. V. Livingstone and H. E. Rollins (eds.), Charles Dickens's Letters to Charles Lever. [A. B. Hopkins.] . . . .	65
Rudolf Kirk, Mr. Pepys upon the State of Christ-Hospital. [S. V. Larkey.] . . . . .	67
V.-F. Koenig (ed.), <i>Le Conte de Poitiers</i> ; J. Linskill (ed.), <i>Saint Léger</i> ; G. De Poerck, Introduction à la <i>Fleur des Histoires</i> de Jean Mansel. [Grace Frank.] . . . . .	67
Américo Castro, Glosarios latino-españoles de la edad media. [Leo Spitzer.] . . . . .	122
Erich Weniger (ed.), Wilhelm Diltheys Gesammelte Schriften XI. Band. [Ludwig Edelstein.] . . . . .	146
Albert Soergel, Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit. [Wolfgang Paulsen.]	150
Wolfgang Kayser, Geschichte der deutschen Ballade. [Archer Taylor.]	152
G. P. Faust, <i>Sir Degare: A Study of the Texts and Narrative Structure</i> . [Muriel B. Carr.] . . . . .	153
T. M. Raysor (ed.), Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism. [J. I. Lindsay.] . . . . .	156
Grace E. and Earl L. Griggs (eds.), The Letters of Hartley Coleridge. [B. R. McDerrery, Jr.] . . . . .	157
J. T. Hillhouse, <i>The Waverley Novels and Their Critics</i> . [H. J. C. Grierson.] . . . . .	199
Tucker Brooke (ed.), Shakespeare's <i>Sonnets</i> . [M. D. Olubb.] . . . . .	201
B. A. P. van Dam (ed.), The Text of Shakespeare's <i>Lear</i> ; Henry de Vocht (ed.), Ben Jonson's <i>Sejanus</i> . [Hardin Craig.] . . . . .	204
S. B. Hemingway (ed.), A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. <i>Henry the Fourth, Part 1</i> . [R. B. McKerrow.] . . . . .	207
M. C. Bradbrook, Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy. [W. H. Durham.] . . . . .	211
Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England. [M. St. C. Byrne.] . . . . .	212

	PAGE
E. K. Chambers, Sir Henry Lee, An Elizabethan Portrait. [A. H. Gilbert.] . . . . .	214
Kenneth MacLean, John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century; E. C. Mossner, Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason. [C. H. Faust.] . . . . .	215
W. M. Sale, Jr., Samuel Richardson. [A. D. McKillop.] . . . . .	218
R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, Roman Britain and the English Settlements. [Kemp Malone.] . . . . .	220
H. R. Patch, The Tradition of Boethius. [Lane Cooper.] . . . . .	222
Heinrich Schaller, Die Welt des Barock. [B. B. Rosenberg.] . . . . .	225
E. B. O. Borgerhoff, The Evolution of Liberal Theory and Practice in the French Theatre 1680-1757; R. Guiet, L'Evolution d'un genre: le livret d'opéra en France (1774-1793); C. D. Brenner, Le Développement du proverbe dramatique en France; M. L. Johnson, Beaumarchais and His Opponents; O. E. Fellows, French Opinion of Molière (1800-1850), [H. C. Lancaster.] . . . . .	227
Geoffroy Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française. [G. Chinard.] . . . . .	230
E. A. Wright, The Dissemination of the Liturgical Drama in France. [G. R. Coffman.] . . . . .	233
C. M. Coffin, John Donne and the New Philosophy. [F. R. Johnson.] . . . . .	290
A. G. Kennedy, Current English. [R. J. Menner.] . . . . .	293
F. W. Hilles, The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds; J. V. Logan, The Poetry and Aesthetics of Erasmus Darwin. [Ants Oras.] . . . . .	295
E. McA. Gagey, Ballad Opera. [Dougald MacMillan.] . . . . .	297
Marta Karlweis, Jakob Wassermann. [J. C. Blankenagel.] . . . . .	299
Ruth Sieber-Rilke und Carl Sieber (eds.), Briefe aus den Jahren 1914 bis 1921, von R. M. Rilke. [J. C. Blankenagel.] . . . . .	301
Helmuth Rehder, Die Philosophie der unendlichen Landschaft. [M. Thalmann.] . . . . .	302
W. Witte, Modern German Prose Usage. [Werner Neuse.] . . . . .	304
A. Prioult, Balzac avant la Comédie Humaine (1818-29); H. de Balzac, Sténie ou les Erreurs philosophiques, texte inédit établi par A. Prioult. [W. S. Hastings.] . . . . .	305
Henri Tronchon, Le Jeune Edgar Quinet. [Maurice Chazin.] . . . . .	307
M. L. Buchner, A Contribution to the Study of the Descriptive Technique of J.-J. Rousseau. [A. Schinz.] . . . . .	309
C. R. Flory, Economic Criticism in American Fiction, 1792 to 1900. [N. B. Fagin.] . . . . .	311
Townsend Scudder, The Lonely Wayfaring Man: Emerson and Some Englishmen. [H. H. Clark.] . . . . .	312
S. T. R. O. d'Ardenne (ed.), De L'Étude ant le Passim of <del>Somme</del> Iulienne. [K. Malone.] . . . . .	313
T. Babbitt, La Crónica de Veynte Reyes; J. A. Strausbaugh, The Use of <i>auer a</i> and <i>auer de</i> as Auxiliary Verbs in Old Spanish;	

P. Henríquez Ureña, La Cultura y las Letras Coloniales en Santo Domingo; I. L. McClelland, The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain; H. Juretschke, Das Frankreichbild des modernen Spanien; K. P. Reding, The Generation of 1898 in Spain as seen through its Fictional Hero. [ <i>J. E. Gillet.</i> ] . . . . .	371
M. S. La Du, E. C. Armstrong, D. L. Buffum, B. Edwards, L. F. H. Lowe (eds.), The Medieval French <i>Roman d'Alexandre</i> , I, II. [ <i>Grace Frank.</i> ] . . . . .	377
E. P. Dargan, Anatole France 1844-1896. [ <i>G. N. Henning.</i> ] . . . .	378
H. C. Lancaster (ed.), Five French Farces (1655-1694?). [ <i>Colbert Searles.</i> ] . . . . .	379
H. J. C. Grierson, Milton and Wordsworth; H. Mutschmann, Milton's Projected Epic; W. R. Parker, Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in <i>Samson Agonistes</i> . [ <i>E. M. W. Tillyard.</i> ] . . . . .	381
C. C. Abbott, A Catalogue of Papers Relating to Boswell, Johnson and Forbes; F. A. Pottle, Index to the Private Papers of J. Boswell. [ <i>R. L. Greene</i> ] . . . . .	384
F. Pottle and C. Bennett (eds.), Boswell's <i>Journal of A Tour to the Hebrides</i> . [ <i>M. Bailey.</i> ] . . . . .	387
R. Quintana, The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift. [ <i>E. Pons.</i> ] . . . .	389
D. L. Patrick, The Textual History of <i>Richard III</i> . [ <i>O. J. Campbell.</i> ] .	391
L. T. Golding, An Elizabethan Puritan: Arthur Golding. [ <i>F. B. Williams, Jr.</i> ] . . . . .	394
E. de Selincourt (ed.), The Letters of Wm. and Dorothy Wordsworth; "Coleridge's <i>Dejection: an Ode</i> ." [ <i>R. D. Havens.</i> ] . . . . .	395
Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry. [ <i>O. G. Osgood.</i> ] . . . . .	439
F. R. Johnson, Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England. [ <i>D. Stimson.</i> ] . . . . .	442
Huntington Brown (ed.), John Healey (trans.), Joseph Hall, <i>The Discovery of a New World</i> . [ <i>E. Von der Mühl.</i> ] . . . . .	444
C. R. Anderson (ed.), <i>Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-1844</i> . [ <i>R. S. Forsythe.</i> ] . . . . .	446
W. C. Curry, Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns. [ <i>M. Y. Hughes.</i> ] .	448
L. Hotson, I, William Shakespeare, Do Appoint Thomas Russell; M. W. Black and M. A. Shaaber, Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors; C. H. Herford and P. Simpson (eds.), Ben Jonson; H. G. Rhoads (ed.), Wm. Hawkins' <i>Apollo Shroving</i> ; W. S. Clark, II (ed.), The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle; R. Thomas (ed.), Plays and the Theater; C. H. Whitman (ed.), Representative Modern Dramas. [ <i>H. Spencer.</i> ] . . . . .	450
E. A. Richards, <i>Hudibras</i> in the Burlesque Tradition. [ <i>R. Quintana.</i> ] .	453
M. F. Thorp, Charles Kingsley 1819-1875. [ <i>H. F. Louvy.</i> ] . . . . .	454
R. Girvan, <i>Beowulf</i> and the Seventh Century; W. J. Sedgefield (ed.), <i>Beowulf</i> . [ <i>E. Van K. Dobbie.</i> ] . . . . .	455
H. Rempel, Tragödie und Komödie im dramatischen Schaffen Lessings. [ <i>Wm. R. Gaede.</i> ] . . . . .	457

# CONTENTS

ix

	PAGE
A. V. Roche, Les Idées Traditionalistes en France. [C. Gauss.]	458
J. P. W. Crawford, Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega. [H. C. Heaton.]	461
H. Guillemin, Le Jocelyn de Lamartine. [Emile Malakis.]	463
L.-L. Sosset, Introduction à l'œuvre de C. De Coster. [B. M. Woodbridge.]	464
Hester Hastings, Man and Beast in French Thought of the Eighteenth Century. [G. R. Havens.]	466
U. T. Holmes, Jr., A History of Old French Literature. [R. Levy.]	467
M. E. Schofield (ed.), The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers. [N. E. Eliason.]	468
M. J. Adler, Art and Prudence. [Allardyce Nicoll.]	469
H. G. Pfander, The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England; C. L. Rosenthal, The Vitae Patrum in Old and Middle English Literature; Sister Loretta McGarry, The Holy Eucharist in Middle English Homiletic and Devotional Verse. [C. O. Chapman.]	533
R. W. Chambers, The Place of St. Thomas More in English Literature and History. [Conyers Read.]	536
Alfred Senn, An Introduction to Middle High German. [Carl Selmer.]	538
L. M. Hollander (ed.), Old Norse Poems. [N. E. Eliason.]	540
O. von Feilitzen, The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book. [H. B. Woolf.]	542
H. I. Bell, The Development of Welsh Poetry. [J. J. Parry.]	543
R. B. Heilman, America in English Fiction 1700-1800; W. T. Spoerri, The Old World and the New; A. S. P. Woodhouse, Letters in Canada: 1936. [Leon Howard.]	544
Ernest de Selincourt, The Early Wordsworth. [Arthur Beatty.]	546
Janet C. Troxell (ed.), Three Rossettis. Unpublished Letters. [P. F. Baum.]	547
W. A. Nitze (ed.), Le Haut Livre du Graal: Perlesvaus. [Leo Spitzer.]	604
E. V. Telle, L'œuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre, et la querelle des femmes. [E. F. Meylan.]	608
Jean Boorsch, État présent des études sur Descartes. [A. Schinz.]	610
M. S. Burnet, Marc-Antoine Legrand. [H. C. Lancaster.]	612
F. A. Taylor, The Theatre of A. Dumas Fils. [M. Baudin.]	614
A. Helbok und H. Marzell, Deutsches Volkstum. [J. G. Kunstmann.]	616
Sigurð Breiðfjörð, Néma rimur. [Stefán Einarsson.]	616
P. M. Black, Nebraska Folk Cures; B. A. Botkin, The American Play-Party Song with a Collection of Oklahoma Texts and Tunes; J. W. Hendren, A Study of Ballad Rhythm. [Archer Taylor.]	618
C. P. Deasy, St. Joseph in the English Mystery Plays; L. J. Mills, One Soul in Bodies Twain; J. Q. Adams (ed.), Middleton, The Ghost of Lucrece; A. H. R. Fairchild, Shakespeare and the Arts of Design; E. T. Clark, The Man Who Was Shakespeare; F. E.	

	PAGE
Schelling, Shakespeare Biography; R. G. Howarth, Shakespeare's <i>Tempest</i> ; D. M. McKeithan, The Debt to Shakespeare in the Beaumont-and-Fletcher Plays; S. C. Sen Gupta, The Art of Bernard Shaw; P. Dottin, Le Théâtre de Somerset Maugham. [ <i>R. Withington.</i> ] . . . . .	619
N. Orsini, Studii sul rinascimento in Inghilterra; A. Zanco, Christopher Marlowe. [ <i>A. H. Gilbert.</i> ] . . . . .	623
C. N. Herford, P. and E. Simpson (eds.), Ben Jonson. [ <i>G. W. Whiting.</i> ] . . . . .	625
Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson. [ <i>R. H. Perkinson.</i> ] . . . . .	627
W. S. Lewis (ed.), The Yale Edition of Sir Horace Walpole's Correspondence; W. S. Lewis and A. D. Wallace (eds.), Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole [ <i>R. K. Root.</i> ] . . . . .	629
D. N. Smith, Some Observations on Eighteenth Century Poetry; A. R. Humphreys, William Shenstone. [ <i>R. Shafer.</i> ] . . . . .	631

## BRIEF MENTION

J. A. Kelly, German Visitors to English Theaters in the 18th Century. [ <i>J. A. Walz.</i> ] . . . . .	70
W. Bagdasarianz, William Blake. [ <i>M. O. Percival.</i> ] . . . . .	71
A. Sen, Studies in Shelley. [ <i>N. I. White.</i> ] . . . . .	71
L. Howard (ed.), <i>Daily Meditations</i> , by Philip Pain. [ <i>K. B. Murdock.</i> ] . . . . .	72
V. Lange, Die Lyrik und ihr Publikum im England des 18. Jahrhunderts. [ <i>E. N. Hooker.</i> ] . . . . .	73
R. L. Grismer and E. Atkins (trs.), <i>The Book of Apollonius</i> . [ <i>P. H. Goepp, 2nd.</i> ] . . . . .	74
I. Schultz, Bildhaftigkeit im französischen Argot. [ <i>L. Spitzer.</i> ] . . . . .	74
H. Ryland, The Sources of the Play <i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i> . [ <i>H. O. Lancaster.</i> ] . . . . .	75
E. Windler, Das Bremer mittelniederdeutsche <i>Arzneibuch</i> des Arnoldus Donelhey. [ <i>F. H. Wilkens.</i> ] . . . . .	76
A. S. F. Gow, A. E. Housman. [ <i>R. Hillyer.</i> ] . . . . .	77
W. Ebisch and L. L. Schücking, Supplement for the Years 1930-1935 to A Shakespeare Bibliography. [ <i>H. Spencer.</i> ] . . . . .	77
Romana. [ <i>C. S. Singleton.</i> ] . . . . .	77
<i>Huntington Library Lists and Quarterly</i> . [ <i>R. D. Havens.</i> ] . . . . .	78
G. Atkinson, Supplément au Répertoire bibliographique se rapportant à la littérature française de la Renaissance. [ <i>H. O. Lancaster.</i> ] . . . . .	78
H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, The Growth of Literature, II. [ <i>K. Malone.</i> ] . . . . .	235
E. Van K. Dobbie, The Manuscripts of Cædmon's <i>Hymn</i> and Bede's <i>Death Song</i> , with a Critical Text of the <i>Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedæ</i> . [ <i>K. Malone.</i> ] . . . . .	236

# CONTENTS

xi

	PAGE
A. Marni, Allegory in the French Heroic Poem of the 17th Century. [C. B. Beall.] . . . . .	237
J. Q. Adams (ed.), Shakespeare's <i>Titus Andronicus</i> : The First Quarto, 1594. [H. Spencer.] . . . . .	314
G. P. Krapp and E. Van K. Dobbie (eds.), The Exeter Book. [R. J. Menner.] . . . . .	315
E. Zwirner and K. Zwirner, Textliste neuhochdeutscher Vorlesesprache schlesischer Färbung. [W. Neuse.] . . . . .	316
J. Meier (ed.), Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien. [A. Taylor.]	316
E. C. Shoemaker, Noah Webster. [H. H. Clark.] . . . . .	317
R. L. Kilgour, The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Litera- ture of the Late Middle Ages. [G. Frank.] . . . . .	317
E. Leroy, Guide pratique des Bibliothèques de Paris. [G. Chinard.]	397
E. A. Baker, The History of the English Novel. [A. B. Hopkins.] . .	470
W. de la Mare, Poetry in Prose. [M. W. Croll.] . . . . .	471
H. Smith, Masters of French Literature. [C. H. C. Wright.] . . .	472
E. R. Vincent, Gabriele Rossetti in England. [K. R. Greenfield.] . .	473
H. Caplan, Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi. [W. O. Ross.] . . . . .	473
N. Ault (ed.), The Prose Works of Alexander Pope. [A. Warren.] . .	474
D. F. Atkinson, Edmund Spenser. [H. S. V. Jones.] . . . . .	475
A. Memmer, Die altfranzösische Bertasage und das Volksmärchen [G. Frank.] . . . . .	476
F. C. Green (ed.), Diderot's Writings on the Theatre. [E. Malakis.]	476
C. W. Hendel (tr.), Citizen of Geneva. [E. Malakis.] . . . . .	476
M. V. Rosenberg, Eleanor of Aquitaine. [T. A. Kirby.] . . . . .	477
G. McColley (ed.), <i>The Man in the Moone</i> , 1638, <i>Nuncius Inanimatus</i> , 1629. [D. Stimson.] . . . . .	478
E. G. Morice (ed.), Two Pamphlets of Nicholas Breton. [E. E. Willoughby.] . . . . .	478
I. Siciliano, Medio Evo e Rinascimento. [C. B. Beall.] . . . . .	549
<i>Italian Studies</i> . [C. S. Singleton.] . . . . .	549
T. F. Currier, A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier. [H. Spencer.] . . . . .	550
B. Groom, The Formation and Use of Compound Epithets in English Poetry from 1579. [R. D. Havens.] . . . . .	550
G. R. Noyes and G. R. Potter (eds.), Hymns Attributed to John Dryden. [C. L. Day.] . . . . .	550
K. Hornbeak, Richardson's <i>Familiar Letters</i> and the Domestic Conduct Books. [A. D. McKillop.] . . . . .	551
W. Weber, Herman Melville. [M. W. Croll.] . . . . .	551
H. Pearson (ed.), The Swan of Lichfield. [J. W. Draper.] . . . . .	552
C. D. Yost, Jr., The Poetry of the <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> . [C. E. Jones.] . . . . .	552
G. Rawson (tr.), L. L. Schücking, The Meaning of <i>Hamlet</i> . [H. Spencer.] . . . . .	633



CORRESPONDENCE		PAGE
A. M. Sturtevant, A Correction. . . . .		238
C. L. Shaver, <i>Revenge for Honour</i> . . . . .		238
F. Baldensperger, Voltaire et les Seythes. Réponse.. . . .		318
H. R. Patch, Boethius . . . . .		398
L. Spitzer, <i>Lenguages</i> ..... . . . .		553
L. Spitzer, A propos d'un article de M. H. Meier . . . . .		554
W. R. Parker, Shakespeare and Milton... . . . .		556
A. V. Roche, Les Idées traditionalistes en France. Réponse . . .		633
W. Schiller, Nochmals <i>Kathole</i> ..... . . . .		634

# Modern Language Notes

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## LES SCYTHES ET LES TARTARES DANS VOLTAIRE ET QUELQUES-UNS DE SES CONTEMPORAINS

L'antiquité avait déjà douté que la civilisation soit un bienfait et elle avait tourné les yeux vers les sauvages comme vers des modèles d'une vie plus simple et meilleure. Les Scythes avant tout attirèrent son attention sous ce rapport. Elle les regarda comme des exemples frappants d'hommes nobles, austères, désintéressés, vertueux en un mot, auxquels un climat rigoureux permettait de manifester leurs qualités mâles. Cette tradition persista jusqu'au second siècle de l'ère chrétienne. A cette époque un contact plus étroit avec les Scythes fit triompher l'opinion défavorable d'Ovide.<sup>1</sup> Malgré ce changement, c'est l'attitude primitiviste qui domine encore au dix-huitième siècle. Voltaire, toutefois, reprend vivement les écrivains soit antiques soit modernes qui reproduisent le cliché du "bon Scythe," car il est soucieux de bien mettre en lumière la valeur de la civilisation gréco-romaine et de la défendre contre ceux qui placent le bonheur ou la perfection dans un passé toujours plus lointain. Lui-même pourtant devait tomber dans ce qu'il reprochait aux apologistes des Scythes parce qu'il était nourri des classiques. Ainsi que nous allons le voir, il représente les Scythes comme plus nobles tout de même que les Tartares en qui il voyait leurs descendants. Les Scythes et les Tartares attirèrent aussi son attention parce qu'ils servaient à des sociologues et à des savants de son temps pour étayer des thèses d'intérêt général auxquelles il était opposé.

Une étude sur les Scythes et les Tartares amène à une considération d'ordre plus général, à savoir, quel a été l'apport des nomades à la civilisation. L'anthropologue Kroeber<sup>2</sup> trouve que ce pro-

<sup>1</sup> Lovejoy and Boas, *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1935, I, 339.

<sup>2</sup> Kroeber, A. L., *Anthropology*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1923, pp. 274, 463, 472.

blème a été jusqu'ici mal étudié et que: "The intensive study of the interior Asiatic peoples from both prehistoric and historic sources . . . will prove one of the most illuminating contributions to the history of general civilisation," parce que les nomades ont été le lien entre l'Europe et l'Extrême-Orient, ce que l'historien du progrès, jusqu'à une époque récente, a trop perdu de vue. Les Russes de leur côté s'intéressent à leurs lointains ancêtres, comme le prouvent les collections d'antiquités scythes des musées de Moscou, de Kiev, d'Ekaterinoslav et surtout de l'Ermitage à Lenigrad. Borovka<sup>3</sup> parle du "haut degré de civilisation," de la richesse en or, de l'art très individuel et impressionniste des Scythes du Kouban au sixième siècle avant Jésus-Christ.

Le dix-huitième siècle, sous l'influence de son admiration pour le Chinois agriculteur et sous celle de ses physiocrates, se montra particulièrement hostile au nomade tout en faisant exception pour les Scythes. De toute façon, il est exagéré de dire, ainsi que l'a fait Oswald Spengler, que Voltaire n'avait pas articulé les nomades à sa théorie du progrès, car il l'a fait pour les Scythes et Tartares.

Voltaire lui-même signale, en la déplorant, la tradition favorable au Scythe: "Par quelle malignité secrète, par quelle éloquence déplacée, tant d'historiens ont-ils fait de si grands éloges des Scythes qu'ils ne connaissaient pas?"<sup>4</sup> Ces historiens, qui veulent imiter la harangue vertueuse que Quinte-Curce a mise dans la bouche des Scythes parlant à Alexandre, sont des rhéteurs.<sup>5</sup> "Rollin a beau transcrire tout ce qu'on a dit de la justice de ces anciens Scythes qui pillèrent si souvent l'Asie et qui mangeaient des hommes dans l'occasion, il trouve un peu d'incrédulité chez les honnêtes gens."<sup>6</sup> C'est le désintéressement des Scythes, leur "dédain manifeste" de l'or et de l'argent que vante Rollin, à l'instar de Cicéron: "O how happy was this ignorance, how vastly preferable this savage state is to our pretended politeness."<sup>7</sup> Lenglet du Fresnoy<sup>8</sup> ajoute la sagesse à ce tableau: "La sobriété et la sagesse

<sup>3</sup> Borovka, G., *Scythian Art*, New York, Stokes, 1928, pp. 16-30, 68.

<sup>4</sup> Voltaire, édition Moland (c'est cette édition que nous citerons), *Essai sur les Mœurs*, XI, introduction, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire de la Russie*, XVI, p. 617.

<sup>6</sup> *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, article *Histoire*, p. 355.

<sup>7</sup> Rollin, Ch., *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, etc., from the French*, Boston, Walker, 1823, I, 259 ii.

<sup>8</sup> *Méthode pour étudier l'histoire etc.* Paris, Gandoin, 1729, Tome 2, XLII, p. 367.

ont fait peupler les hommes en Scythie plus que dans le reste de l'Asie." Diderot reproduit, avec la même absence de critique, tous ces traits, parle de la "justice" des Scythes, de leur horreur pour l'infidélité conjugale et il utilise le cliché comme une formule magique, pour prouver sa thèse : " Nous nous occuperons donc dans cet endroit . . . de l'éloge de la nature humaine lorsqu'elle est abandonnée à elle-même, sans loi, sans prêtres et sans roi." <sup>9</sup> L'idée qu'il exprime ici, que les Scythes ont ignoré les "superstitions," en l'occurrence les rites, les prêtres et les rois, lui est commune avec Voltaire. Les Scythes, aux yeux de Rousseau, furent ainsi que les anciens Romains et les Germains, des gens qui "préservés de cette contagion des vaines connaissances, ont, par leurs vertus, fait leur propre bonheur et l'exemple des autres nations." <sup>10</sup>

Montesquieu et Buffon adoptèrent une attitude différente. Montesquieu ne trouve pas que les conquérants Scythes et Tartares aient fait quoi que ce soit pour la civilisation. Il excuse pourtant leur cruauté en montrant qu'elle venait du droit international qu'ils pratiquaient et qu'ils s'attendaient à trouver chez les autres peuples : si l'ennemi était en force très supérieure, ils ne lui opposaient pas de résistance héroïque mais ils allaient grossir son armée sans livrer de combat. <sup>11</sup> Aux yeux de Buffon la condition nomade est "la plus méprisable de l'espèce humaine," au-dessous de celle du sauvage et elle constitue encore un péril actuel. <sup>12</sup> Les Tartares notamment sont laids, petits, sans courage, voleurs, sans pudeur et offrent leurs femmes aux étrangers. <sup>13</sup> Les Tartares mongols selon Montesquieu, Voltaire et Buffon, grâce à leur contact avec les Chinois sont plus civilisés et, selon celui-ci, ils sont même moins laids que les autres. L'historien tartare Abul-Ghazi <sup>14</sup> est d'un avis exactement opposé. Les Calmoucks, ces purs Tartares, sont de très honnêtes gens qui vivent dans le plus beau climat du monde au lieu que les Mongols. . . .

Montesquieu, Buffon et Voltaire ont considéré les Scythes et les Tartares surtout sous leur aspect de migrants et les ont regardés

<sup>9</sup> Diderot, éd. Assézat, Paris, Garnier, 1876, xvii, 110.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Hachette. *Disc. sur Arts et So.*, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Esp. des Lois*, Liv. xviii, ch. XX.

<sup>12</sup> *Époques de la Nature*, éd. Picard, Paris, Garnier, 221.

<sup>13</sup> *Hist. nat.*, Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1749, iii, 374-82.

<sup>14</sup> *A General History of the Turks, Moguls and Tartars; from the French*, London, J. Knapton, 1730, ii, 536, 502-3.

comme des barbares destructeurs de la civilisation. Voltaire trouve que ces "sauvages du Caucase et des déserts"<sup>15</sup> étaient "affamés de carnage et de rapines," des "barbares craints du reste du monde."<sup>16</sup> Il voit leur pays comme une étendue inculte, une plaine qui inspire de l'horreur. Les Scythes, selon lui, en effet "ne furent jamais que des destructeurs" qui ont "désolé les beaux climats de la Roumanie où Adrien et Trajan avaient bâti des villes,"<sup>17</sup> et les Tartares "n'ont jamais rien cultivé."<sup>18</sup> Voltaire perd de vue qu'une partie de ces nomades, une fois revenus chez eux, se livrait à l'agriculture ainsi que l'avait déjà signalé Moréri pour les Tartares de Crimée.<sup>19</sup> Il parle ailleurs du bas prix des denrées dans leur pays, ce qui s'expliquerait difficilement s'ils ne cultivaient pas le sol.<sup>20</sup> De même qu'il a exagéré la désolation des climats scythes, Voltaire a représenté la vie des Tartares plus austère qu'elle n'était. Il a certainement connu l'encyclopédie des voyages de Prévost qu'il suit parfois de très près, or, cet ouvrage rapporte Marco Polo à l'effet que les Tartares avaient des tentes légères de campagne.<sup>21</sup> Il a dû savoir par Abul-Ghazi qu'il cite, que certains Calmoucks<sup>22</sup> même avaient des habitations fixes qu'ils construisaient rondes, mais il pousse les couleurs. Les Tartares couchent "l'hiver sur la neige et l'été sur la rosée." Il ne leur faut "ni tentes, ni provisions, ni bagages."<sup>23</sup>

Si l'on pense que pour Voltaire ni l'état de nature, ni l'état social ne sont un état de guerre, que donc la guerre est un fait anormal; si l'on se rappelle son impatient mépris à l'égard des fondateurs du droit international, Grotius et Puffendorff, on peut croire qu'il n'y avait pas, à ses yeux, de lois de la guerre, qu'en conséquence tout acte d'hostilité était d'une barbarie inouïe. De là il était naturel qu'il exagérât la cruauté des conquérants scythes et tartares. D'un autre côté lorsqu'il décrit ceux-ci chez eux, hors de

<sup>15</sup> *Hist. de Russie*, xvi, 617.

<sup>16</sup> *Princesse de Babylone*, 1768, xxi, 401.

<sup>17</sup> *Essai sur les Mœurs*, xxix, 319.

<sup>18</sup> *Hist. de Russie*, xvi, 406.

<sup>19</sup> Article *Tartares*, p. 429, col. 2. Paris, Coignard, 1732.

<sup>20</sup> *Hist. de Charles XII*, xvi, 272.

<sup>21</sup> *Hist. gén. des voyages*, Paris, Didot, 1746-1770, vii, 349.

<sup>22</sup> Abul-Ghazi, *op. cit.*, II, 410.

<sup>23</sup> *Essai M.*, lx, 485 et introduction, 151; 482 et 484.

l'époque de leurs migrations, il ne reconnaît pas en eux, dans leur morale privée, autant de barbarie qu'on pourrait imaginer. Cette attitude provient aussi d'un principe de sa philosophie générale. Comme Diderot et Rousseau, Voltaire se rattache au système de Condillac pour qui l'homme n'est originellement ni bon ni mauvais. Voltaire le verrait même plutôt bon à l'état de nature, d'une bonté assez consciente. C'est la bonté consciente que le scythe Indatire reconnaît chez les siens, dans la tragédie qui prend cette race pour sujet, lorsqu'il déclare :

Nous sommes tous égaux sur ces rives si chères,  
Sans rois et sujets, tous libres et tous frères.<sup>24</sup>

Diderot, par contre, la croit inconsciente : " Les Scythes grossiers ont joui d'un bonheur que les peuples de la Grèce n'ont point connue. Quoi donc ! l'ignorance des vices serait-elle préférable à la connaissance de la vertu ? " et il acquiesce.<sup>25</sup> La période des Encyclopédistes, ainsi que l'a remarqué René Hubert, s'est refusée à croire aux vices extrêmes de la nature humaine. Les sacrifices humains, croit Voltaire, ont dû être rares chez les Scythes, autrement les familles auraient bientôt immolé les prêtres eux-mêmes. Il relève les paroles de Montesquieu selon lesquelles les Tartares n'épousent jamais leurs mères mais parfois leurs filles. Aucun de ces cas n'est vrai, selon lui, cela est " contre la nature. " Toutefois on remarque, en contradiction avec sa conception, que la jeune Obéide est obligée de par la loi scythe à tuer Indatire parce que celui-ci est le meurtrier de son mari. C'est alors Grimm qui rappelle Voltaire à l'ordre : " Cette loi ne paraît pas naturelle et je ne crois pas qu'il y ait jamais eu une nation sous le soleil qui ait commis au sexe le plus faible le soin de la vengeance sur le sexe le plus fort. " <sup>26</sup> Scythes et Tartares sont confondus dans un commun éloge, lorsque Voltaire, à la fois sous l'empire de la tradition antique et d'après les rapports de Strahlemberg, accorde à ces nomades la vertu d'hospitalité : " Les Scythes, leurs ancêtres, leur ont transmis ce respect inviolable pour l'hospitalité qu'ils ont conservé. " <sup>27</sup>

L'auteur utilise habilement ces sauvages pour établir son im-

<sup>24</sup> *Scythes*, I, 1.

<sup>25</sup> Diderot, éd. Assézat, XVII, 110, article *Scythes*.

<sup>26</sup> Corr., éd. Tourneux, Paris, Garnier, 1879. Janvier, 1767, VII, 223.

<sup>27</sup> *Hist. Charles XII*, XVI, 272 et *Essai sur les Mœurs*, introduction, 12.

portante thèse de la perpétuité du monothéisme déiste, c'est à dire dégagé de superstitions, à travers l'histoire. Il fallait attribuer cette religion à des nomades parce que, vivant dans les déserts, ils n'ont autour d'eux "aucun objet qui fixe leur crainte et leur adoration."<sup>27</sup> Ils rapportent donc ces sentiments dans le ciel à un seul objet qu'ils appelleront "le Maître, le Seigneur." Arrivé à ce point, il fallait éviter de faire honneur de ce culte élevé aux nomades juifs et c'est à quoi Voltaire a pris soin. Il a trouvé Scythes et Tartares tout indiqués pour prendre leur place. La majorité de ceux-ci "pour tout culte sacrifiait à Dieu quelques animaux une fois l'an. Il n'est point dit qu'ils aient jamais immolé d'hommes à la divinité ni qu'ils aient cru à un être malfaisant et puissant tel que le diable."<sup>28</sup> Voltaire simplifie. Gmelin qu'il cite avait parlé du monothéisme des Tartares Tschuwasches, mais aussi de leurs divinités subalternes, il avait mentionné leurs prêtres, leurs églises en bois près de Kazan.<sup>29</sup> La comparaison entre le juif et le Scythe paraît en un endroit où il mentionne d'une part les présents symboliques d'un roi scythe à Darius pour montrer que l'emblème des sauvages qui nous occupent était celui du courage; de l'autre, l'allégorie de Jérémie, des chaînes pour les juifs, symbole de l'impuissance de ce peuple.<sup>30</sup>

Voltaire établit entre le Scythe et le Tartare une différence qui apparaît sensible dans *Zaïre*. Orosmane, dépeint sans jalousie amoureuse, pourrait bien se réclamer des vertus de ses compatriotes et contemporains, au lieu de cela il préfère, pour se faire valoir, vanter les qualités des ancêtres:

Des Scythes mes aïeux je garde la fierté,  
Leurs mœurs, leurs passions, leur générosité.<sup>31</sup>

Nérestan emploie le mot "Tartare" plutôt que "Scythe" pour marquer son mépris d'Orosmane:

Et je vais donc apprendre à Lusignan trahi,  
Qu'un Tartare est le Dieu que sa fille a choisi.<sup>32</sup>

La tragédie des "Scythes" offre aussi un exemple du sauvage

<sup>28</sup> *Essai M.*, ix, 479.

<sup>29</sup> Prévost, *op. cit.*, *Voyage de Gmelin*, xviii, 89, 96.

<sup>30</sup> *Dictionnaire philos.*, art. *Emblème*.

<sup>31</sup> *Zaïre*, III, sc. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Zaïre*, III, 4.

héroïque et vertueux. Selon Baldensperger au contraire, l'auteur montrerait en ces nomades, à mesure qu'avance la pièce; "la rudesse inhérente à cette rusticité, plaisante au premier abord, grosse de barbarie en son fond."<sup>33</sup> Baldensperger donne trop d'importance à une lettre à Frédéric où Voltaire déclare avoir voulu comparer les Parisiens et les Suisses pour donner le désavantage à ceux-ci en les identifiant aux Scythes. Le peuple au nom duquel parle Indatire ne peut guère être identifié aux Suisses qui fournissaient des mercenaires à tous les princes de l'Europe; on ne prête généralement pas un fond héroïque à la population de l'Helvétie, du moins lorsqu'on pense à celle du dix-huitième siècle. Par ailleurs le portrait avantageux du Scythe ne se dément pas vers la fin de la tragédie comme le dit Baldensperger, quoique le mot final soit pour les civilisés souvent injustes mais accessibles à la pitié. Indatire, le héros de cette race, oppose au quatrième acte un fier langage au persan Athamare qui veut exciter son ambition à joindre l'armée persane en le dégoûtant de l'égalité républicaine, il répond qu'il ne se battra que pour la défense des siens: "Nul ne vend parmi nous son honneur et sa vie."

On place encore souvent de nos jours en Asie centrale les origines d'un peuple européen lorsqu'elles sont obscures. Cette vue d'origine biblique était largement répandue au dix-huitième siècle. Du Fresnoy l'expose comme sienne. La Scythie aurait été "la mère d'une infinité de peuples" puisque les enfants de Japhet, Gomer, fondateur du peuple celte, et Magog, du peuple scythe, se seraient établis au nord de la Caspienne et que d'eux viendraient entre autres, Gaulois, Germains, Huns, Chinois.<sup>34</sup> Rousseau est entièrement de cet avis parce que les premières migrations ne viennent pas des climats heureux.<sup>35</sup> Buffon et de Pauw, à la suite de Chardin, croient les Chinois et les Scythes une même race.<sup>36</sup> Voltaire, pour miner cette théorie, a tenu à regarder les différents peuples comme autochtones, niant pratiquement le concept de race. Buffon et de Pauw, à son avis, se trompent. La Chine n'a pas été peuplée de Scythes comme ils l'ont cru car les mœurs et la langue des deux

<sup>33</sup> Baldensperger, *ROC.*, 32 (a): 679—1931.

<sup>34</sup> Du Fresnoy, *op. cit.*, II, 367.

<sup>35</sup> Rousseau, éd. Hachette, *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, 389.

<sup>36</sup> Buffon, *Hist. nat.*, III, 380; de Pauw, II, 347.



peuples étaient trop opposées.<sup>37</sup> Les Celtes ne viennent pas de l'hébreu Gomer ni les Scythes de Magog.<sup>38</sup> Voltaire a bien dit qu'on ne pouvait savoir quel avait été le premier peuple,<sup>39</sup> pourtant la lecture de ses ouvrages laisse une impression confuse sur ce sujet, car tantôt il implique que les Hindous, parce qu'ils vivaient dans un climat fertile, avaient dû être les premiers à se réunir en corps de peuple,<sup>40</sup> tantôt, comme nous allons voir, il se range ou paraît se ranger à l'hypothèse qu'il combat ouvertement. Il voit les Scythes partout: "Ce vaste réservoir d'hommes ignorants et belliqueux a vomi ces inondations dans presque tout notre hémisphère."<sup>41</sup> Comment se seraient-ils déplacés ainsi sans essaimer? A l'entendre, les Scythes au VII<sup>ème</sup> siècle av. J. C. envahirent<sup>42</sup> l'Egypte alors que le roi de ce pays les éloigna par des présents.<sup>43</sup> Il exagère beaucoup leur rôle de migrants et de conquérants lorsqu'il dit qu' "ils détruisirent l'empire romain au cinquième siècle et conquirent l'Espagne et tout ce que les Romains avaient eu en Afrique."<sup>44</sup> La thèse biblique se retrouve même ici puisque Germains et Scythes sont confondus, elle réapparaît ailleurs quand il assimile les Celtes aux Francs.<sup>45</sup>

Parallèlement à l'hypothèse qui vient d'être étudiée, une théorie avancée par l'astronome Bailly plaçait en Asie centrale l'origine des sciences. Bailly s'appuyait sur le fait qu'Hindous et Chinois vénéraient quelques montagnes de la Tartarie indiquant par là leur premier séjour,<sup>46</sup> que l'état de l'astronomie en Chine, dans l'Inde et la Chaldée indiquait plutôt les débris que les éléments d'une science qui par conséquent avait dû venir d'ailleurs.<sup>46</sup> Voltaire répond que les nuits de l'Inde et de la Chaldée plus belles que celles de la Tartarie ont dû porter les hommes à faire là les premières observations et calculs astronomiques,<sup>47</sup> et que d'ailleurs il n'est jamais venu de la Scythie que la barbarie. De Pauw et Buffon suivent l'opinion de Bailly. Placer ainsi la civilisation au nord s'accordait bien avec la théorie de la nébuleuse de Buffon qui s'est refroidie peu à peu vers le nord

<sup>37</sup> *Fragments sur l'histoire générale*, 1773, xxix, 230.

<sup>38</sup> *Essai M.*, introd. 161 et *Dict. Philos.*, article *Celtes*.

<sup>39</sup> *Essai M.*, introd., 41.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, LX, 478.

<sup>40</sup> *Essai M.*, introd., p. 10.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*, introd., 60.

<sup>43</sup> *Larousse, XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, art. *Scythes* (c. 1934).

<sup>44</sup> *Essai M.*, CLVI, 435.

<sup>46</sup> 6<sup>ème</sup> lettre de Bailly à Voltaire.

<sup>45</sup> *Dict. philosophique*, Francs, 177. <sup>47</sup> Lettre à Bailly, 1776.

alors que l'Afrique et le sud de l'Asie étaient encore brûlants.<sup>48</sup> L'argument le plus commun mis en avant par de Pauw<sup>49</sup> et Bailly est qu'un plateau fertile, refuge des peuples pendant les inondations, existait en Asie centrale, or on devait découvrir à sa place un désert entre les monts Altai et Thibet; néanmoins cette théorie eut une certaine influence pernicieuse sur certaines branches des études scientifiques.<sup>50</sup>

La critique que Voltaire adressait à Montesquieu au sujet des Tartares portait sur l'origine des institutions parlementaires. Montesquieu croyait la trouver chez les Germains. Cette conception lui fait donner un tour curieux à ce qu'il dit des Asiatiques. Il déclare dans un chapitre de *l'Esprit des Lois* qu'il intitule "état politique des peuples qui ne cultivent pas la terre," que les nomades jouissent d'une grande liberté et que si leur chef voulait la leur ôter ils se retireraient soit près d'un autre maître, soit dans les bois avec leurs familles.<sup>51</sup> Il fait une curieuse exception pour les Tartares qui, selon lui, n'ont point de forêts donc point de refuge et sont à la merci du vainqueur par le fait même. Son but est de faire ressortir que si "les peuples du nord de l'Asie l'ont conquise en esclaves, les peuples du nord de l'Europe l'ont conquise en hommes libres,"<sup>52</sup> les Tartares n'ont répandu que l'esclavage. Seuls trouvent grâce à ses yeux les Tartares mongols qui ont montré un talent de colonisateurs libéraux en accordant aux Chinois une large mesure d'autonomie dans les tribunaux et dans l'armée.<sup>53</sup> Voltaire n'admet pas la distinction de Montesquieu. Tous les nomades sont libres, ceux du nord au moins. Les Tartares jouissaient comme les autres d'assemblées législatives qui se réunissaient au printemps et celles-ci peuvent fort bien avoir eu une origine commune avec les champs de mars des Francs.<sup>54</sup>

En somme Voltaire, comme ses contemporains, a ignoré le rôle civilisateur que Scythes et Tartares ont joué comme agents transmetteurs entre l'Asie et l'Europe. Les victoires de Gengis ont été dues selon lui non au remarquable service de liaison qui était le

<sup>48</sup> Buffon, *Époques*, éd. Picard, pp. 211-212.

<sup>49</sup> *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* etc., 2 vols., Berlin.

<sup>50</sup> Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Hist. de la Géographie*, p. 535.

<sup>51</sup> *Esprit des Lois*, liv. XVIII, ch. 14.

<sup>52</sup> *Esprit des Lois*, liv. X, ch. 15.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.*, liv. XVII, ch. 5.

<sup>54</sup> *Essai M.*, LX, 479-480.

sien,<sup>55</sup> mais à la force brutale et à la possession des meilleures mines de fer. Sitôt que ces "barbares" se mettent en route, ils paraissent aux gens du dix-huitième siècle voleurs, farouches, insupportables. Seul parmi eux peut-être Voltaire croit ou fait semblant de croire, que le monothéisme est né, puis s'est conservé parmi les nomades qui nous occupent. De plus il n'a pu se dégager ni de la tradition antique ni de la biblique. La tradition primitiviste antique, restée vivace au dix-huitième siècle en ce qui concerne les Scythes, subsiste largement chez lui bien qu'il l'ait souvent attaquée. Le portrait qu'il trace des Scythes et des Tartares est plus favorable que celui qu'ont laissé Buffon et Montesquieu. C'est cette tradition qui explique pourquoi il a représenté le Scythe supérieur à tout prendre au Tartare sauf peut-être au Mongol que son temps a vu avec bienveillance. Enfin il a connu les Scythes non seulement par les anciens mais grâce à des fouilles qui se firent sous Pierre le Grand, au cours desquelles on trouve des manuscrits, des bijoux non loin de la Caspienne, ce qui le porta à déclarer que les arts avaient "fait le tour de la terre" au moins une fois. Abul-Ghazi lui a même appris que la ville de Bocara portait un nom qui, en langue scythe, signifiait "savante,"<sup>56</sup> Voltaire a eu ainsi une lueur du degré de civilisation atteint par ces primitifs à l'aurore même de la civilisation grecque.

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#### LA MOTHE LE VAYER'S *VERTU DES PAYENS* AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COSMOPOLITANISM

The cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century was derived chiefly from the study of the literature of travel which had been steadily growing since the middle of the sixteenth. This literature came to the hand of the seventeenth-century sceptic who proceeded to use it as a potent weapon against the intellectual tyranny of the Church. A most important feature of cosmopolitanism is sinophilism since this branch of the movement brought to Europe the evidence of a pagan civilization of undoubted antiquity and of great richness. For the first time Greece and Rome had a worthy

<sup>55</sup> H. G. Wells, *Outline of History*.

<sup>56</sup> *Essai M.*, XL, 482.

rival. The sage Chinese appeared by the side of the virtuous pagan of classic antiquity and, in the eighteenth century, actually threatened to displace the latter. It was La Mothe le Vayer, in his *Vertu des Payens* (1642),<sup>1</sup> who first placed Confucius beside Plato and Socrates. He may be considered, therefore, as the chief precursor of eighteenth-century sinophilism.

If travel literature furnished the geographical basis of cosmopolitanism, the philosophical roots of the movement are to be found in the old controversy concerning the salvation of the virtuous pagan, which had troubled Christianity from the earliest days and acted as a disintegrating force that attacked the spiritual hegemony of the Church. It made little progress, however, until the evidence of political and economic geography came to its aid. The geographical and philosophical currents then united to create a definitely anti-christian movement. In the uniting of these two currents La Mothe le Vayer plays an important part.<sup>2</sup>

La Mothe le Vayer's book is a re-phrasing of a thesis developed by François Collius in 1622.<sup>3</sup> The latter, however, had limited himself to the old sources of evidence, merely hinting that there was much in the new knowledge which might be brought to the support of his arguments. La Mothe le Vayer discusses in turn many of the virtuous pagans and attempts to pass judgment on their chances of eternal salvation. He "despairs" of the salva-

<sup>1</sup>The work was one of the documents of the Jansenist controversy. Supposedly written at the instigation of Richelieu, it aroused serious opposition, notably that of Antoine Arnauld who replied to it in a work entitled: *De la Necessité de Foi en Jésus Christ* published posthumously, in 1701, on the occasion of the quarrel over Lecomte's *Mémoires sur la Chine*. That the *Vertu des Payens* continued to attract attention is evidenced by the fact that as late as 1674 Moréri, in his widely read *Dictionnaire*, cites La Mothe le Vayer, with Kircher and Trigault, as an authority for his article on Confucius. He uses the phrase "Socrate de la Chine" which, as far as I can discover, was first used by La Mothe le Vayer.

<sup>2</sup>La Mothe le Vayer's classical inspiration is Sextus Empiricus and chiefly the latter's tenth "trope" or mode of procedure for the suspension of judgment, which deals with the rules of conduct, habits, laws, legendary beliefs and dogmatic conceptions. La Mothe le Vayer's most significant work, the *Dialogues d'Orasius Tubero*, represents the very essence of cosmopolitanism.

<sup>3</sup>*De Animabus Paganorum*, Paris, 1622. For a discussion of the literature on this subject see: Louis Capéran, *Le Problème du Salut des Infidèles*, Paris, 1912.

tion of Diogenes, Zeno, Epicurus, Pyrrho and Julian the Apostate, but favors the chances of Plato, Socrates, Pythagoras, Seneca and, in addition, Confucius. It is in the addition of the last named to the list that our interest in the work lies.

Up to this time little attention had been given by scholars to the political and philosophical systems of the Far East. Montaigne barely mentions China. Rabelais's references are vague. Charron's discussion of the world's religions in *Les Trois Vérités*, apart from a brief reference to the Brahmins, does not include the Oriental cults. He says nothing of China, although, when he wrote, Mendocça's *Histoire du grand royaume de la Chine*, had already appeared. Mendocça's work was the first to throw any light on the obscure subject of Chinese religious and political thought. Nevertheless his account of Chinese cults is a jumble of ill-digested knowledge in which Confucian official, Tibetan lama, Hindoo der-vish, and Buddhist bonze are hopelessly confused and the whole account is dominated by the old tradition of Saint Thomas, whereby that apostle is supposed to have evangelized the Orient and to have thus provided a Christian basis for its religious beliefs.<sup>4</sup>

La Mothe le Vayer's sources for the chapter on Confucius are (1) a small volume by the Jesuit father Borri concerning his labors in Cochin China<sup>5</sup> and (2) Father Nicholas Trigault's *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* . . . published in 1615 and appearing the following year in a French translation with the title: *Histoire de l'Expédition chrétienne au royaume de la Chine*. Trigault's work, based on manuscripts left by the famous missionary Matteo Ricci, contains the first important eulogy of Confucius to be found in European literature.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The work was first published in Italian in Venice in 1578. The French translation appeared in 1588. As five editions appeared in France between 1588 and 1609 it will be seen that the work aroused much interest. Curiously enough I can find no evidence that La Mothe le Vayer used, or even knew, Mendocça's work, altho', in his *Dialogues*, he cites nearly all the important works on China which had appeared up to his time.

<sup>5</sup> *Relation de la nouvelle mission des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus au royaume de la Cochinchine, traduite de l'italien du Père Christofle Borri par le père Antoine de la Croix*, Rennes, 1631.

<sup>6</sup> Trigault's work undoubtedly marks the beginning of a better knowledge of China. This is shown in the works of cosmography and geography which are later than 1616. One of the most widely read of these works, Pierre d'Avity's *Le Monde ou la description générale de ses quatre parties* . . . which gives a very clear account of the Chinese religious system, relies

This eulogy finds its echo in *Vertu des Payens*. Following his Jesuit source, La Mothe le Vayer exalts Chinese thought over even that of Greece and Rome:

... entre toutes les nations la leur est apparemment celle qui s'est laissée le mieux conduire à la lumière naturelle et qui a le moins erré au fait de la religion. Car chacun sait de quels prodiges les Grecs, les Romains et les Egyptiens remplirent autrefois leur culte divin. (*Vertu* [1642 ed.], p. 280.)

He then proceeds to develop briefly an enthusiastic picture of Chinese culture and thought. The following are the elements of this picture:

First, a country whose religious system is at heart monotheistic. All the complexity of Chinese religious thought, with its range from Buddhistic asceticism and nihilism on the one hand to the animism of the common people on the other, is reduced to a simple formula, the formula of the Jesuits: a belief in a Supreme Being, *T'ien*, together with certain "idolatrous" accretions, such as ancestor worship, the doctrine of metempsychosis, etc.

Second, the outward expression of this religion in an ethico-moral code which, excluding dogma, brings unity and harmony to the empire. Essentially this is nothing more than an expression of the Voltairian simplification that Natural Religion is, in reality, merely a system of morality.

Third, the imposition of these principles of religion and ethics on the system of government. Elsewhere La Mothe le Vayer, following Pomponazzi, Machiavelli and Hobbes, preaches the fundamental relationships between the government of a country and its religion.<sup>7</sup> In China he finds a striking proof of this theory in that alliance of Confucianist ethics and absolute monarchy which the Jesuit writers so consistently portrayed in their writings. A hundred years before the sage of Ferney La Mothe le Vayer announces the essence of Voltairian sinophilism in the remark: "Il n'y a que les philosophes qui gouvernent la Chine."<sup>8</sup> According to almost entirely on Trigault for its account of this phase of Chinese civilization.

<sup>7</sup> John Owens, *Skeptics of the French Renaissance*, London, 1893.

<sup>8</sup> Voltaire made considerable use of the works of La Mothe le Vayer. He uses the author's name in one of his pamphlets (*Idées de La Mothe le Vayer*, 1751). He praises the *Vertu des Payens* and the *Dialogues*, the latter for having fought with success "cette opinion qui nous sied si mal que notre morale vaut mieux que celle de l'antiquité" (*Œuvres*, ed. Moland, xiv, 87).

this theory China becomes the incarnation of rationalism in government.

Finally, a cult of pacificism bred by this spirit of rationalism. Trigault had explained at length how the tradition of learning in China had given the Confucianist scholar-official a position in the State far above that of the military leader. La Mothe le Vayer reaffirms this political virtue: "Ce n'est pas une petite gloire à Confucius d'avoir fait que la force obéisse à la raison." Seen against the background of mid-seventeenth century France, with its cult of military glory, the author's praise of Chinese pacifism is highly significant.

It is evident that La Mothe le Vayer is at times a little confused by the complexity and the contradictions in the evidence regarding Chinese thought but, on the whole, he accepts the Jesuit formula. The description given by him, then, is that of a great empire rich in culture, where the knowledge of a Supreme Being and a belief in the immortality of the Soul are the essence of a religious system, eclectic in its details; of a State government dominated by scholars who impose their wisdom on the monarch, softening the harshness of his absolutism and converting him into the benevolent despot of the Physiocrats; of a political system which exalts "philosophy" and of a social morality governed by reason.

After the middle of the century, when the *Vertu des Payens* appeared, works on China accumulate rapidly. These works all served to enrich Europe's knowledge of China and to furnish materials for the *philosophes*. In essentials, however, they add little more to the eighteenth-century picture of the great Oriental civilization than is to be found in La Mothe le Vayer's work. In *La Vertu des Payens* the author has already made the necessary connection between sinophilism and philosophical propaganda. He has already sketched in outline the "rêve chinois." It remained for later writers merely to bring the force of their polemic to its support. La Mothe le Vayer may, therefore, be looked upon as an important precursor of eighteenth century cosmopolitanism.

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## A NOTE ON AUGUST LEWALD

Ulrich Cruse's *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*<sup>1</sup> is the only monograph devoted to an evaluation of the work of this journalist and writer. In preparing this study Cruse was, as he says himself, unable to find "trotz aller Bemühungen" two of Lewald's productions, the novel *Clarinet* (1863), and the "Epos" *Inigo. Aus dem Leben des heiligen Ignatius von Loyola* (1870). "Doch würden sie," Cruse believes, "das Bild des Konvertiten Lewald kaum beeinflussen, da es aus den übrigen hier besprochenen Werken jener Jahre schon deutlich genug herausstrahlt."<sup>2</sup> A copy of *Clarinet* in three volumes is in the possession of the Library of the University of Chicago whither it has found its way in the bulk of the Leipzig Lincke Leihbibliothek, purchased some time ago.

Lewald, it will be remembered, had become a Protestant at the time of the Prussian edict of 1811 which granted the Jews civil equality. But he seems to have been early inspired by Catholicism, and later his wife, a woman of orthodox Catholic belief, fostered in him this interest. It is her influence, and a serious illness which brought about his conversion to Catholicism in 1852, when he was sixty years old. At this time his literary activity ceased, until it was resumed with new vigor about 1862. Heretofore he had catered to the "world of elegance" but his new conviction had given him a different and more precise orientation; "so stellte er jetzt zum ersten Male seine Feder in den Dienst einer höheren Idee, der Idee der Grösse und Macht der Kirche."<sup>3</sup> He now began to contribute to the propagandistic Catholic literature popular in those years preceding, and culminating in, the *Kulturkampf*.<sup>4</sup> As the most conspicuous figures in this *Tendenzliteratur* appear the Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn<sup>5</sup> and Konrad von Bolanden.<sup>6</sup>

*Clarinet* is the first major work of the Catholic Lewald. It is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of a fervent believer. Its main

<sup>1</sup> Breslau, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> Cruse, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Theobald Ziegler, *Die geistigen und sozialen Strömungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1901.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon* (1927), cols. 749-750.

<sup>6</sup> Pseudonym for Josef Eduard Konrad Bischoff. Cf. Wilhelm Kosch, *Das Katholische Deutschland* (1933), cols. 186-187.



characters and their tasks within the novel may be briefly described as follows. The heroine, Clarinette, daughter of very poor country people, withstands all temptations of life with the help of her Catholic faith and an almost impossible strength of character. She wins the heart of a count, becomes herself a countess, and saves her husband's moral integrity. Her sister, Agnes, becomes an actress and, as Madame Agnesi, moves about in a sinful world without having found salvation through "Demut" when we finally lose sight of her. Isidor, the unhappy young Jew whose father perishes in the gold fields of California, follows an inner urge, just as Lewald had done, and is converted to Catholicism. He sees the light first, oddly enough, at the Mission of Santa Barbara on the American West Coast, where he was seeking his fortune. From there he proceeds to Rome where he receives instruction and is soon received into the Carmelite Order. Of the minor characters in *Clarinette*, the Jews and the debilitated or unrefined members of an antiquated nobility are with few exceptions portrayed as bad. The narrative separates into several independent branches and the characters are then developed one by one. This causes the novel to be of loose construction. But Lewald's talent for realistic description of scenery, landscape, and interiors is apparent everywhere. We are surprised, however, to hear him say that east of San Francisco there rises "*ein eisiger Alpenkamm*," and that the chain of mountains barely visible on the eastern horizon are "*jene unnahbaren Felsenreviere der Rocky Mountains, welche der im Osten dieses Welttheils zuerst Angesiedelte lange für unübersteiglich hielt*."<sup>7</sup> He is unaware of the existence and the nature of the Sierra Nevada, although this region had been explored by an assistant of Captain de Bonneville in 1833<sup>8</sup> and by Captain John C. Fremont in 1843-44. The latter brought it to public attention by his report<sup>9</sup> in which the Sierra Nevada is mentioned by name, almost twenty years before *Clarinette* went into print. Lewald's sources of information were obviously not as reliable as he believed them to be.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Clarinette* III, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> R. G. Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration*. New York, 1904.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. John C. Fremont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*. . . . Washington, Blair and Rives, 1845. P. 227.

<sup>10</sup> "Was wir über das Land gelesen, und aus authentischen mündlichen Mittheilungen erfahren, von solchen die Jahre lang dort gelebt haben, sollte

Lewald's life-long interest in the theater appears again in this novel and finds colorful expression in the story of Agnes, whose fate is unravelled among many pages of description and critical contemplation of things theatrical. And quite in his old manner he gives free rein to the discussion of social problems, their causes and their remedies; they are, of course, viewed from the standpoint of the conservative and the believer. Julie von Bartel stands out as the free woman idolized by the *Jungdeutschen* of a generation ago. She calls to mind George Sand,—she smokes cigars. Several pages are devoted to the voicing of her opinions about the freedom of women. Yet, moved by the strength of Clarinette's humility and faith, she prevails on the latter's husband who is infatuated with her, to remain true to his wife. It is a variation of the theme: the good wins in the end. This expression of religious fervor and unshaken faith, absent from Lewald's production prior to 1852, is found here throughout the novel. Especially the account of Isidor's conversion is full of sincere emotion and is the most convincing episode in *Clarinette*. Lewald, who is by and large not very fortunate as a story teller and a poet, succeeds here in arousing the reader's warm sympathy. It may be said safely that Isidor's conversion had as source and model the author's own conversion since the latter says himself: "Wer eine ähnliche Bekehrung an sich erfahren, wird diese Schilderung von Isidors Seelenstimmung gewiss nicht ohne Rührung lesen, die in diesem Augenblicke auch denjenigen auf das Tiefste ergriffen hat, der es unternimmt mit schwachen Worten sie wieder zu geben. . . ." <sup>11</sup>

Had Cruse had access to the novel *Clarinette*, he would certainly not have failed to point out the significance of this work for it enhances, through its autobiographical incidents, our understanding of the convert Lewald.

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uns dazu dienen, den Boden nicht unter den Füßen zu verlieren, und unsere Schritte darauf sicher zu lenken." *Clarinette* III, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Clarinette* III, p. 55.

## HIGH GERMAN VOWEL-QUANTITIES

In various publications<sup>1</sup> Professor Menzerath has advocated a triple quantitative classification of High German vowels into short, half-long, and long and the parallel differentiation of the diphthongs into half-long and long. These *phonemic* oppositions he takes to hold not only for the Rhineland, where they are a familiar phenomenon tied up with the syllabic intonation, but considers them "eine allgemein-deutsche Spracherscheinung."

The traditionally labelled "long" vowels and diphthongs of standard High German Professor Menzerath redefines into

- a. *half-long*, when they occur before voiced stops and spirants, before [ə], and before liquids of a following syllable.
- b. *long*, when they occur before voiceless stops and spirants and before liquids in the same syllable.

This durational distinction is accompanied by pitch and stress differences, the half-long vowel having a high-low intonation and a "staccato" accent which prevents its being lengthened at will in speech (*undehnbar*), the long vowel a mid-low intonation and a "legato" accent which allows the vowel to be lengthened.

A sound-duration investigation carried out last year at Hamburg University with three educated North-German speakers of the Received Standard: Z, R, M, respectively of Westphalia, Holstein, and Hamburg, produced lexical durations<sup>2</sup> for several pairs of words falling under the above categories. These words contain long vowels and diphthongs before voiced and voiceless intervocalic

<sup>1</sup> "Deutsche Vokalquantität und Dialektgeographie," *Teuthonista* v, 208-12 [on the vowels], "Beobachtungen zur deutschen Lautquantität," *Le Maître Phonétique* 1934, 68-73 [on the diphthongs], 88-93 [on the liquids]. See also *Beiheft zur Deutschen Lauttafel*, Bonn, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> To investigate this problem by recording sentences, as Professor Menzerath suggests (*Teuthonista*, v, 212), cannot guarantee that the differences observed between, say, *Meer* and *mehr* in the sentences *Da ist das Meer*, *Da ist noch mehr* (*ibid.*, 209) are not conditioned syntactically. If the articulation of a half-long or long vowel or diphthong depends on an historical, phonemic difference and not upon its position in the sentence, such a phonemic characteristic would normally be retained in its pronunciation as a lexical unit, just as *Kamm* and *kam* are pronounced with short and long vowel respectively in isolated pronunciation as well as in fluent speech.

stops. The following groups of measurements, expressed in hundredth-seconds, are based on two or three pronunciations of each word (with a preceding unaccented particle) by each of the three speakers:

		Z	R	M
[i:]	biegen	13.3	12.0	13.5
	bieten	11.3	9.0	8.5
[y:]	Bügel	14.7	14.0	14.0
	Gute	8.7	8.3	7.5
[e:]	beben	14.3	18.0	15.5
	geben	14.7	15.0	16.5
	Degen	15.5	16.5	16.5
	beten	11.7	11.3	14.0
[o:]	Bogen	16.7	16.0	16.5
	Boden	15.0	15.0	16.0
	Boten	13.0	14.0	13.5
[ø:]	Pöbel	13.3	16.3	17.5
	Köder	15.3	15.0	17.5
	pökeln	9.3	11.7	15.0
	töten	10.3	12.3	13.0
[a:]	Tage	16.3	16.3	19.0
	Taten	12.3	13.7	14.7
[au]	taugen	17.0	13.0	18.0
	Taube	15.0	13.5	18.5
	Pauken	10.0	10.0	13.0
[ɔɪ]	beugen	22.0	18.5	22.0
	deuten	13.0	11.0	15.5
	Beutel	12.0	10.0	15.0

The evidence of these measurements is completely consistent in supporting the correlation: *long vowels and diphthongs are longer before voiced stops than before unvoiced*. In this the speech of these three High German speakers exhibits the lengthening of vowels before voiced stops found to obtain in almost all other idioms heretofore experimentally investigated.

A durational division of High German long vowels and diphthongs into half-long and long based on the exact converse of this correlation accordingly cannot be taken to hold for *all* speakers of the Received Standard.

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## LENGUAGES DANS "PÈLERINAGE DE CHARLEMAGNE,"

V. 209

V. 207: Commencent [les Francs à Jérusalem] un mostier qui  
'st de sainte Marie,

Li home de la terre la clament la Latine,  
Car li language i vienent de trestote la vile;  
Il i vendent lor palies, lor teiles et lor siries,  
Coste, canele, peivre, altres bones espices  
Et maintes bones herbes que jo ne vos sai dire.  
Deus est encore el ciel qui'n vuelt faire justise.

Il s'agit de la fondation de l'église Sainte-Marie-Latine attribuée à Charlemagne. Je résume l'intention de ces vers en citant les mots de Morf, recensant dans *Rom. XIII*, 191 l'édition de Koschwitz:

*Li home de la terre* sont les Francs pour une grande partie . . . on peut supposer que le bruit du marché attenant à l'église de Sainte-Marie Latine contrastait aux yeux des pèlerins, venus pour prier, d'une manière désagréable avec la sainteté du lieu. Des marchandises barraient le chemin, les cris des vendeurs francs, juifs, arabes (des "languages" v. 209) pénétraient dans l'église et troublaient la dévotion des fidèles. Les pèlerins se plaignaient de ce qu'ils croyaient une profanation; il leur venait à l'esprit l'image du Christ chassant les marchands du Temple; ils en parlaient après leur retour dans leurs pays, et dans la suite naquit l'idée d'un marché ayant lieu dans l'église même, comme l'Evangile le représente.

M. Heinermann traduit de même, dans son étude récente sur le poème, *ZRPb.*, LVI, 535: "Leute der verschiedensten Sprachen" et comprend, comme avant lui Koschwitz, G. Paris et Morf, des marchands appartenant à des peuples différents.

Ce que je veux relever ici, c'est l'usage médiéval d'appeler en Orient *languages* les ressortissants de différentes nations. Je copie tout simplement le *Guide bleu* (Roumanie—Bulgarie—Turquie—Rhodes—Chypre) publié par la librairie Hachette en 1933, où on lit dans l'aperçu historique sur *l'Île de Rhodes*, p. 647:

Les chevaliers de Saint-Jean . . . étaient divisés en trois classes: les chevaliers militaires, les frères servants, les chapelains et en sept groupes ou 'langues': Provence, Auvergne, France, Italie, Espagne . . . Angleterre et Allemagne. Chaque 'langue' avait à sa tête un bailli ou 'pilier' . . . ; p. 652: les 'auberges' ou résidences de chaque 'langue' . . .

Ces *langues* répondaient donc à peu près aux *nations* de l'Université médiévale de Paris. On pourra donc rapprocher, je pense,

les *lenguages* de la Jérusalem de la vieille chanson et les *langues* de l'île de Rhodes médiévale et trouver, dans notre chanson, un écho du polyglottisme oriental et de la réaction française de ce temps. Il faudrait peut-être rendre l'ancienne expression d'une façon plus appropriée, non pas par "les gens parlant des langues étrangères"<sup>1</sup> (G. Paris, *Rom.* ix, 246, cf. aussi Heinermann), mais par "les groupes nationaux étrangers." *Sainte-Marie-Latine* est appelée ainsi, c'est-à-dire (je demande pardon de cette modernisation) 'Sainte-Marie l'Européenne'<sup>2</sup> ou l'Internationale, parce que (*car*, v. 209) des groupes nationaux différents viennent y vendre leurs marchandises.

Les philologues aimant la langue, produit et véhicule de civilisation, ne manqueront pas de se réjouir de l'importance donnée à la langue par la conception médiévale, à côté du "racisme" moderne suggéré par le mot *nation* (d'ailleurs, le mot *race* n'est pas "raciste" non plus, s'il remonte, comme j'ai essayé de démontrer naguère, à *ratio*, 'raison; façon d'être, espèce').

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## A NOTE FOR BACONIANS

It is well known that in a passage in *Troilus and Cressida* (II, ii, 163-171) Aristotle is cited as authority for the contention that young men are unfit to hear moral philosophy, and that in the *Advancement of Learning* there occurs a similar citing of Aristotle to the same effect. Since Aristotle (*Ethica Nicomachea* I. 3) did not say that young men were unfit to hear moral philosophy but that they were unfit to hear political philosophy, students of Shakespeare and Bacon have acted on the principle well known to all readers of examinations, that a likeness in error is evidence of collusion of some sort. Baconians have reveled in the proof of a com-

<sup>1</sup> Ce transfert de sens serait d'ailleurs assez isolé en français, où un équivalent de l'espagnol *el lengua* est à peu près inconnu. Particulièrement le pluriel indiquant le groupe: *les lenguages* 'les gens parlant des langages' serait choquant. Et puis, *el lengua* se sert de la langue comme instrument, *le garde* a la fonction de 'garder'—le *lenguage* ne ferait que parler spontanément sa langue.

<sup>2</sup> Je suppose que le *car* élimine les Arabes, que mentionnait Morf: il s'agit d'Européens, d'étrangers non-palestiniens.

mon author for *Troilus* and the *Advancement of Learning*, while more orthodox Shakespearean scholars have accepted the evidence of Shakespeare's borrowing from a work published in 1605 when they attempt to fix the date of the composition or of the revision of *Troilus and Cressida*. It is, therefore, interesting to find the following passage in Nicholas Grimald's address to the reader prefixed to his translation of *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes thre bookes of duties* published in eight editions between 1553 and 1600 (I quote from the edition of 1556):

Now therefore, good reader, fare you well: and remember, how vnfytt (as Aristotle sayeth) and vnprofitable hearers of morall science yongmen be: as long as eyther they follow their youthly affections: or do continue vnskyllfulle and rude in their deeds, that of dutie belonge to mannes life. For, all the whyle, they yeelede themselues to be led away of their mad moodes: if you talke to them of vertue, and of maners, ye do but sing the deaffe a song.

In the passage from Shakespeare the likeness of Hector's words to those of Grimald extends beyond the mistaken reference to moral philosophy to the comment on the deafness of the hearers:

Paris and Troilus, you have both said well;  
And on the cause and question now in hand  
Have gloz'd but superficially; not much  
Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought  
Unfit to hear moral philosophy.  
The reasons you allege do more conduce  
To the hot passion of distemper'd blood  
Than to make up a free determination  
'Twixt right and wrong; for pleasure and revenge  
Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice  
Of any true decision.

Marion H. Addington, writing in *Notes and Queries* (CLXV, 116-118, "Shakespeare and Cicero") stated in a foot-note that Shakespeare "took over an error from the preface to 'Thre Bookes of Duties,'" and I presume that the reference may have been to this passage. But although Shakespeare's words are more like Grimald's than like Bacon's, I hesitate to accept such an inference. Bacon quoted in the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (Bk. vii. chap. 3) from Aristotle the opinion: *Juvenes non esse idoneos Moralis Philosophiae auditores*. Spedding added to Ellis's comment on this passage that Virgilio Malvezzi, in his *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito* of 1622 had made the same mistake (See Spedding's edition of

Bacon's *Philosophical Works*, 1857-8, I, 739, and III, 440). Sir Sidney Lee accepted the likeness between the passages in Bacon and in Shakespeare as the one good bit of evidence to be found in the list of parallel passages adduced by the Baconians, but he discounted its value and quoted similar interpretations of Aristotle from Erasmus onward, though he instanced none in English books. It seems to me likely that some Latin edition of Aristotle not yet noticed made the mistake upon which later errors are based, but if Shakespeare did borrow his reference from another English work, then it would seem that Grimald rather than Bacon was the source of his borrowing. And in that case, there is nothing to be learned about the date of *Troilus and Cressida* from this passage, nor is the identity of Bacon and Shakespeare in question.

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## AN EARLY REFERENCE TO LONGINUS

Although Longinus's treatise *On the Sublime* was first printed at Basle in 1554, it has been generally assumed that it was unknown in England until Langbaine brought out his edition at Oxford in 1636. However, the following quotation from a lecture on rhetoric delivered at Oxford by John Rainolds in 1573/4, which includes a translation of part of section XVII, 1 of *On the Sublime*, proves that Longinus's treatise was known in England more than sixty years before Langbaine published his edition.

Dionysius Longinus, Rhetor insignis, de sublimi dicendi genere verba faciens, sublimis orationis dignitatem figuris effoeminari, vel ea causa pronuntiat, quod figurarum illecebris qui iudices inescat: fraudis & fuci suspicionem parit. Vt primum quidem offendat homines sapientes, qui se illudi putant si tanquam inepti pueri, à curioso artifice, verborum exornatiunculis titillantur; deinde causam laedat apud imperitos, quod vt amoenae cautiunculæ, auditorem à rebus abstrahunt, ad sonos alliciunt; sic quæ compunetur [i. e. componuntur] exquisitius aculeorum affectum non inserunt auditori, sed concinnitatis.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Oratio 3. Post Festum Natalis Christi, 1573," printed in John Rainolds's *Orationes Duodecim* (London, 1619), pp. 327-8. My quotations are from the copy in the Huntington Library.



Rainolds, after elaborating this argument through several pages, concludes with a paraphrase of Longinus's final judgment on the subject: "Sic eam orationem esse putem florentissimam quae non est florida, & eas figuras esse maxime politas quae non sunt figuratae."<sup>2</sup>

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### SOME LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF 1935 AND 1936<sup>1</sup>

During the period under survey our knowledge of the history of English place-names has been notably advanced by the publication of several studies. The most useful of these is Ekwall's *Concise Dictionary*.<sup>2</sup> This work is no digest, in spite of its title. Although the author has made full use of previous publications, he has also gone systematically to the primary sources, and has advanced a great many etymologies of his own, often for the first time. The book will therefore be of interest to the specialist, as well as to the general reader for whom it was designed. For the benefit of such readers a word of caution is in order. Ekwall makes no systematic attempt to distinguish between certain and uncertain etymologies. His usual procedure is to choose the etymology which he prefers and to set it down without qualification and without mention of alternatives. If he cannot make up his mind, he gives alternative possibilities, and occasionally he allows himself space for weasel words or even for a brief discussion, but want of qualification cannot safely be taken to mean that the etymology which he records is certain or even probable. Since Ekwall is a leading authority on English place-names, any etymology which he favors deserves the reader's respectful consideration, but it must never be forgotten that in this book the author is simply giving his opinions for what they are worth. Indeed, in the Preface he refers to his etymologies, modestly enough, as suggestions. His rather dogmatic

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337. Compare *On the Sublime* XVII, 1.

<sup>1</sup> This survey is limited to books sent to *MLN.* for review.

<sup>2</sup> E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, Oxford Univ. Press, New York, 1936. Pp. xlviii + 520. \$5.00.

method of presentation was of course due to limitations of space. Thus, if we compare his article on the Swere river with his earlier discussion in *English River-Names*, where his space was less limited, we see that the certainty of the *Concise* is not certainty at all, but only a choice among various possibilities. Let me add that in this case Ekwall's choice is not mine. Now and again I find myself sceptical of the etymologies set down in this work, but everywhere I recognize the author's mastery of the subject and his fertility of suggestion. Had he used his allotted space more cautiously, filling it with qualifications and alternatives instead of considered judgments, he must have still further reduced the already limited number of entries, and his book would have been far less useful, not only to the learned but also to the laity. One may be permitted to regret that the author, in his choice of forms, was guided chiefly by his interest in etymology, to the neglect of phonetic history. Thus, under *England*, the Chaucerian *Engelond* might have been given a place alongside the OE *Englaland*, since it shows the nature of the phonetic development (loss of *l* by dissimilation); space for this form could readily have been made by leaving out some of the later OE references. But no objections which might be raised should be allowed to obscure the inescapable final judgment that this is an admirable work, a landmark in the history of English place-name research, a book which puts us all deeply in the author's debt.

By way of complement to his *Dictionary*, Ekwall has published a volume of *Studies*, written for the learned world.<sup>3</sup> Here he takes up in detail a number of problems in English place-name research. The work falls into nine parts: I, OE *stoc* in place-names; II, OE *gesell* and other words for 'shelter'; III, names of animals; IV, names of plants and trees; V, words meaning 'hill' and the like; VI, words referring to traps and the like; VII-IX, miscellany. Added are a list of abbreviations, a bibliography and an index. The monograph sheds light on many difficult matters. Under OE *sulig* (p. 59) might have been considered *Sulgrave* Np. The form *Okernebur* 1241 (p. 80) does not show that the first vowel was OE *ā*; we may have here the familiar contamination of *acorn* by *oak*. None of the forms of *Aconbury* show the *w* which

<sup>3</sup> *Studies on English Place-Names* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 42: 1), Stockholm, 1936, pp. 221.

Ekwall's etymology demands. There is no reason to speak of k-diminutives in either of the cases cited (pp. 86 and 91); in both examples the suffix is obviously not diminutive in meaning, and it would be sounder practice to speak of k-extensions. Under OE *hune* (p. 108) should be included *Arundel* Sx. The second *p* of *Hyppelesfleet* 1083 is probably a mistake for *wyn* (p. 121). I have noted misprints on pp. 77 and 192.

The volumes of the English Place-Name Society for 1935 and 1936 are devoted to Essex and Warwickshire respectively.\* They are both up to the mark set by the earlier volumes of the Society. In the following, I will comment briefly on a few details. Vol. XII (Essex): p. xxviii, besides the Scand. names referred to should be noted Hawkins (now Crawleys) in Harlow half-hundred; p. xxxvii top, *Roydon* is wrongly put under OE *ȝ*—the [oi] comes from ME [ui] and is by no means anomalous; p. xxxvii bottom, I am sceptical of the postulated sound-change -s > -sh. In *Wrabness* and *Russellhead* the el. *ness* has been confounded with *ersc* > *esh* (note particularly the first 1201 spelling of *Russellhead*), while in the other cases we have an ordinary spelling-pronunciation, as in *Parishall*, where the initial *h* of *hall* was taken with the final *s* of *Paris*; p. xxxviii, it is hardly right to call *n* a liquid, and the interchange and loss of *l, n, r* are too lightly attributed to AN influence, in view of the fact that such phenomena were "characteristic of the later Essex dialect"; p. 9, the spellings *Paunte* and *Pounte* are of interest for the history of the *au*-diphthong, as is also the spelling *Lowe fare* on p. 62; pp. 31, 74, 83, 154, *Thrift* from *Frith* shows an interesting metathesis, to be compared with *Stilton* NRY; for the final *t* of *Thrift*, compare *graft* etc.; pp. 40, 180, 279, the prefixed *s* is perhaps a sandhi phenomenon, from *it's* or *that's*; in *Sturgeon's* the *s* may come from a prefixed *Cassus*; p. 45, the name *Meaca* occurs in *Widsith*, and is to be preferred to the hypothetical *Mæcca*; possibly *Meaca* himself or some namesake settled *Matching*—it seems clear that his tribe, the *Myrgings*, were Saxons; p. 47, *Bray's Grove* became *Bay's Grove* by a perfectly ordinary dissimilation, and it is wrong

\* P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex*, pp. lxii + 698; J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, in collaboration with F. T. S. Hough-ton, *The Place-Names of Warwickshire*, pp. li + 409. Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, the Macmillan Co.

to mark *Bay's* with a *sic*; similarly, the second *b* of *Bobingworth* (p. 52) became *d* or *v* by dissimilation; p. 51, *Quick* shows shift of stress (cf. p. 41 top); p. 53, for *Ealha* set *Ealhca*, with hypocoristic *-ca*; p. 66, the initial *d* (from *t*) of *Debden* is perhaps alliterative in origin; p. 69, the *v* (from *s*) of *Navestock* seems a clear case of dissimilation; the *k*-spelling occurs too late to have evidential value; p. 73, in *Folyat Hall* the (consonantal) *y* would be lost phonetically, and the first *l* might become *r* by dissimilation; the resulting *Forat* or *Foret* might then be taken for the familiar French *Forêt* and be respelt English fashion, whence the *Forest* of the present name; p. 133 f., derivation of *War-* from OE *wār* seems far-fetched; better *wearr* 'wart' if the topography permits; cf. *Wanstead*; p. 153, the *r* of *Plunker* is derivable, by dissimilation, from an earlier *n*; p. 158 f., the modern pron. of *Horndon* is not a reflection of "AN *t* for *th*" but of an assimilation familiär in Chaucer's *artou* for *art thou*, and the Elizabethan *art* 'art thou?' p. 177, the *a-* and *o-*forms of *Beckney* make unlikely the connexion with *Becca*; Ekwall *Dict.* suggests *beacon* as the first element; p. 179, I can see nothing "curious" in the development of the medial syllable of *Canewdon*—the *n* was lost by dissimilation, the *g* was rounded to *w* by the back vowel immediately following, and this vowel was reduced and finally lost by syncope; p. 183, *Burwood* means rather 'marsh belonging to the *burh*' than 'by the *burh*'; p. 208, OE *āled* means 'fire' rather than 'burned,' cf. ON *eldr*; p. 258 f., Ekwall has now given up his theory that *Ginges* etc. contain OE *gē* 'district'; p. 291, *Estre-* need not be comparative; p. 325, the *r* of *Alresford* may have come of a popular etymology by which the first element of the name was identified with OE *alor* 'alder'; p. 369, the river-name *Colne* may well be a back-formation; at any rate, the argument here advanced to the contrary proves nothing; p. 372, the long vowel in *berde* is presumably due to the familiar lengthening effect of the consonant combination *rd*; p. 395, the first element of *Langham* may be the same as the first element of *Lingfield* Sr; p. 403, the DB form of *Wivenhoe* is marked *sic*, for no reason that I can discover; it shows syncope of the unstressed vowel, but this syncope may be phonetic; p. 439, the title of Ekwall's *Studies* of 1931 is misquoted both here and on p. xlii; p. 485 top, the form *Eastuna* points to contamination with *east* and hence to an OE long vowel in the first element; p. 486 f.,

the forms with medial *sh* may have grown out of contamination of the second element with OE *sceolu* 'group,' here used in the pregnant sense 'grove'; a number of the etymologies in this volume want correction by Ekwall's *Dict.* and *Studies* of 1936: thus, on pp. 144 f., 171, 184, 187, 198, 216, 221, 238, 241, 259, 290 f., 407, 433, 504, 523, 535.

Vol. XIII (Warwickshire): p. 21 *Freasley*, Ekwall derives the first element from OE *fȳrs* 'furze' (*Studies*, p. 116); p. 52 *Wishaw*, Ekwall *Dict.* gives a form *Wiðshada* 1166; p. 75 *Ansley*, the first element may be connected with OE *onwist* 'habitation'; p. 93 *Weddington*, perhaps 'wheat farm' or 'farm where divination was practiced'; p. 103 *Shelford*, ME *shere* 'clear' seems to have taken the place of its synonym *shure*; afterwards, *r* became *l* by dissimilation, and the vowel was shortened before the consonant combination; p. 106 bottom, *Mere* is to be derived from *gemære*, not *gemæne*; p. 107, Welsh *cors* originally meant 'reed,' cf. OIr *curchas* 'arundo' and Lat. *carex*; if we have before us the "old Celtic name for the river Swift" the stream must have been named in terms of the reeds by which its course was clogged; p. 110 *Tackford*, here and elsewhere AN influence is too readily assumed; the *t* probably arose in sandhi, after a stop or a voiceless spirant; thus, *at Thackford* would become *at Tackford* by strictly phonetic processes; we get like changes in Icelandic, where AN influence cannot be assumed; p. 114, OE *strudan* and OHG *strudgan* can hardly be cognate forms; p. 121, *Willey*, Ekwall *Dict.* explains this name, without qualification, as 'willow wood' while Gover, Mawer and Stenton with equal confidence give a wholly different explanation! p. 134 *Bascote*, the etymology here is based on one form alone, *Bachecota* 1174, but this form seems to be corrupt; certainly it does not agree with the other forms; p. 140, *Napton*, here again the etymology is based on a single form, and that the latest in date; for a different etymology, see Ekwall, *Studies* of 1936, p. 192; p. 159 *Coundon*, see Ekwall *ib.*, p. 198; p. 190 *Leek*, perhaps from OE *hlecc* 'leaky'; p. 198 f. *Bearley*, this name has not "undergone an entirely irregular phonological development"; the first element seems to have been the OE gen. *byrig*, whence the ME forms in *u*, *e* and *y*; the *e* was lengthened because the syllable was open, and this long vowel was spelt *ea* and *ee* in the modern period; p. 239 *Clopton*, *Shottery*, see Ekwall *ib.* pp. 137, 150; p. 243 *Forewood*, see Ekwall

*ib.* p. 76; p. 248 *Barford*, see Ekwall *ib.* p. 79; p. 266 *Wasperton*, p. 267 *Dassett* and p. 276 *Brailles*, see Ekwall *Dict.*; p. 286 *Wellesbourne*, the "early and persistent *Wel*-forms" may be gen. pl., or is "*Wel*-" a misprint for *Well*-?

Miss Serjeantson has given us a useful historical sketch of the foreign words in the English vocabulary.<sup>5</sup> It differs from previous summary treatments of the subject chiefly in the matter of fulness. We have here a substantial book, packed with good stuff. The material is grouped in chapters, according to the date and source of the loan. Thus, we have a chapter on Latin words before the Norman Conquest, and Appendix A gives a full list of such words. In the appendix the words are classified by date of borrowing and by meaning; in the chapter, by document and author. The various chapters are written in an easy narrative, with much attention to chronology and details of transmission. The loans in Old and Middle English are analysed and documented with astonishing fulness; the loan-words of modern English are perforce given less detailed treatment. I have noted a few small points where the presentation might be improved. The OE poetical codices date from the end of the tenth century (p. 18). *Clerk* is not a French loan (p. 107; see Luick, p. 69); neither is *false* (p. 133). For *spook* (p. 179), see *Place-Name Soc.* XI, 272 f. The author cannot be blamed for following the *NED.*, but in so doing she heavily overweights the French loans at the expense of Latin. The 48-page word index makes it possible to use this book not only as a history but also as a dictionary. The same holds of Mr. Llewellyn's volume,<sup>6</sup> a work not unlike Miss Serjeantson's, but restricted to a single foreign language, and hence with more room for details.

By way of preliminary to a dictionary of Old-Germanic names, Dr. Gutenbrunner has brought out a volume devoted to names of gods and goddesses.<sup>7</sup> He confines himself even more narrowly,

<sup>5</sup> Mary S. Serjeantson, *A History of Foreign Words in English*. Dutton: New York, 1936. Pp. x + 354.

<sup>6</sup> E. C. Llewellyn, *The Influence of Low Dutch on the English Vocabulary* (Publications of the Philological Society XII), Oxford Univ. Press, New York, 1936. Pp. xii + 223. \$3.75. To be noted also is G. N. Clark's *The Dutch Influence on the English Vocabulary* (S. P. E. Tract No. XLIV), Oxford Univ. Press, New York, 1935. Pp. 14. \$0.60.

<sup>7</sup> S. Gutenbrunner, *Die germ. Götternamen der antiken Inschriften*. Niemeyer, Halle, 1936. Pp. xii + 260.

indeed, since he takes up only the classical inscriptions. Within these limits he has done a thorough job, and has provided by far the best account which we have of the matter. I will comment briefly on a few details. *Eorþan modor* (p. 74) means 'earth-mother' rather than 'mother of the earth' (cf. *Beowulf* 2059); it is therefore better printed as one word. With *Sumaronius* (p. 79) compare further Icel. *Sumarliði*. Much's etymology of *Nehalennia* (pp. 81 f., 136) remains dubious, for want of evidence that intervocalic *hw* became *h* so early. The variation *-ena/-ana* is surely due to gradation, not to "weakening" of *a* to *e* (p. 83). The author in citing Irish words (as on p. 118) keeps the acute accent, but in citing Icelandic words he replaces it by a macron. In connexion with *Euthungi* (p. 145), *Eudoses* might have been mentioned, since the two names begin with the same element. In the discussion of Icel. *hamr* (p. 164), the author overlooks OE *hama*. The name *Chuchenehae* (p. 174) is perhaps to be connected with OE *Hugas*. I have noted misprints on pp. 78, 96 and 127. The index might be better.

The new monograph series, *Lund Studies in English*, is now in its fifth volume; it is edited by Prof. Eilert Ekwall. The fact that four of the five volumes come within the field of this survey gives some indication of the vigor with which linguistic studies are followed in Sweden.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Weman limits himself to 18 verbs, together with their compounds; these verbs he studies in detail, with attention to etymology as well as semantic history. Of special interest is his work on the interrelations of the verbs treated. His theory that "for a word to survive in language it must continue to perform a referential function performed by no other word" (p. 11) does not always hold in practice; if it did, synonyms could hardly maintain themselves. It must be granted, of course, that what the author calls "a competition between two or more synonymous expressions" often ends up in the victory of one of the competing words, that is to say, the loss of all the synonyms but one.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. I: B. Weman, *OE. Semantic Analysis and Theory, with special Reference to Verbs denoting Locomotion*, Lund, 1933, pp. 188. Vol. II: H. Bäck, *The Synonyms for "Child, Boy, Girl," in OE, an etymological-semasiological Investigation*, Lund, 1934, pp. 273. Vol. III: *ME Surnames of Occupation, 1100-1350, with an excursus on Toponymical Surnames*, by G. Fransson, Lund, 1935, pp. 217. Vol. V: U. Ohlander, *Studies on Coordinate Expressions in ME*, Lund, 1936, pp. 214.

But this need not happen; thus, in *begin* and *commence* we have two English words which have competed with each other for some centuries, and as yet no end to the conflict is in sight. The author's discussion of the verbs in *ge-* is not altogether satisfactory; he would have profited by a reading of L. Bloomfield's paper in the *Klaeber Studies* (1929), pp. 79 ff. I have noted a misprint on p. 78. Mr. Back, like Mr. Weman, has made a thorough study of the semantic word-group which he chose for investigation. For a detailed examination of his method of attack, see my review in *English Studies* xvii (1935), 225 ff. Here it will be enough to say that, in spite of a certain tendency to reach conclusions contrary to the evidence, he has written a useful book; he provides evidence as well as conclusion, and thereby makes things convenient for the sceptic. In the discussion of OE *umbor* (p. 78), reference ought to have been made to R. Much's article "Ambrones" in Hoops's *Reallexikon*; see also my paper in *Namn och Bygd* xxii (1934), 43. Since the tribal name actually occurs with [umbr-] as well as [ambr-], the etymology which relates *umbor* to the tribal name would seem obviously better grounded than the etymology which the author favors. And what is the evidence that *umbor* was an *s*-stem? Mr. Fransson has examined records relating to ten English counties (Ess, Sx, Ha, So, Wo, St, La, Y, Li, Nf) for the period 1100-1350, and has studied the surnames denoting artisans and dealers that he found in these records; to some extent he has used records of other counties for purposes of comparison. In an excursus (pp. 190-208), he takes up two kinds of "toponymical" surnames: those in *-er* and those in *-man*. The volume is concluded with a list of compound surnames and an index of surnames. We have here a pioneer work in a rich and neglected field; it is to be hoped that this excellent study will lead to further work on the subject and that some day we may have a dictionary of English surnames, based on monographs such as Mr. Fransson's. Another neglected field of study is ME syntax, and here Mr. Ohlander has done good work. His monograph falls into two parts: (1) coordination by means of *and* instead of an exact expression of the logical relation, and (2) a symmetrical coordination. He has brought together a great mass of material and has worked out for it an acceptable system of classification. When however he speaks (p. 9) of "a comparatively undeveloped and



rough-hewn language like ME," I cannot follow him. Syntactically considered, ME is neither undeveloped nor rough-hewn. The peculiarities which the author ascribes to "a certain primitivism of expression" are in fact peculiarities of the colloquial style, and the dominance of this style in ME marks a healthy stage in the history of our tongue, a stage which we have no right to stigmatize as "primitive." The colloquial style has its drawbacks of course, but in this respect it does not differ from other styles.

Miss Stibbe's dissertation is a well ordered, clearly written study<sup>9</sup> of an important and interesting group of words. Unfortunately the author's conclusions are not always sound. Thus, it is true that Sarah and Isaac call Abraham *frea*, but it does not follow that *frea* means 'husband' or 'father' (pp. 3 f.). We must say rather that Abraham was the *frea* 'lord' of Sarah and Isaac by virtue of his headship of the family to which all three belonged. The article on *fæmne* (pp. 82 ff.) may be used to bring out more fully certain weaknesses in the author's method. The etymology of the word is disposed of with a reference to Holthausen's *Wörterbuch*. If we turn thither for enlightenment, we find that Holthausen simply repeats J. Schmidt's (very doubtful) etymology, without the slightest indication of its dubious character and with no hint that other etymologies have been suggested. As it happens, H. Pedersen has printed a full-length article on *fæmne* (in the *Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen*, 1930). Here the various possibilities are discussed in some detail, and a reference to this article was obviously called for, if the author did not choose to present the material herself. Under *meanings* Miss Stibbe rightly puts 'virgin' first. Her second meaning, 'nun,' is based on a single passage in which *fæmnena* (gen. pl.) translates *virginum*; obviously this does not justify setting up the meaning 'nun,' even though the virgins in question were nuns. Her third meaning, 'the Virgin (Mary),' is established by some (not all) of the examples she gives. Her fourth meaning, 'young married woman,' is based on a single passage (*Beowulf* 2034); in this passage, I think, the word in fact means 'virgin' (see *Anglia*

<sup>9</sup> H. Stibbe, "*Herr*" und "*Frau*" und verwandte Begriffe in ihren altenglischen Aequivalenten, *Anglistische Forschungen* lxxx, Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1935. Pp. xvi + 105. RM 4.50.

LVII, 218 ff. and *MP.* xxvii, 257 ff.). Her fifth meaning is "Ehefrau oder 'Frau' im allgemeinen." In support of this meaning she brings forward several examples. I will take up each of them. (1) *Hb* 49. In lines 44-49 of this poem we have a list of those destined to be freed from hell. Eight worthies of old are mentioned by name; others are referred to in more general terms: *monig modig eorl* 45. The rest of the men are taken care of in three groups: patriarchs (*heahfædra fela* 47), heroes (*hælepa gemot* 47) and prophets (*witgena weorod* 48). The catalogue is evidently meant to be complete, and none of the items can properly be taken as mere repetitions (examples of the technic of variation). Next come the women. These fall into two groups: the righteous women of old in general (*wifmonna preat* 48), and the virgins in particular (*fela fæmnena* 49). Finally comes the common herd (*folces unrim* 49). That the virgins are singled out for special mention is only what one would expect, in a religious poem, and Miss Stibbe's effort to oust the virgins from the list is unconvincing; she overlooks the fact that it is a list, not a string of variations. (2) *Hml. Th.* i 14, 24. Here we have a gloss: *virago*, *þæt* is *fæmne*. The *virago* in question is Eve, who has just been created and is without question *virgo intacta*. Moreover, as Miss Stibbe herself notes, a *virago*, properly speaking, was a particular kind of virgin. But the glossator goes on to do some etymologizing. He analyses *virago* into *vir* and *ago*. He equates *vir* with OE *wer* 'man' and *ago* he identifies with the familiar Latin verb, which he takes in the sense 'to plunder.' Eve therefore is called *virago* because she has been plundered or taken (in the shape of a rib) from Adam, her *vir* or man. Since Adam is called Eve's man in this etymological passage, Miss Stibbe concludes that *fæmne* here means 'wife,' not 'virgin.' She forgets two things: first, that *virago*, not *fæmne*, is the word under discussion in the passage, and secondly, that the etymologist neither said nor implied that *virago* meant 'wife.' (3) *Af. El.* 30. Here Miss Stibbe is not sure what *fæmne* means; in such cases it is safer to use the ordinary meaning of the word. (4) *Gen.* 884. Here Eve is the *fæmne*; she has just sinned by eating of the apple, but has as yet gone no further and is presumably still *virgo intacta*. (5) *Gen.* 998. Here again is a reference to Eve at apple-time. (6) *Gen.* 1722. Here the *fæmne* is Sarah, at the time of her marriage, when she was

presumably *virgo intacta*. (7) Gen. 2010. The precise meaning of *fæmne* in this passage cannot be determined with certainty. If *mægð* 2009 means 'people,' one may translate: "the people [of Sodom and Gomorrah], the virgins and the widows, deprived of friends, left [perforce] their place of shelter." No wives are mentioned, presumably because these had all been made widows by the enemy. (8) Gen. 2303. Here, as also in lines 2228 and 2264, the *fæmne* is Hagar, Abraham's concubine and Sarah's handmaiden. In line 2228 she is represented as *virgo intacta*, but in the other two passages she is not a virgin, and here *fæmne* presumably means 'maid' in the sense 'maidservant.' One may conclude that Miss Stibbe has not found a single clear case of the meanings 'Ehefrau' and 'Frau' for OE *fæmne*. See further *English Studies* xvii, 226 f.

Another volume in the same series is Mr. Fettig's study of ME adverbs of degree.<sup>10</sup> The author has done a careful, competent piece of work. He has read many texts and has brought together much material, arranged in four periods: 1100-1250, 1250-1350, 1350-1400 and 1400-1470. He treats his adverbs in two groups: intensives and restrictives. In his "allgemeiner Teil" he traces the history of each group and sets forth its main characteristics; statistics of relative frequency in each of the four periods are duly provided. In his "spezieller Teil" he takes up each adverb in turn, giving the details which were perforce left out of the other Part. The scheme which he followed involved a good deal of repetition, but in spite of this the monograph reads well and must be reckoned successful. Occasionally the author's English might be improved; thus, in his translation of Lag. A 21610 (p. 167), *swiðe* is rendered 'much' instead of 'hard' (i. e. 'strongly'). The long *e* of ME *weel* is not properly called *gedehnt* (p. 185), since it goes back to OE *wēl*. The restrictive use of *most* survives, not only in modern English dialects (p. 200), but in American English generally.

Mr. Thorson has given us Part I of "an inquiry into the Scandinavian elements in the modern English dialects" (to quote the sub-title of his work).<sup>11</sup> Part II will deal with Lowland Scottish.

<sup>10</sup> A. Fettig, *Die Gradadverbien im Mittelenglischen*, *Angl. Forsch.* LXXIX, Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1935. Pp. 8 + 222. RM 11.60.

<sup>11</sup> P. Thorson, *Anglo-Norse Studies*, Amsterdam, N. V. Swets en Zeitlinger, 1936. Pp. xii + 101. Gu. 2.80.

The Part now before us takes up the Scandinavian loan-words in Wright's dialect dictionary and in later vocabularies (those of Gepp, Green, Haigh, Mann and Pease). Most of the book (pp. 20-92) is devoted to three lists of loan-words: (a) provable, (b) probable and (c) uncertain. The first 19 pages give us introductory matter, statistics of the number and geographical distribution of the loans, "semantic implications," phonology and the like. There are also an index and a page of corrections and additions. The author has made a good job of it. He knows his way about in the scientific "literature" of his subject, and handles with competence much baffling material. His English in particular calls for commendation, although I must object to his loose use (p. 7) of the word *race*. His arguments against the derivation of OE *hold* from the Scandinavian (p. 8) are not convincing; a sound-shift  $l\ddot{o} > ld$  is regular enough (see Bülbring, p. 187), and Old Norw. *hauldr* must be old, since according to Noreen the word always has that form in the records (*Gram.*, p. 96). The derivation of ME *bere* 'pillow-case' from ON *ver* is brilliant, but makes serious difficulties, which the author has not taken into account (p. 21). The hypothetical *pilwe-wer*, if subjected to dissimilatory processes, would surely lose its first *w*, not change its second *w* to *b*. Moreover, in OE we find a word *hleor-bera* or *-bere* 'cheek-cover' (*Beowulf* 304) from which ME *bere* can hardly be separated. See my paper in *Medium Ævum* II, 58 f. With *bleak* (p. 21) are to be compared *weak* and *steak*; cf. also *lake* (p. 35). I am sceptical of the Scand. origin of *choop* etc. (p. 23); if *she* comes (as it does) from OE *héo*, then *choop* or *shoop* is derivable from OE *héope*. The initial *t* of *choop* doubtless arose in sandhi. On *gleg* for *cleg* (p. 23), see *MLN*. XLVI, 4. The form *hawby* is not correctly explained (p. 32); ON *-úi* gave ME [ui], whence NE [ai > ai], spelt *y*; this was reduced to [i] by lack of stress. On *lag* (p. 35) see R. J. Menner, *PQ*. x, 166 ff. ME *laif* (p. 35) may go back to OE *láf*; the *i* was a spelling-device to mark the *a* long. In connexion with *naist* (p. 37), NE *nasty* might have been mentioned. *Fay* (p. 60) may be from OE *fágan* 'paint.' The book swarms with misprints; I have noted two on the page of corrections!

Mr. Horwill's dictionary<sup>12</sup> is really a series of short essays; it

<sup>12</sup> H. W. Horwill, *A Dictionary of Modern American Usage*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp. xii + 360. \$3.25.

is obviously modeled on Fowler's *Dict. of Mod. English Usage* (see *MLN.* XLII, 201 f.), but differs from that work in many ways. The author writes well, and his volume makes fascinating reading. He confines himself to words "common to the vocabularies of both England and the United States," and he is concerned to point out differences in usage between the two countries. He illustrates systematically by quotations from American newspapers, periodicals and books. His methods are sound, his tone is usually scientific enough, and his book will be of interest and value to British and Americans alike. I will note here a few matters that struck me as I read. The reference to the derivation of *acclimate* is misleading, and had better be struck out. *Admire* 'be pleased' is dial. in Amer. as in Eng. *Arctics* is now less used than *galoshes* in the sense given. Under *break* such expressions as 'give me a break' and 'he got all the breaks' ought to be included. *Check* vb. 'control, verify' is 17th cent. Eng. *Eleven* 'football team' should be listed. *Faze* vb. is surely Amer. nowadays, though formerly Eng. (*feeze* in *NED.*). *Gallery* 'verandah' should be added. *Impractical* in Amer. does not mean the same thing as *impracticable*. A *jaywalker* is one who crosses a street elsewhere than at an official crossing. Under *lay* the Amer. *lay of the land* ought to be mentioned. *Line* may be used as part of the name of a railway in Amer. *Locomotive* 'kind of college yell' would puzzle the Eng. and ought to be included. It is historically incorrect to say that *most* 'nearly' is an abbrev. of *almost*; in fact, *almost* is an expansion of *most* in this sense. *Rate* vb. 'deserve' is widely used in Amer.; it seems to be derived from nautical slang. The author is mistaken in saying that in Amer. "*rhetoric* has about it no taint of the disreputable." The pron. [raut] for *route* was formerly customary in Eng. and still lingers in milit. circles. To the *scratch* compounds add *scratch paper*. Under *shoot* the meaning 'speak up' might be mentioned. *Squad* does not mean *team*; the team is chosen from the members of the squad. Under *stock* might have been noted the fact that though an Amer. tradesman has a stock of goods he is not said to stock them but rather to keep them (in stock). In New York, *uptown* and *downtown* refer, not to the residence and business districts respectively, but to the northern and southern parts of the city. Similarly of the country as a whole: *up North* and *down South*. Under *turkey* one misses *talk turkey* 'get down to business.' *Uplift* need not "denote an elevat-

ing or inspiring influence." It is more often used in a disparaging sense. Under *velvet* should be included the meaning 'extra profit without extra effort.'

The dissertations of Mr. Friedrich and Mr. Süßkand are both<sup>13</sup> thoughtful pieces of work. Mr. Friedrich first defines his terms (at some length), then refutes with success the theories of Deutschbein, and finally advances his own theory: he links the intensive as an *aktionsart* with the circumflex tone on the auxiliaries *do* and *be*. This may be right, historically at least, but the author goes too far when he finds the same intensive in other verbal forms (p. 49). The *do so* forms (pp. 71 ff.) strike me as possible but doubtful. The cases of iterative *do* which he cites (pp. 43 f.) are actually only examples of emphatic *do*. He refers to writings of Kenyon, Royster and Hittmair on p. 50 and elsewhere, but does not list them in his bibliography. Mr. Süßkand, applying Behaghel's ideas to English, traces the history of the indefinite article from the earliest times to the middle of the thirteenth century. One must object to his monstrous term *neuangelsächsisch* for certain late copies of OE documents in which the copyists have occasionally been guilty of modernization. If these documents are to be given a special name, that name ought to be "modified Old English" or something of the kind. The author protests that his term must not be understood as a period term, but a period term it remains, nevertheless, in virtue of the *neu-* with which it begins. Mr. Süßkand has made a thorough study and analysis of his matter, and we await with interest the continuation which he has promised us.

Mr. Lehnert has studied to good purpose the *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* of John Wallis.<sup>14</sup> His monograph follows conventional lines, but is done with thoroughness and accuracy. Unluckily he did not include the text of the grammar itself. Perhaps he intends to publish this separately. If so, one may hope that he makes the edition of 1699, rather than that of 1653, the basis of his text. Mr. Kenyon has brought out a revised edition

<sup>13</sup> H. Friedrich, *Gibt es eine intensive Aktionsart im Neuenglischen?* [Försters] Beiträge zur engl. Philologie xxxi. Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1936. Pp. 75. RM 3.50. P. Süßkand, *Geschichte des unbestimmten Artikels im Alt- und Frühmittelenglischen*. [Morsbachs] Studien zur engl. Philologie lxxxv. Niemeyer, Halle, 1935. Pp. x + 190. RM 7.

<sup>14</sup> M. Lehnert, *Die Grammatik des englischen Sprachmeisters John Wallis (1616-1703)*. Priebatsch, Breslau, 1936. Pp. x + 156. RM 6.80.

of his well known handbook on American pronunciation.<sup>15</sup> In his Preface he tells us that the present edition (the sixth) "has been entirely rewritten." The changes are chiefly of pedagogical interest; they serve to make the book handier for class-room use. I note with pleasure the author's admirable explanation of the articulation of the stops, earlier less well presented. My new reading of this book leaves me more convinced than ever that the *r*-sounds of English need no such elaborate notation as we find here. The one symbol [r] will suffice for strest and unstrest, vocalic and consonantal variants. Other objections, too, might be raised to this and that. But the author's mastery of the subject is evident, and his book is an excellent job.

Mr. Armour tells us in his Preface that his book<sup>16</sup> was written "to meet the needs of those students who study the history of the English language as part of their English literature course." Of its 20 chapters, only nine deal directly with English; the other 11 are devoted to background material, chiefly Indo-European and Germanic. The author does not seem altogether at home in the subject, and his book, though pleasantly written and attractively printed, cannot be recommended. Sins of commission and omission are too many to be listed here. I will point out a few by way of illustration. The author lists (p. 25) the great Semitists of the past, but omits the greatest of them all, John Lightfoot. He tells us (p. 74) that "there now seems to be no doubt that the runes were inspired by the Greek alphabet." We learn (p. 141) that "the [English] people became bilingual" after the Norman Conquest. The English plural in *s* is derived from French (p. 143). It is a pity that the author did not get some specialist to read through his MS. before publication, if only to guard against howlers. Mr. Noyes's pamphlet likewise suffers from want of expert advice.<sup>17</sup> The author is right enough in saying that "most of the etymological and semantic chains that have been proposed by philologists are highly speculative," but this peculiarity of etymological study makes it the worst possible field for an amateur like

<sup>15</sup> J. S. Kenyon, *American Pronunciation*. George Wahr, Ann Arbor, 1935. Pp. xii + 248. \$1.50.

<sup>16</sup> J. S. Armour, *The Genesis and Growth of English*. New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1935. Pp. xii + 189. \$1.25.

<sup>17</sup> C. R. Noyes, *Etymology of Early Legal Terminology*. New York, Longmans, 1936. Pp. 539-582 of "The Institution of Property."

Mr. Noyes. In collaboration with an Indo-Europeanist, the author might have brought his legal learning to bear on etymological problems to our advantage. As it is, he has achieved little.

The studies of Miss Schubiger and Mr. Saxe deal with certain aspects of British pronunciation.<sup>18</sup> The former describes her work as a monograph, and expresses the hope that it "be a modest contribution to the science of language." In fact, however, it is only an elementary treatise, useful to teachers of English but hardly giving us anything not already known. It is well written and well organized. Mr. Saxe's study, in spite of its title, treats of Cockney pronunciation as reflected in two numbers of *Punch* (Oct. 4 and 11, 1856) and in certain writings of G. B. Shaw; his chief object is to determine to what extent Cockney speech changed during the second half of the nineteenth century. The book is carelessly written and the proof-reading leaves much to be desired. Thus, the list of abbreviations on p. 5 does not include three abbreviations used elsewhere on the same page, and one of the headings on p. 9 reads: "*Charivarian*" *Ortography*. The text is marred by many mistakes of many kinds. Thus, *shewgar* for *sugar* (p. 17) is given as an example of "quality unaffected by spelling juggleries." Such spellings as *saaints* probably reflect the Cockney diphthong, in spite of Mr. Saxe (p. 17). The spelling of *goloshes* (p. 18) is standard, and does not "contain a jocular allusion to *go*." *Scace* for *scarce* (p. 19) is an old form, not a "reformed spelling." The spelling *gurls* (p. 20) marks the vulgar pronunciation with velar rather than palatal [g], and *larf* etc. (p. 20) probably imply a vulgar pronunciation with retracted [a]. Likewise *maw*, *baw* for *more*, *bore* are meant to stigmatize as vulgar the pronunciation with the low vowel, looked down upon in the 1850's, though now general (p. 21). The spelling *ter-wards* for *towards* (p. 22) certainly "denotes stress on the latter syllable" but this stress was anything but "unobjectionable" in the 1850's. One might add indefinitely to this list of errors. This book ought not to have been published in its present state.

Mr. Brooks has studied with success a difficult subject,<sup>19</sup> although

<sup>18</sup> M. Schubiger, *The Role of Intonation in Spoken English*. Cambridge, Heffer, 1935. Pp. vi + 74. 6s. J. Saxe, *Bernard Shaw's Phonetics*, Copenhagen, Levin & Munksgaard, 1936. Pp. 86. Kr. 6.

<sup>19</sup> C. Brooks, *The Relation of the Alabama-Georgia Dialect to the Provincial Dialects of Great Britain*. Baton Rouge, La. State Univ. Press, 1935. Pp. xii + 91.



he has not said the last word on it—has only made a beginning, indeed. His Georgia-Alabama dialect material is drawn almost wholly from L. W. Payne's "Word-List" and J. C. Harris's *Uncle Remus* stories. He compares this material with that brought together in Wright's *EDD* and *EDG* and in various other sources of information about British dialects, and concludes that the Georgia-Alabama dialect goes back largely to the southwest of England. The evidence which he brings forward is good, so far as it goes. Much more material needs to be collected and compared, however, if we are to come to definite conclusions. I add a few comments on sundry details. Under head 17 (p. 17), *ear* and *here* might have been considered. The vowel in *bring* etc. (p. 18), is [e:], or, better, [ei]. The form *tit* (p. 20) is no shortening, but goes back to OE *titt*. The spelling *faut* (p. 27) hardly means [faʊt]. The [u:] of *up* (p. 28) may be original. The forms listed under head 48 (p. 33) in some cases, at least, are explicable as having developed from a short or shortened *e* followed by *r* final. The statements about the Charlestonian *wh* on pp. 41 and 42 are contradictory. Against *here* (p. 43), the well known southern [hje] might have been mentioned, and compared with British [hjɜ:]. The palatalized *n* indicated by the spelling *gnyaw* (p. 44) presumably arose in the pret. *gnew*; the *y*-spellings in *dyar* etc. indicate a palatalized pronunciation of the consonant. A final *l* might develop in Scots (p. 46) by hypercorrectness, since it was often lost in that dialect. Under head 72 (p. 47), *barrel* shows no metathesis; *thash* is from *thrash*, not *thresh*; the loss of *r* in *shrimp* wants further study. The *m*-form of *rosin* may be compared with *vellum* (p. 48). I am at a loss to account for the author's statement (p. 62) that initial [h] "disappeared in the standard language toward the end of the eighteenth century." I have noted misprints on pp. 46 and 74.

During his last years the lamented Arnold Schröer was working on a new English-German dictionary, and thanks to the piety of Dr. P. L. Jaeger, who undertook the task of editing his master's *nachlass*, the dictionary has now begun to appear.<sup>20</sup> The first instalment gives every indication that the hand of the veteran lexicographer had not lost its cunning. Especially praiseworthy are

<sup>20</sup> M. M. A. Schröer, *Englisches Handwörterbuch*. Lieferung 1: A-Appertain. Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1936. Pp. xvi + 64. RM 2.25.

the typographical devices which serve to classify the entries and to distinguish important from unimportant. Pronunciation is marked much as in the old Grieb-Schröer—a feature which some will regret, but others will welcome. I see no need of different symbols for the vowels of *law* and *war*; on the other hand, there ought to be a symbol for the old-fashioned pronunciation of “long o” before *r*, a pronunciation still widespread in America and elsewhere, though dying or dead in southern England. Schröer’s system of notation fails us also if we distinguish in pronunciation between *mayor* and *mare*. We could make shift, it is true, if his system were phonemic, but it is actually phonetic, as befits a work in which the niceties of pronunciation must be recorded. The system works well enough, however, for standard London English, and beyond this Schröer apparently had no wish to go. According to the title-page, the dictionary takes account of American speech, but this no doubt refers to meanings only. Proper names are systematically included—a valuable and welcome feature. All in all, if we may judge by the first instalment, this dictionary will do good service. During the period of this survey, only one new volume of the great Danish dictionary has come out.<sup>21</sup> This volume, like its predecessors, is an ornament to linguistic scholarship and a worthy example of lexicographical work.

The second volume of the Kurath-Curme English grammar is now out.<sup>22</sup> Vol. III, devoted to syntax, appeared in 1931 (see *MLN*. XLVI, 425 ff.). Vol. I has yet to appear. Mr. Curme is to be congratulated upon the completion of so substantial and useful a work, after so many years of study and research. In some ways the second volume is better than the third. Thus, the author takes a decidedly less hostile attitude to colloquial speech. His weakness in the phonetic department remains, however, and leads him now and then into difficulties. The pronunciation *ast* for *asked* is not only “heard in dialect” (p. 273) but may safely be called the normal pronunciation of the form. The *gots* of “I got good news” (p. 321) is explicable as a contracted form of *got us*, though of course the author’s explanation may be the right one; an unam-

<sup>21</sup> *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, XVI. Bind: Overgaa-Præsidium. Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1936. Pp. 729.

<sup>22</sup> G. O. Curme, *Parts of Speech and Accidence*. Boston, D. C. Heath, 1935. Pp. xvi + 370. \$3.50.

biguous example should have been given. Similarly, the *is* of "is you seed . . ." (p. 322) may be merely a weak variant of *has*. The explanation of *an't* (p. 248) is a distressing howler. The usual Southern contraction of *you all*, namely, *y'all*, is not mentioned (p. 152), while the unusual *you 'll* is made much of. The author does not always properly distinguish between literary and colloquial usage. When he calls *anywhere* etc. literary (p. 18), it is perhaps unreasonable to object, although these words are common in the colloquial style as well, but when he contrasts colloquial *don't* 3s. with literary *doesn't* (p. 252) he is surely misusing his terms; both these forms are colloquial, and the literary form is *does not*. I am more than sceptical of the colloquial character of the (to my feeling) formal phrase *of which* (p. 165); see *MLN.* XLVI, 430. I will comment briefly on a few more details. The illustration "the Germans are industrious" (p. 2) is unhappy, since here the article may be omitted without change of meaning. The quotation from Chaucer (p. 26) is inaccurately translated. The warning, "be careful to use *every* and *each* properly" (p. 52; cf. p. 67), is out of place in a scientific treatise. *Heartens* (p. 65) is wrongly included in a list of verbs formed from adjectives. In defining *accidence* as "the study of the inflection and order of words," the author has extended the meaning of this term beyond its proper limits. OE æ (p. 137) ought to be printed as a digraph, not as two letters. The author's remarks on ME (pp. 139 and 144) are highly misleading, not to say mistaken. I am sceptical of the explanation given for the gender of *ship* (p. 139). The idiomatic singular illustrated from Bryce and Mandeville (p. 163) is far older; see *Beowulf* 1407. The use of *modern* (p. 172, bottom) in the sense 'analytic' is loose and objectionable. It will not do to say that the so-called prop-word *one* is "an inflectional ending of the adjective" (p. 181). It is in fact a pronoun. Only *elder* is used (p. 186) to translate Greek *presbyter*. The word *Chinese* is both sg. and pl.; *Chinaman* has a derogatory sense (p. 194 f.). In such expressions as *I done tell* (p. 210), the *done* may mean 'finished' whence *done told* 'already told.' The author's treatment of aspect (pp. 232 ff.) might be criticized in various ways. The most serious weakness of the volume, however, grows out of the author's failure to distinguish sharply and systematically between morphology and syntax. Much of the present volume is

syntactical, and simply repeats what had already been said in Vol. III.

The volume by Messrs. Scott, Carr and Wilkinson<sup>23</sup> falls into two distinct parts. Part One, "Language," may be described as an introduction to general linguistics; of its 11 chapters, only one is devoted to English, although the illustrative material is largely English throughout. Part Two, "Word Formation in English," takes up first the more important prefixes and suffixes (classified as Latin, Greek and Germanic) and secondly a selected group of derivatives from Latin and Greek. A well-chosen bibliography is given on p. 378. The volume is well written and ought to prove useful. If a new edition ever comes out, however, a number of mistakes in the present edition might with profit be corrected. I will mention here a few out of many (all in Part One). P. 18, *Mittagsessen* could do without its first *s*. P. 36, the semantic history of *silly* is unsatisfactory. P. 38, *knight* first meant 'boy.' P. 42, *jail* goes back to OF and ME *jaiole*. Pp. 49, 67, 80, at this late date it is astonishing to find *Old English* used in the sense 'Middle English.' P. 53, *r* should be added to the list of syllabic consonants. Pp. 55 f., the authors contend that stops cannot be prolonged (a position to which their use of the term *continuant* commits them); they fail to mention the fact that long stops as well as short exist in many languages. P. 67, *opm* for *open* is not "careless speech" but normal speech. P. 68, *German* is here misused in the sense *Germanic*. P. 81, *-in* probably is as old as *-ing* (if not older); we therefore ought not to speak of substitution but rather of competition between two old forms. P. 82, it looks odd to see *a* described as a front vowel. P. 85, Irish dialect does not pronounce *feet* as *fate* and *see* as *say*. P. 87, the section on interchange of diphthongs had better be left out. P. 88, it is hardly right to say that "the accent of English words is so irregular that rules or general principles are of little importance." P. 89, it is not true that "in the oldest forms of English all nouns and adjectives and also verbs derived from nouns and adjectives had the accent on the first syllable." P. 99, here the authors treat OE *stāne* as an acc. form, though not on p. 96; again, on p. 100 they treat *stānas* as a gen. pl. P. 103, for *entirely* (line 11) substitute

<sup>23</sup> H. F. Scott, W. L. Carr and G. T. Wilkinson, *Language and its Growth*. Chicago, Scott Foresman, 1935. Pp. x + 389. \$2.00.

at all. P. 147, here and elsewhere the authors overestimate the influence of literature on language—a mistake which comes of interpreting the past in terms of the present. P. 167, the English language had no Celtic period. P. 169, *English* is not derivable from “an original form, *Angle-isc*.” P. 171, of the word-pairs here listed, only *shirt / skirt* hits the mark. It is not true that English “differs widely from the other Germanic languages in the extent to which it has discarded inflections.” Danish in some particulars has gone even further than English here.

Mr. Zipf's ambitious and important book <sup>24</sup> may be described as a sketch, in somewhat popularized form, of the results obtained and obtainable by an application of the technic of quantitative measurements (or statistics) to the study of linguistic phenomena. The volume has as its sub-title “An Introduction to Dynamic Philology.” In a footnote (p. 6) the author tell us, “The term *Dynamic Philology* is preferable to *Dynamic Linguistics* because the former avoids the implication that our aims and methods are restricted to those reflected in the achievements of the latter.” In other words, Mr. Zipf insists on his independence of linguistics. Elsewhere (*Language* XIII, 69) he describes his kind of research as “the Galilean determination of the conditions which bring forth [linguistic] events” (by *conditions* he seems to mean cause; by *events*, effect), whereas linguistics is concerned with “the Aristotelian enumeration of characteristics of classification.” The distinction is real enough, but does not answer to any distinction between philology and linguistics. As a scientific discipline, philology is devoted to the determination and interpretation of literary texts (see my paper in the *English Journal*, coll. ed., xvii, 311 ff.). In popular usage, *philology* is practically equivalent to *etymology*. Everywhere the philologist is primarily concerned with meaning(s), and Mr. Zipf himself points out (p. 48) that “meaning or meanings do not lend themselves to quantitative measurement.” We are forced to conclude that in making his discipline a branch of philology he has made a mistake; *philology* is a name of maximum unsuitability for Mr. Zipf's activities, and it is to be hoped that he will exchange it for something better. His *dynamic* seems to have been inspired by Mr. R. S. Woodworth, the psychologist,

<sup>24</sup> G. K. Zipf, *The Psycho-Biology of Language*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1935. Pp. xii + 336. \$3.50.

who uses it in the same sense (i. e. with reference to cause and effect). This adjective, prefixed to the term *linguistics*, strikes me as meeting the need for a distinctive name, and the author was ill advised in rejecting this name. The views expressed in the present work are essentially the same as those set forth in his earlier work on relative frequency in language (for which see *MLN.* XLVIII, 394 f.), but his presentation of the material and the argument is greatly improved, and he makes out a more plausible case. The present volume is also broader in scope, and contains much new matter. In spite of Mr. Zipf's declaration of independence, this book belongs to the linguistic field and all linguists will do well to give it careful study. I add a few notes on sundry details. P. 34, the author is wrong about potatoes in the South. P. 53, the statement that the [k] of *call* falls between that of *keel* and that of *cool* is surely wrong. P. 56, bottom, the *t* of *stone* is often if not regularly aspirated. P. 66, footnote, I cannot accept the explanation given for long *a* in *exactus*; in all likelihood *gt* first became *gkt* and then *g* was lost with compensatory lengthening of *a*. P. 78, the statistics on Icelandic here mentioned seem to be worthless, as the statistician has taken the Icelandic acute accent as a sign of length! Pp. 92 f., the initial sounds in OE *cn-*, *gn-*, *wr-* were not lost, so far as I know, until modern times. P. 125, the sound-change *t > þ* can hardly be called abbreviatory. P. 169, *homo* is out of place here. P. 190, the *t* in *slept* is wrongly called a "complete morpheme." Pp. 226, 260, the presumption that the first human speech was "predominantly positional (and non-inflected)" is a speculation hoary with age but hardly justified. P. 231, *the* qualifies *house* only, unless *white house* be taken as one word. P. 239 footnote, the sense here given to *predicate* is not that of the grammar school teacher. P. 243, inversion is far older than the author supposes, and if it ever served to intensify it did so in prehistoric times. The author's English is not always idiomatic; see pp. 7, 32, 89, 108, 114, 144, 159, 160, 168, 190, 228.

I will conclude this survey with brief mention of two works in which linguistics is approached from the psychological side.<sup>25</sup> The two books are strikingly different. Father Reichling shows a

<sup>25</sup> A. Reichling, *Het Woord*, Berkhout, Nijmegen, 1935, pp. xii + 460, f. 4.90; A. F. Bentley, *Behavior, Knowledge, Fact*, Principia Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 1935, pp. xii + 391.

mastery of the "literature" of the subject and is evidently at home in linguistic science. His sub-title, "een studie omtrent de grondslag van taal en taalgebruik," gives at once his conclusion, namely, that the *word* is the basis of speech and the fundamental linguistic tool. It is pleasant to read his tribute to American linguistic scholarship (p. 349); unluckily he knew Bloomfield's *Language* in its first edition only. Mr. Bentley has much to say about linguistics, but seems unacquainted with it as a scientific discipline. His book has practically nothing to give to the student of language, whatever its value for workers in kindred disciplines.

KEMP MALONE

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## REVIEWS

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*Volkssprache und Wortschatz des Badischen Frankenlandes, dargestellt auf Grund der Mundart von Oberschefflenz* VON EDWIN ROEDDER. The Modern Language Association of America, New York, N. Y., 1936 (General Series).

Spät, aber dafür umso schneller und sprunghafter hat sich die Mundartenforschung, die jüngste Tochter der Sprachforschung, entwickelt. Die Grundlage dazu bildeten die sogenannten Junggrammatiker, mit J. Winteler und F. Kauffmann an der Spitze. Dazu gesellte sich sehr bald Bremers 'Relative Chronologie.' Lesiak betonte die Unterabteilungen der Mundarten und verwies auf die vielen Zwischentöne. Wenker, Wrede, Frings und Maurer schufen sodann die Sprachgeographie. Die Wortgeographie und Kulturmorphologie der Gegenwart endlich wurden von der Bonner und Marburger Schule ins Leben gerufen und bemuttert. Wer also eine gediegene Arbeit auf dem Gebiete der Mundarten leisten will, muss vielen zeitgemässen Anforderungen genügen und von einer hohen Warte aus seine Betrachtungen anzustellen fähig sein. So nimmt es denn auch nicht wunder, dass Roedders Werk eine Sammelarbeit von Jahrzehnten darstellt und den stattlichen Umfang von 606 Seiten aufweisen kann, ja sogar muss. Dabei stellt dieser Band nur die sprachliche Seite des gesamten Werkes dar. Der geschichtliche und kulturelle Teil wurde in einem vorausgehenden Bande behandelt (*Das südwest-deutsche Reichsdorf in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Lahr i. B. 1928). Das Buch behandelt die südfränkische Mundart des badischen Frankenlandes,

also das Gebiet zwischen Jagst, Main, Odenwald und Tauber, nahe der Scheidelinie zwischen dem ost- und rheinfränkischen Sprachgebiet. Mit ersterem stimmt es im Stande der Lautverschiebung, mit letzterem eher in den Vokalen überein. Das sprachliche Problem, das damit aufgerollt wird und das nur vom Gebiete sich kreuzender Sprachtendenzen her angegriffen werden könnte, ist, ob hier ein Penetrationsdialekt vorliegt, so wie dies in den letzten Jahrhunderten in manchen deutschen Sprachinseln in Jugoslawien der Fall ist.

Ein geschichtliches Kapitel "Grundsätzliches zur Mundartforschung" wird einleitend dem Buche vorausgestellt. Wer Sinn und Liebe für das Leben und Weben der deutschen Sprache hat, die ja aus den Mundarten neues Blut stetig zugeführt bekommt und deshalb im Gegensatz zu anderen Sprachen kraftstrotzend und vollblütig in die Zukunft sieht, wer endlich in den Mundarten nicht allein die 'Milchkuh' für die Schriftsprache sieht, sondern sie als ureigene Verkörperung der heimatlichen Scholle betrachtet, der wird dem Verfasser für diesen Umriss der Entwicklung der Mundartforschung von Altmeister Schmeller bis zur Gegenwart dankbar sein. Mit beneidenswertem Optimismus, den zu teilen nicht jedem gegönnt sein wird, sieht er trotz feindlicher Schulsprache, Rundfunks und Lichtspieltheaters zuversichtlich in die Zukunft der Mundarten. Diese Zukunft wird wohl nicht zuletzt von der Einstellung der deutschen Landesregierungen zu Volkstum und Volkssprache bestimmt werden. Mit besonderer und berechtigter Schärfe wendet sich Roedder gegen die nicht nur lieblose, sondern auch stark anfechtbare Auffassung eines "Gesunkenen Kulturgutes," wie sie von den Naumann-Anhängern aus einer unrichtigen Auffassung mittelalterlicher Zustände heraus vorgebracht wurde. Es wäre nur zu wünschen dass diese kleine, aber gediegene Abhandlung als Einzeldruck der Allgemeinheit zugänglich gemacht werden könnte.

Nach einigen einführenden Kapiteln über frühe Besiedelung, Vermischung, Sprachtendenzen, Sprachvermischung und Sprachschichten bietet uns Roedder eine Lautlehre mit der üblichen, erprobten Einteilung (Artikulationsbasis, Akzente, Näsels (biogenetisch!), Vokale, Konsonanten usw.). Sehr reich ist die Wortlehre, die als besonderen Wert auch alle Gewann-, Haus-, Hof-, Tauf- und Rufnamen enthält, die Verarbeitung der Fremdwörter behandelt, ja sogar das Apothekerlatein und das Mauscheln bespricht. Wenn man dann zu den ausgedehnten Kapiteln über die Diminutiva kommt, wird es einem erst recht bewusst, wie unendlich reich die Mundarten gegenüber der Hochsprache dastehen. Erst in der Mundart kann sich die deutsche Seele vollständig ausdrücken. Dies zeigt sich auch im folgenden Teil, der Wortfügung, die sehr ausführlich behandelt ist.

Von besonderem Werte sind die—Gott sei Dank—sehr zahlreichen Textproben, die alle in phonetischer Überschreibung wieder-



gegeben sind. Da haben wir die bekannten Wenkerschen Sätze, Proben aus den achtziger Jahren, Vergleiche der Mundart mit ungefähr zwanzig anderen Mundarten, ja sogar mittelhochdeutschen und niederdeutschen. Dass dazu ein feines Fingerspitzengefühl gehört, den Text in verändertem Lautstand, Wortgebrauch, Wortstellung und Satzbau aufs Neue zu schaffen, glaubt man gerne; nur ein Sohn dieser Mundart durfte sich dessen unterfangen.

Das Wörterbuch, allein schon ein lobenswertes Unternehmen mit Hinsicht auf das badische Wörterbuch, enthält in phonetischer Umschreibung fast 12000 Wörter und führt auch, *mirabile dictu*, die *verba pudenda* auf, die in den meisten Arbeiten aus falscher Scham oder Unkenntnis verschwiegen wurden. Man wird dem Verfasser auch dankbar sein müssen für die neue Art der Erfassung des Wortschatzes, die den Wortschatz nur mehr nach Wortgruppen behandelt, wobei also Tätigkeiten, wie Essen, Trinken, Schlafen usw. zusammenfassend behandelt werden.

Nicht unvermerkt soll es bleiben, dass Roedder, ein bekannter Bärenbeisser aller Fremdwörter, es fertig brachte ein Buch und noch dazu eine Grammatik von 600 Seiten zu schreiben, in der durchgehend das deutsche Wort gegenüber dem Fremdwort gebraucht wird. Man freut sich über treffende Verdeutschungen wie z. B. Zwielaute, Fliess- und Zitterlaute (sicher besser als Liquiden), Zeigefürwort, Wortfügung (Syntax), Selbstlautausfall (Synkope), Selbstlautabfall (Apokope), abgezogene Begriffe, Schatzhaus und Folge (Klasse), wenn ihm auch gelegentlich Konsonantismus und Vokalismus unterläuft.

Ausser einigen unbedeutenden Druckfehlern lässt sich über dieses Buch nichts Nachteiliges sagen. Es ist ein gründliches Werk, das den leider meist schwachbrüstigen Doktorarbeiten ähnlichen Stils in seinem gereiften Urteil und gediegenen Wissen als willkommenes Vorbild dienen muss. Roedders Buch muss seiner glücklichen Anlage und des reichen Materials wegen (welche Mundartbeschreibung behandelte bisher 12000 Wörter auf 600 Seiten?) als Muster deutscher Dialektbeschreibung gelten. Da Roedder dem amerikanischen Gelehrtenkreise angehört, dürfen wir in diesem Lande besonders stolz auf dieses Buch ein. Dank schulden wir nicht zuletzt der *Modern Language Association* für dieses erste Werk, das in edlem Wettbewerb die kontinentale deutsche Mundartforschung auf ihrem eignen Gebiete zu schlagen scheint. *Vivant sequentes et in Germania, et in 'terra Dei propria'!*

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CARL SELMER

*Gottfried Keller Bibliographie 1844-1934.* Von CHARLES C. ZIPPERMANN. Mit einem Geleitwort von William Guild Howard. Einführung von Bayard Q. Morgan. Zürich, 1935. Pp. 227.

*The Revision of C. F. Meyer's 'Novellen': An Interpretation of the Variants between the Texts of the 'Deutsche Rundschau' and of the Book.* By RICHARD TRAVIS HARDAWAY. The University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, 1936. Pp. iii, 77.

*Women in the Life and Art of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer.* By LENA F. DAHME. Columbia University Press, New York, 1936. Pp. viii, 420.

Zippermann's Keller bibliography is a welcome addition to those already at the disposal of the student of German literature, which now include, among recent authors, the one for Gerhart Hauptmann (up to 1921), that for Thomas Mann (up to 1925), and the beginnings of one for Rainer Maria Rilke. How long shall we be compelled to wait for that for Conrad Ferdinand Meyer? The first attempt at a Meyer bibliography in 1932 was so full of errors that it fortunately ceased to appear. Another was announced later but nothing has been heard since of its further progress. Is this undertaking also to be left to some scholar in this country?

The main value of such compilations lies in their preventing scholars, if they take the trouble to consult them, from announcing to the world with blare of trumpets discoveries which had already been made known some twenty years before. This has occurred twice recently in the case of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer. Let us hope that Mr. Zippermann's labors will make such things impossible for students of Gottfried Keller. The accuracy and completeness of his work can only be judged by Keller specialists.

Dr. Hardaway's purpose is to "present and interpret the variants between the text of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer's *Novellen* published in the *Deutsche Rundschau* and the final book version"—a theme bristling with difficulties for the non-German student, presupposing, as it does, a feeling for the language in the finest nuances of expression; including a thorough knowledge of Meyer's usage as exemplified throughout all his works; and, finally, lending itself to over-subjective interpretation. On the whole, one may say that the author has performed his task well because he has attacked the problem conservatively. No two individuals would agree as to the wisdom of his choice of examples.

The following points might be noted as to detail: "Kusterin" (p. 2) is a typically Swiss form. Meyer's remarks (p. 5) as to the haste with which *Die Hochzeit* was written, must be taken with a grain of salt and do not explain the many changes in the text

of that work. The comment (p. 6) on the coolness of Meyer's characters is, unsubstantiated, out of place in the context. Is "bigamously" (p. 8) the correct word when a marriage "non consummata est?" One can still find (p. 13) traces of dialect in the final version of Meyer's works; cf. the so often misunderstood passage in the *Amulett*: "eine fast schreckliche Weise," where the "fast" is clearly the Swiss usage for "sehr"; or "ennetbirgisch" in *Plautus*; and many others. "Briefchen" (p. 14) can hardly be called a Swiss diminutive. For the use of "zuhalten" cf. modern German "Zuhälter." Meyer's German readers considered this use of "zuhalten" for "zudenken" as incorrect German. "Ausweichen" may be found with the accusative elsewhere in Meyer. For the change (p. 16) of "weil" to "dass" cf. the passage (p. 35) where the change is not made. Punctuation (p. 26) in Meyer is a ticklish subject. As the author notes, it is difficult to state who was responsible for spelling and punctuation. At least, as the *Hutten* shows, such things did not worry Meyer much. The other changes on this page are not of much significance. The same statement is true of those on p. 28. The "passten" (p. 29) is no doubt the shortened form of "aufpassen." The whole subject of the simple for the compound verb in Meyer needs a special study. Cf. *Page*, "etwas gestossen" for "abgestossen," and many others. "Heute Nacht" (p. 32) is certainly not ambiguous in the context. The use of "bald" (p. 36) is common enough but would perhaps suit a conversational passage better. "Auf das Herz" (p. 37) is by all means the more common expression; cf. "Hand aufs Herz." Why is "garstige" more precise? The figurative use of "von" (p. 38) is more characteristic of Meyer than the "bei." The next change is a poor one and rather naively explained. Does one say in modern German: "Er sass da in Nachthemd" or "im Nachthemd?" Was the exclamation mark (p. 48) Meyer's own? Is "vor dem anderen" (p. 51) an adverbial or a plain prepositional phrase after "sich zieren?" Is the "doch" (p. 53) of the first passage less of an adverbial particle than that of the second? For p. 54 see comment on p. 29. This colloquial, almost slangy, use of "nobel" (p. 58) suits the humble peasant girl better than the more bookish "gütig." The foreign element played no rôle. Meyer must have felt the slangy element. What could be more prosaic with regard to eating than "genoss" (p. 61)? It may be, of course, that the word in Meyer's day had not degenerated to its present colloquial usage; cf. "Das Fleisch ist nicht zu geniessen." One of Meyer's contemporary German critics considered "nahm Speise" as more French than German. In the first passage (p. 63) it is not a matter of the future meaning of "beneiden," but rather an intensification of expression: "We'll see to it that other cities envy us." Since when has "anerboren" been in good usage? It is probably a hybrid form from "anerzogen." "Angeboren" and "anertzogen" are so often used together

that the new form was readily coined. It looks like Meyer's own, just as his "Beihälterin" in the *Page* is a hybrid formation from "Beischläferin" and "Zuhälterin." The author might also have given us some examples of Meyer's peculiar expressions for the unreal and ideal conditional, which he sometimes changed to bring them closer to the normal usage. It should be especially mentioned that some of the changes noted do not appear in the first book editions. Finally, did sentence rhythm, that most important element in any such study as this, play no rôle in Meyer's revisions? Numerous misprints have been noted, which are at the author's disposal if desired.

After two careful readings of Dr. Dahme's book this reviewer has been compelled to come to the conclusion that it is but the "reductio ad absurdum" of that type of literary study and criticism which denies to an author all power of imagination and all creative art and insists upon identifying each and every one of his characters with some individual, regardless of how obscure and unimportant he or she may have been, whom the author had known in his lifetime. We enter "das Reich des Unausführbaren und Schimärischen" and finally arrive at all sorts of improbabilities, impossibilities, and absurdities.

One brief example will suffice to show the fundamental basis upon which the whole book has been constructed. In *Die Richter* Wulfrin comes to Malmort at Stemma's summons and finds there his supposed sister, Palma novella, with whom he presently falls passionately in love. The younger individual, Palma, entertains the same feelings for him, although in her youth and innocence she is not as aware as he of their true nature. Out of this perfectly logical and quite natural situation, which may even be called hackneyed and which also did not require the art of Meyer to formulate, Dr. Dahme deduces the fact that such a relationship existed between Meyer and his sister. Emmel had already claimed this unprovable discovery as part of "das deutsche Antlitz" of Meyer. Dr. Dahme's reasoning, which she considers far superior to that of Emmel, is characteristic of the school of which she is an adherent: "The very fact that Meyer found it appropriate to portray this eroticism proves conclusively (!) enough that it was grounded in personal experience." All ye who have treated this theme, from Ovid to Frank Thiess, arise and defend yourselves! Frau Stemma inherited her conscience from Frau Betsy, although we doubt whether the latter would have been flattered by the comparison. "The conflict in Frau Stemma's agonized soul is a portrayal of Frau Betsy's mental state at that time, when nerve-shattered and distraught, she branded herself as the murderess of Mallet, a great sinner, and beyond all heavenly mercy." Even her mother love Stemma must borrow from Frau Betsy. Mathilde Escher furnishes her with her administrative abilities; Helene

Druskowitz, with her statuesque presence. That charming creature, Palma novella, is a "ragout" of Betsy, Meyer's sister, from whom is derived her love for her brother, and Johanna Spyri, from whom comes her love of the mountains and the outdoor life. And then the final shiver: "The life of Frau Stemma and her secret is Meyer's poetic treatment of Caroline Bauer's long misery on her villa Broelberg." That notorious individual, of whom we know that Meyer considered her a great liar, also had to come to his help for the portrayal of those simple characters, Gustel and Corinna, of the *Page*. Such, then, is the final dissolution of a story which we had always considered among Meyer's greatest, being surpassed only by *Der Heilige* and *Pescara*.

It will be noted in the quotations given above that the author leaves no room for debate or discussion. Her conclusions are announced with the finality of inspiration. Predecessors are swept aside with a graceful gesture. Here we really find the last word to be said on the subject.

One scarcely trusts one's eyes when one reads that Meyer's greatest creation, *Der Heilige*, is based upon the life of an obscure Swiss clergyman, whom the author has resurrected for us in order to prove the consistency of her theories. That individual left the State for the Church, and had a daughter who died young. *Ergo*, here is the model for Thomas à Becket. Poor Schadau cannot visit Gasparde at Chatillon's house and join in the family meal without Meyer having sat at Vulliemin's table with Alexandrine Marquis. Another *ergo*. Alexandrine is Gasparde, or is it the other way round?

In her passionate defense of Meyer's mother (it reads as if based upon personal experience), the author characteristically states: "The verdict of condemnation pronounced by Meyer's critics on Frau Betsy's motherhood is the result of a superficial or fragmentary consideration of these interrelated factors" (family history and environment). And this in spite of Lusser's detailed and conclusive study! By what processes of logical reasoning it can be deduced from the evidence at hand that Frau Betsy and her son "found each other," is beyond our comprehension. "The stigma of a seven months' stay in an asylum" was due to Frau Betsy's lamentations among her friends and Meyer's bitterness on this score can be readily understood, although the author twists the evidence in favor of his mother and against Meyer himself. Frau Betsy was a pathological nature from the death of her husband on and was much more interested in saving her son's soul than in providing for his future. In fact, for her the two concepts coincided. Lack of space forbids a more detailed discussion of this subject, but we may add that Dr. Dahme has offered nothing to invalidate Lusser's conclusion that "Meyers Mutter ein Haupthindernis zur Künstlerschaft des Sohnes bildete."

In conclusion, the author has given a series of interesting pen

pictures of the women with whom Meyer was more or less acquainted, although practically nothing new has been added to our knowledge of the more prominent ones among them. Her vivid imagination—a quality which she denies to Meyer himself—has led her into picturing Conrad Ferdinand as a more ardent lover than we ever had imagined him to be. Clelia Weydmann was no doubt the “grande passion” of his life and the only one. And yet the author knows that *Sehnsucht ist Qual* refers to Alexandrine Marquis and that Meyer had “suffered torments of soul due to his infatuation” for her. A saving sense of humor prevents her from following Frau Betsy and most of Meyer’s critics in taking the jovial affair with Constance von Rodt seriously. Caroline Bauer and Helene Druskowitz played but very minor rôles in Meyer’s life. The former, for whom he had little respect, chanced to be his neighbor. His relations with the latter were based upon his friendship with Louise von François and his weakness in not being able to say “No” when asked to do a favor. They “undoubtedly, and conclusively” played no part in his life as a literary artist.

ROBERT BRUCE ROULSTON

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*The Tyranny of Greece over Germany, a study of the influence exercised by Greek art and poetry over the great German writers of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.* By E. M. BUTLER, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1935. Pp. xi + 351. 15s.

Miss Butler intends to prove that Greek art, interpreted by Winckelmann as the expression of noble simplicity and serene greatness and established by him as the pattern of every art, was fatal for the life and works of Goethe, Schiller and Hölderlin (p. 7). Winckelmann’s dogma, attacked by Lessing and altered by Herder, was eventually overcome by Heine who was the first to recognize the tragic element in Greek paganism; “by exploding the mine of relativity he razed Mount Olympus to the ground” (p. 299). This conception of a tragic and consequently of a Dionysiac moment as significant for the Greeks was destructive to later German literature and thinking, in Nietzsche and George, as is briefly shown in the last chapter of the book.

Wherein consists the destruction brought about by the Greek example? Miss Butler contends that there is an annihilation of creative power by it: “Goethe . . . could have achieved a more signal triumph, had he given the reins to his creative genius and trusted it entirely” (p. 87), had he not, in following the dogma of

Winckelmann and fighting against himself, "misplaced his heroism" (p. 90). I do not see the value of such considerations. I entirely agree with Miss Butler's general statement which, however, is not taken into account in her detailed study that "idly one wonders what other and perhaps greater works the German genius might have produced had it never been deflected from its natural course by the magnetic south" (p. 334). This, no one can tell. Yet for Miss Butler the essential dilemma in the case for and against German Hellenism is whether one "would be willing to sacrifice Hölderlin's poems and his Empedocles for the unknown children of Goethe's native genius who never saw the light of day," and this dilemma is incapable of solution (p. 334). I cannot argue either about Miss Butler's assumption that Schiller "had solved the problem of guilt and fate at last"; that "the completion of this tragedy (Demetrius) would have placed him upon the pinnacle of his dreams. But it was not to be. Fate allowed him to go thus far and no farther. He was guilty of the sin of hybris in setting himself up against the Greeks" (p. 199/200). I am not prepared to decide whether Schiller's death was a penalty to be paid for his contest with the Greeks. Finally Miss Butler states: "The immediate cause or the first symptom of Hölderlin's collapse was, I believe, the command he received at the eleventh hour to transfer his allegiance from the Gods of Greece returning in all their ancient glory to the son of man called Christ" (p. 238). This, again, I do not dare to decide.

Even if these judgments were true and adequate, wherein lies the responsibility of the Greeks, or rather of the impostors Winckelmann established as kings (p. 48)? "One murder, one sudden death, two cases of insanity, another of megalomania; and the insidious disease of mythomania undermining nearly all; it is enough to make the merciful regret that Winckelmann was ever born" (p. 336). Certainly, if one opposes the belief that personal tragedies are justified transcendently because they resulted in great art (p. 336). But the Greeks may be tyrants and the Germans predestined slaves (p. 6)—in what way did Winckelmann's dogma enforce its acceptance? Miss Butler seems inclined to agree with Heine's statement that "it is not we who seize upon an Idea; the Idea seizes us, and enslaves us and whips us into the arena, so that we are forced to fight for it, like the gladiator of old" (p. 244). This, I believe, does not fit Schiller, who defined man as the being endowed with will. It is hard to imagine Goethe seized by an Idea. Hölderlin, as Miss Butler herself points out (p. 214, 216), eagerly guarded his freedom against Schiller and Greek literature. The relation of all these men to the Greeks can not even be understood as that of imitation. Kant, whose influence on German poetry Miss Butler so bitterly deprecates (p. 158), seems to be more correct:

Das Product eines Genies (nach demjenigen, was in demselben dem Genie, nicht der möglichen Erlernung oder der Schule, zuzuschreiben ist) ist ein Beispiel nicht der Nachahmung (denn da würde das, was daran Genie ist und den Geist des Werkes ausmacht, wegfallen), sondern der Nachfolge für ein anderes Genie, welches dadurch zum Gefühl seiner eigenen Originalität aufgeweckt wird (*Kritik der Urteilsthraft, Kritik der ästhetischen Urteilsthraft*, 49 finis).

Thus the German genius, in voluntary emulation of the Greek example, freed itself. The fact being as is assumed by Miss Butler that "the great German Hellenists have left behind them incomparable poetry and fascinating prose," it is almost meaningless to call their works "the literary by-products of a tragic obsession" (p. 336).

Moreover, there is a strange inconsistency in Miss Butler's statements. She has an absolute standard of judging artistic works which, as such, I do not want to reject. But if it is true that "to accomplish really significant feats a man needs integrity of character" which Winckelmann does not possess (p. 16), she should not admit that his conceptions of art "as an organic growth, inseparable from racial, climatic, social and political conditions, is one of the permanent achievements of the human mind" (p. 44). If beauty and harmony alone cannot produce poetry (p. 127/8) and if a sense for tragedy is essential to a poet—an experience Goethe resisted (p. 90) and in doing so failed in his creative power (p. 91)—she should deny that Goethe was a poet, and not claim that from his defeats he wrested victories "no other mind could have achieved" (p. 91). These are contradictory statements; each refutes the other.

Miss Butler is aware of many things she does not properly evaluate for her thesis. In the discussion of Schiller's life, she remarks that "one side of Goethe's nature was after all in fundamental sympathy with the clarity, serenity and simplicity of Greek art" (p. 200); she does not take this into consideration in her analysis of Goethe. As it seems to me, her predilection for dramatic effects blinds her to the significance of the data; this liking of hers goes so far as to impute to Lessing, the most veracious of men, that he falsified facts to make *Laocoon* a drama (p. 58/9). Yet she acknowledges that "impartiality can hardly be too great in an academic thesis," even if it is "a very doubtful blessing in a dramatic work of art" (p. 60).

The theme of Miss Butler is very restricted. The influence of the Greeks on European thought should be discussed in a much broader context in order to reach a real solution as she herself indicates (p. 6/7). In such an inquiry, it could also be proved that it was not Heine who gave the new interpretation of the Greek ideal. Heine himself ascribed the process of destruction to the German "Naturphilosophie" beginning with Kant and ending with Hegel, the greatest philosopher since Leibniz, the founder of



the system of indifferentism; this dogma together with the revival of paganism he called the great menace to the future (*Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, III finis; II finis). Heine was the propagator of ideas which other men established.

Miss Butler, I believe, is not convincing in spite of all the high qualities which distinguish her book. I was fascinated by her passionate concern for her subject, by her vivid and suggestive language, most impressive in her translations of German poetry into English verse that retain the charm and the individuality of the originals. I admired her masterly knowledge of German literature, her sincere endeavor not only to describe but also to interpret the phenomena. At the same time, I found myself constantly in revolt against her methods of judgment and I felt utterly at variance with the results of her analysis.

LUDWIG EDELSTEIN

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*Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival.* By W. H. BRUFORD. (Cambridge. At the University Press, 1935.) Die deutsche Übertragung erschien unter dem Titel: "*Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen der Goethezeit*" im Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf./Weimar, 1936.

W. H. Bruford, der Germanist der Universität Edinburgh, hat in seiner Arbeit versucht, die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen darzustellen, unter denen die Menschen in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert lebten, um dem englischen und amerikanischen Studenten die sozialen Grundlagen der deutschen Literatur in dieser grossen Epoche verständlich zu machen. Lebendig rollt er die Kulturgeschichte eines Jahrhunderts, Rückschau haltend bis in das späte Mittelalter, vor unsern Augen ab. Bruford gibt ein Bild der deutschen Kleinstaaterei und des Wesens des aufgeklärten Absolutismus in Deutschland, er schildert die alte Gesellschaftsordnung des Adels und der Bauern und die neue der Bürger, er malt in bunten Farben das Leben an den Höfen und die Entwicklung der Städte, er zeichnet die rechtlichen und wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen von Landwirtschaft, Handel und Gewerbe, die Probleme der Erziehung des Bürgers und der gesellschaftlichen Stellung der freien Berufe, vor allem des Schriftstellers. Eine allzu kurze Darstellung des Einflusses dieser politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen auf die Literatur der Zeit schliesst das fleissige, sorgfältig gearbeitete Buch ab.

Man muss sich bei der Würdigung der Arbeit ihrer Absicht bewusst bleiben: sie ist nicht das Werk eines Historikers, der auf eigenen Forschungen ein eigenes Bild einer vergangenen Zeit, einer lebendigen Welt aufbauen will, wie sie dem "guten Europäer" im Jahre des Heils 1937 erscheint. Bruford fusst, wie er selbst betont, zum grossen Teil auf den Ergebnissen deutscher Forschung, er bleibt immer der Literarhistoriker, der sich in seinen "Nebenstunden" bemüht, aus den kulturgeschichtlichen Werken der Perthes, Biedermann, Wenck, Gustav Freytag u. a. das deutsche 18. Jahrhundert in einem dem englischen Studenten verständlichen Bilde lebendig zu machen, dem er durch die Verwertung von Erinnerungen und Beschreibungen englischer Deutschland-Reisender neue Lichter aufzusetzen sich bemüht. Hieraus erklärt sich der Grundirrtum des Verfassers, der den Gegenstand seiner Arbeit selbst ohne auf eigener Forschung begründete Liebe betrachtete und also nicht erkannte, dass man heute auf der Darstellung der liberalen Männer des 19. Jahrhundert, die in der Paulskirche in Frankfurt ihren schonen Freiheitstraum träumten und die fast verächtlich auf die Epoche des aufgeklärten Absolutismus herabsahen, keine Schilderung der 18. Jahrhunderts aufbauen kann. Die Zeit, da man im 19. Jahrhundert glaubte, es so herrlich weit gebracht zu haben, ist endgültig vorüber, ich kenne keinen ernsthaften Geisteswissenschaftler, der nicht voll Sehnsucht zurückschaute auf das Jahrhundert der französischen Revolution, auf die Epoche der Toleranz und der Humanität, auf das Zeitalter der weltbürgerlichen Verbrüderung und der Hoffnung auf einen ewigen Frieden. Es kann keine kleine Zeit gewesen sein, die einen Lessing und Herder, einen Goethe und Beethoven, einen Alexander und Wilhelm von Humboldt geboren hat! Bruford hat seinem Buche den Untertitel gegeben: "The Social Background of the Literary Revival," aber er hat es mit keinem Wort verständlich zu machen gewusst, dass diese grössten Deutschen die Söhne *dieser* Epoche waren. Sein Wort: "Most of us would not condemn the life of the 18th century aristocrat quite so strongly to-day as our grandfathers did, as Biedermann does" (page 66), bezeichnet seine im Grunde negative Einstellung gegenüber dem ganzen Jahrhundert. Man kann grosse Bücher nicht ohne Liebe schreiben. Ungewollt gesteht Bruford selbst seinen Irrtum in dem Vorwort zur deutschen Ausgabe: "Die individuellen Leistungen führender Geister mussten infolge der soziologischen Betrachtungsweise in den Hintergrund gedrängt werden." Im Gegenteil: eine soziologische Betrachtungsweise hat die Aufgabe, die individuellen Leistungen führender Geister aus den sozialen und geistigen Bedingungen der Zeit zu erklären. Es war der Traum des alten Dilthey, eine "Geschichte des deutschen Geistes" zu schreiben, in der für jede Stufe "auf die Darstellung der sozialwirtschaftlich-politischen Organisation die des geistigen

Kultursystems, insbesondere der Religion und der Dichtung folgen" sollte. Es ist die Aufgabe unsrer Generation, Diltheys Forderung zu erfüllen.

Der Wert der Arbeit von Bruford für den angelsächsischen Studenten, der sich für deutsche Sozialgeschichte interessiert, soll nicht bestritten werden, wenn ein kritischer Lehrer den Schüler auf die Gefahr jeder auf veralteter Forschung aufbauenden Darstellung hinweist. Was aber ist der Sinn der deutschen Ausgabe dieses Buches, dessen Inhalt jeder deutsche Abiturient kennen muss? Man versteht die Absicht der deutschen Ausgabe aus den "Irrtümern" der Übertragung. Dr. Wölcken übersetzt den oben zitierten Satz: "Most of us would not condemn . . ." in "Heute ist man vielleicht nicht mehr ganz so bereit, das Leben des 18. Jahrhunderts in Grund und Boden zu verdammen." (S. 66.) Das Wort "aristocrat" ist ausgelassen, "so strongly" wird "in Grund und Boden" verstärkt. Oder: Bruford spricht von "the infinite richness and diversity of German culture, exploited in the village-story and 'Heimatkunst'" (S. 308). Wölcken übersetzt: "der unendliche Reichtum der deutschen Kultur, den die deutsche Dorfgeschichte und Heimatkunst zeichnet" (S. 312). Nur in Verbindung mit "diversity" kann das Wort "richness" hier einen Sinn haben, ohne dieses wird es lächerlich. In welcher Zeit leben wir, in der der kulturelle Reichtum Deutschlands, der Heimat Goethes und Beethovens, durch den Hinweis auf die "Heimatkunst" der Lienhardt und Bartels bewiesen werden darf!

*New York*

KARL GEORG WENDRINER

*Notkers des Deutschen Werke nach den Handschriften neu herausgegeben von E. H. SEHRT und TAYLOR STARCK. Zweiter Band, Marcianus Capella, De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle/Saale, 1935, pp. iv-viii, 820. (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, herausgegeben von Georg Baesecke, Nr. 37).*

The present reviewer has had the opportunity to review on former occasions in *MLN* the painstaking effort of two American scholars to furnish a critical edition of the works of Notker Teutonicus. Having finished Notker's Boethius in 1933 and 1934, the editors now offer a second volume containing the first two books of the well-known work of Marcianus Capella according to the sole extant manuscript, in the Stiftsbibliothek, at St. Gall, Cod. 872 (I). As no original manuscripts of Notker have survived, a critical edition seemed a desideratum, especially as Notker apparently had devised for himself, on the whole, a systematic orthogra-

phy to correspond to phonetic conditions. No extant manuscript preserves his orthography in perfection. Even if we allow for some latitude in certain speech habits of every individual, it would hardly be possible to excuse in Notker for instance such irregularity in the application of the admirable "Anlautsgesetz" concerning O. H. G. *d b g f* as is revealed in the statistics of the various texts in: Israel Weinberg, *Zu Notkers Anlautsgesetz*, Tübingen 1911. The "Einleitung" of the edition of Sehrt-Starck assigns the manuscript to two hands, their assignment corresponding exactly with that made by this reviewer a number of years ago, with this difference that the words: *lôh sâr únder ánderên, âê fône*, p. 114, l. 15 f. seem to belong to scribe *a*. The work of the editors has been done with scrupulous exactness. Among the forest of accents on seven pages of facsimiles the reviewer discovered two slight slips: p. 216 of the edition: text *wir*, Ms. *wir*, omitted in notes; p. 216, text *Also*, accent omitted against Ms. *Also*. The addition of the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre used by Notker—among other unknown commentators it seems—from Schulte's investigation (*Forschungen und Funde* III, Münster 1911) is gratifying.

FREDERICK H. WILKENS

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*The Works of Edmund Spenser, A Variorum Edition.* Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW, CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD, FREDERIC MORGAN PADEL FORD. *The Faerie Queene*, Book Four. RAY HEFFNER, Special Editor. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. \$6.00.

The fourth volume of this valuable edition occupies considerably less space than any of its three predecessors, some 357 pages compared with 556 of the first volume and 433 of the third and shortest of the earlier volumes. The reason is fairly obvious, viz. that there is less call for elaborate exposition of the allegory, moral or historical. Of the historical element underlying the poem the editors, and those they cite from, note only the obvious reference in the episode of Timias and Belpheobe to the disgrace of Raleigh, his dismissal from Court and subsequent reconciliation. The story as told by Spenser, in which he himself (as Professor Jack points out) is the dove, represents rather the course he wished events to take than their actual history. While this is the only certainly identifiable allusion to contemporary history, it is difficult not to suspect that in the description of the more fickle friendships of Blandamour and Paridell and the quick quarrels and jealousies that spring up Spenser is reflecting, in a general way at any rate, the loves and

friendships at Elizabeth's Court as he had witnessed them during his visit to London to print the first books, and as he refers to them in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*:

But they of love and of his sacred here,  
 (As it should be) all otherwise devise  
 Than we poor shepherds are accustomed here.  
 His mighty mysteries they do prophane,  
 And use his idle name to other needs,  
 But as compliment for courting vain.  
 So him they do not serve as they profess,  
 But make him serve to them for sordid uses.

Spenser is here speaking of love as between the sexes, but that is at least not excluded by Aristotle in his treatment of friendship. For surely husband and wife may be such friends as remain friends because from long familiarity they love each other's dispositions (*Nic. Eth.* VIII. 4, 10). In Spenser's poem, as in Milton's Divorce pamphlets, marriage should be the seal set on the highest type of friendship. In the opening stanzas of Canto IX. Spenser is not contrasting love as between the sexes with friendship between men, at least in an exclusive way. He is contrasting love as passion with love as "the band of virtuous mind" which may and should be the final bond of man and wife. And so it is this book that Britomart finds her Artegall though they are not yet to be united. Each, especially Artegall, has to prove their virtuous mind. Here too we get the beautiful Canto describing how Scudamour found Amoret, the perfect wife in whom are united all the virtues,—Womanhood, Shamefastness, Cherefulness, Modestie, Curtesie, "Soft Silence and submisse Obedience" which Spenser, like Milton, thought should adorn a wife. The present writer would indeed take the opportunity to confess that, in a volume cited here, he has not done full justice to Spenser's consistent endeavour to sublimate Courtly Love, not in Dante's way by making it more ascetic, mystical, but by heightening the ideal of marriage. Mr. Lewis in his *The Allegory of Love*, Oxford, 1936, which unfortunately appeared too recently to be referred to in this volume, has dealt very fully with the subject. It is this aspect of Spenser's poem which explains and justifies Milton's description of Spenser as "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas." But it was a difficult task especially for such a lover of beauty the object of passion, "ληγούσης δὲ τῆς ὥρας ἐνίοτε καὶ ἡ φίλια λήγει." The ancients, Zielinsky in his *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* declares, never succeeded in linking the love of the poets with the *amicitia* of Cicero's treatise. It was the dream of Spenser and Milton so to do at a time when love was still courtly and marriage a matter of bargaining.

To return to the volume in hand, the connection of Spenser's teaching with its sources in Aristotle and later writers as Cicero, Montaigne, Bacon, Castiglione, &c. is discussed by a number of writers brought together in extracts in an Appendix I. *The Virtue*

of *Friendship and Book Four*. Many interesting and important facts are brought out, e. g. Mr. Erskine's account of Giraldis's *Tre Dialoghi della Vita Civile*. The total result of the Appendix is a little bewildering. One wishes the editor could have summed up, disentangling the inessential—and many identifications of sources are inessential—from the main features of Spenser's enthusiastic idealisation of the spirit of Concord in all its workings. Certainly the poem itself is most interesting when the poet gets away from the rather obvious allegory of the opening Cantos to the beautiful narratives of the doings and loves of Scudamour and Britomart and Artegall &c., and to the delightful irrelevancies of the wedding of Florimell and Marinell.

The notes to the different cantos deal largely with sources and analogies of various interest and importance. The whole makes a pleasant field to wander through, and it is impossible not to be grateful for an edition that gives so much in so readable and beautiful a form.

H. J. C. GRIERSON

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*A World in the Moon: A Study of the Changing Attitude Toward the Moon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* By MARJORIE NICOLSON. Northampton, Massachusetts: 1936. Pp. vi + 72. (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, xvii, No. 2.)

In this study, one of a series dealing with the influence of new scientific discoveries upon popular philosophy and literary imagination, Professor Nicolson shows how, after the telescope had increased man's knowledge of the nature of the moon, there was a renewal of interest in our satellite as a fruitful subject for artists, poets, and philosophers. Traditional themes were revived, and new ones appeared, colored, though not always accurately, by the recent findings of science. Especially prominent was the belief that the moon was another habitable world. This idea, in earlier ages treated in the spirit of fanciful romance, was in the seventeenth century maintained upon scientific grounds, reinforced by additional arguments drawn from the philosophical assumption that the universe is a *plenum formarum*. Miss Nicolson finds, however, that after a period of great popularity in the seventeenth century, the theme of a world in the moon declined in prominence. The progress of the early telescopic investigations had quickly rendered the existence of lunar inhabitants scientifically improbable, if not impossible. For many decades popular writers seemed unaware that their belief in life on the moon could no longer claim scientific support; but when, by 1700, this fact became generally recognized, men's thoughts

turned to speculations concerning the possible inhabitants of other planets and stars. Here the philosophical conception of nature as a *plenum formarum* was again invoked, since it was obvious that the creative power of the Deity could not logically be restricted to a single planet and its satellite. Consequently, the lines of argument most frequently advanced in favor of a world in the moon became in the eighteenth century the mainstays of a belief in a plurality of worlds.

In tracing with her usual insight and learning this fascinating chapter in the history of ideas, Miss Nicolson has presented ample evidence supporting her general thesis that scientific discoveries have introduced new details and methods into the imaginative treatment of perennial literary themes. It is doubtful, however, whether the seventeenth-century allusions to the "borrowed light" of the moon can properly be included among examples of the influence of telescopic knowledge upon literature. Miss Nicolson rightly observes that the idea was a heritage from classical times, but the explanation of the moon's light as the reflected light of the sun was far more widely current before 1610 than she implies. It had been, in fact, the almost universally accepted scientific explanation for some seventeen centuries, being adequately founded upon the observations made during eclipses. Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and Pliny's *Natural History*, so popular in the middle ages and the Renaissance, both contain unequivocal statements that the moon "borrows" her light from the sun (the English translations by Newton and Holland use this very word). Numerous other authors set forth the same explanation: Plutarch, Bartholomeus Anglicus, the compiler of *The Mirrour of the World*, Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, and the universally admired Du Bartas. In fact, the idea was so clearly a commonplace of Renaissance thought that seventeenth-century poets would naturally have followed their predecessors in alluding to the moon's light as "borrowed," even though they had never heard of Galileo's discoveries.

FRANCIS R. JOHNSON

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*The Evolution of Keats's Poetry.* By CLAUD LEE FINNEY, 2 vols.  
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936. Pp. xx + 804.  
\$10.00.

That these two ample volumes are a monument of pious labour, unsparingly industrious research, and diligent compilation, is manifest. But that any reader, when with a certain relieved virtue he turns the last page, will have any better understanding of Keats than when he turned the first, is not manifest at all.

In the first place Professor Finney's method of approach, though at the moment in fashion, is dangerous. He says in his preface "In order that I might reproduce and interpret the intuition which Keats expressed in a particular poem, I have attempted to put myself in his place and to subject myself to the sensations and ideas which entered into his mind and out of which he intuited the poem." Even if one grants the odd assumption that any one man, at a distance of more than a hundred years, can so "subject himself to the sensations and ideas" that actuated another, none the less the selves that are subjected are not the same, and the reactions cannot be duplicated. They can hardly be even approximated when one of the men is a great poet and the other is not. Two statements of Professor Finney betray how little fitted he is to understand the workings of a poet's mind—or indeed of anyone's mind. "On October 24 he rejected humanitarianism, resumed his humanistic philosophy of negative capability, and, it is probable, began the humanistic and Miltonic *Hyperion*"; and "He succumbed to egotism for only a month, however; on September 18, we shall see, he subdued his egotistic impulses and resumed his empirical humanism." Does Professor Finney seriously believe that any human being, let alone a great poet, assumes or discards an attitude towards life or his work as he might assume or discard winter underclothes?

This same dogmatic *ex cathedra* certainty vitiates many of Professor Finney's detailed statements. We are perpetually being told that an image in Keats 'was derived' from a particular source; or, in another sphere, "The normal boy experiences this sexual awakening in his sixteenth year, but Keats was nearly twenty-two years of age when he experienced it. The first woman who aroused his sexual feelings was a lady with whom he had a mild flirtation in Hastings in May 1817." How in Heaven's name, or by what mysterious process of identification, does Professor Finney know that?

Professor Finney (like Miss Lowell, whom in some ways he resembles) suffers from an enthusiasm which often overclouds his sense of relevance. The determination of the colour of Keats' eyes or of his hair has at best a very tenuous connection with the evolution of his poetry. Nor are Professor Finney's notions of what constitutes evidence such as inspire confidence in his judgment. For example, "Abbey had a better opportunity than any other person to know the facts about Keats's parents" but his testimony "is refuted by the testimony of Charles Cowden Clarke and George Keats." Why is it refuted except that we should all prefer to accept the contrary testimony? Or "I quote the earlier version from the Scrap-book. It is more authentic than the later version, *for* it is inscribed *probably* in the autograph of George Keats" (*italics mine*). The authenticity of a transcript depends on the MS from which it was taken and on the mechanical accuracy of the transcription, not on the identity of the transcriber, even if that identity



is certain. (Incidentally, why, if Professor Finney is anxious, as he should be, for the earliest version of a poem, does he quote the Epistle to George Keats as printed, and not as written in the original letter?)

Professor Finney, with a love for the distant and the recondite, is often blind to the near and obvious. He seeks the source of the refrain of *To Hope* in vague parallels in Mary Tighe and Campbell. It was pointed out three years ago (in a book which I assume that Professor Finney has not read) that the refrain is an almost direct quotation from a poem in Mrs. Radcliffe's *Romance of the Forest*. He cites a number, though by no means all, of the parallels in *Endymion* to *The Faithful Sheperdess*, but neglects perhaps the most obvious of all ('*She is so constant to me and so kind—She is untrue, unconstant and unkind*'). Or again "The employment of 'pards,' the French form of the word, indicates Keats's indebtedness to Rabelais." If one was not by this time used to Professor Finney one would rub one's eyes, wondering whether one had read aright. Did he, or Keats, need to look further than Shakespeare for this "French form of the word"?

For a book of this devastating completeness there are some remarkable omissions. In the somewhat cursory treatment of *Isabella* there is no mention of Mirabeau's translation of Boccaccio; and though a good deal of not always accurate play is made elsewhere with Woodhouse's shorthand there is no mention of the note opposite stanza xxxiv that "Keats had been reading Southey's poems again at the time he wrote this stanza." There is no mention of Davies' *Celtic Researches* as a possible influence on *Hyperion*. Baldwin's *Pantheon* is treated as on a par with Tooke's and its significance thereby missed; Spence's *Polymetis* is blocked with Lemprière as a 'classical dictionary,' and the illustrations in it almost neglected. ("The source of this detail"—the 'plump infant laughers'—says Professor Finney, "is obscure." To borrow his own dogmatic tone, it is not obscure at all, but is Spence, Plate VII, fig. 2, and perhaps xxxi, 2, just as the source of *numerous trappings quiver lightly Along a huge cloud's ridge* is Spence, Plate xxvi, 2.) In deriving Keats' stanza form for the Odes, most improbably, from Spenser, Professor Finney does not even mention Mr. Garrod's brilliant exposition of the derivation from the two sonnet forms.

Professor Finney revives, though with modifications which, if there were any evidence for them, would make it less absurd, Miss Lowell's view of the composition of the two *Hyperions*, a view which one would have supposed adequately demolished by Mr. Murry; and he makes a characteristic comment:—"The original draft of the introduction to the humanitarian version of the *Fall of Hyperion* has not survived." Since there is little likelihood and no proof that it ever existed this is not surprising. His transcripts are not always accurate (for example, by failing to observe how Woodhouse

made his 'ss' Professor Finney produces in a famous letter the odd reading 'proper breast to breast' instead of 'presses breast to breast'). He swallows whole Sir Sidney Colvin's comments on Brown's account of the *Nightingale* Ode, and accepts without question the existing holograph as the first draft; but he pays no attention to Woodhouse's shorthand note indicating that (whether instead of or as well as *keelless*) Keats wrote *ruthless* before he achieved the famous *perilous*.

Some of these defects would be trivial in a book of a different order, a book whose value lay in its ideas; but they are grave in a book which is little more than a compilation of material, marshalled by no more valuable a design than that of affixing to Keats, and then removing, a series of labels, such as 'humanitarian' or 'empirical humanist.' Much of the material, where it is reliable, will be of interest to readers of Keats; but they will, I think, choose to use it in their own way, to help them to a better understanding of a poet's mind and imagination, neglecting a cicerone who may partly understand the first but certainly does not understand the second. The business of 'research,' above all in poetry, is illumination of its object, not sterile display of itself; research therefore is wise to be humble where it is often arrogant, or it will hear not only the poet but his wisely humble readers gently laughing at it from a cloud.

M. R. RIDLEY

*Oxford University*

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*John Galt.* By JENNIE W. ABERDEIN. London [and N. Y.]: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xxiv + 209. \$3.00.

*Charles Dickens's Letters to Charles Lever.* Edited by FLORA V. LIVINGSTONE. With an introduction by HYDER E. ROLLINS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. xvii + 65.

Miss Aberdein's study, actuated by the approaching centenary of Galt's death (1839) and the neglect accorded him by both Britain and the Canada he and his family had a significant part in developing, is devoted to a comprehensive history of Galt's life and writings. The copious bibliographies show that Miss Aberdein has spared no pains in an effort to command all the material, published and unpublished, available for her purpose. The text is well documented; the material, skilfully assembled (see particularly Galt's unfortunate, tangled relations with the Canada Company); the style is simple and readable.

Galt is depicted as a curious blend of the practical and the philosophical: a man scrupulously honest, often the victim of the unscrupulous, fond of travel, with a restless mind teeming with

projects for the betterment of society, but from natural limitations or external circumstances usually unable to perfect them; yet a man with a quiet, reflective mind capable of tolerant, wise, humorous, and pathetic comment on human kind that is inimitable.

The criticism, while not disregarding the wide variety of Galt's writings, deals chiefly with the fiction. Admiration of his forte, character portraiture, does not, however, blind the critic to faults such as awkwardness with plot, padding, and self-borrowing—factors which must help to account for his neglect by subsequent generations. But she does not, in my judgment, emphasize sufficiently that, like Scott, it is with Scottish characters in the Scottish scene that Galt is at his best. The usefulness of the book would have been increased if the bibliography had been brought up to date, but as the first complete biography of Galt, it is a contribution to our knowledge of a unique literary figure.

The twenty-seven Dickens-Lever letters (together with five by other hands) is important, because, as Professor Rollins points out, it serves to correct the hitherto erroneous impression that the relation between Dickens and Lever was one of indifference if not distinct coolness (p. v).

The introduction, while presenting several matters of interest, seems to me unfortunate in having chosen to skim the cream off the letters before the reader gets a sip at it. Moreover, the method by which particular letters are referred to is sometimes confusing and there is one actual error: the letter mentioned as "from Wills on April 13, 1861, etc." (p. xiv) should be the letter of "25th January, 1861" (see pp. 32-33).

The letters depict Dickens in the rôle of editor and publisher of *All the Year Round* and Lever as a contributor. Dickens accepts Lever's serial, *A Day's Ride*, with great enthusiasm only to find, to his chagrin and distress, after starting to run the novel, that it was not taking, that he was, therefore, losing subscribers, and that he would have to run along with it a novel of his own. This news has to be conveyed by letter to Lever, in ill health and worried over family difficulties. Dickens's letters show how it is done without apparently marring in the least the very cordial friendship between the two men. Literary friendships have snapped from much slighter causes than this. The letters show, too, Dickens's vigorous, disinterested struggle with the Chapmans to get *A Day's Ride* published in book form and his final success. The volume is a pleasant testimony to Dickens's honest and generous nature.

ANNETTE B. HOPKINS

Goucher College

*Mr. Pepys upon the State of Christ-Hospital.* By RUDOLF KIRK.  
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935. Pp. xii  
+ 66 + 44 facsimiles. \$2.00.

This work will add to the ever growing appreciation of the services of Samuel Pepys to the Royal Navy. It had long been realized that training in mathematics was essential for naval officers, and even in Elizabethan times a beginning was made by Thomas Digges and Thomas Hood. The Dutch wars had again emphasized this need, and in 1673 a more practical step was taken with the establishment by Charles II of a Mathematical School at Christ's Hospital. Until his death Pepys took a very active interest in this foundation.

The present work discusses some of Pepys' earlier reports, telling of the faults of the school and suggested remedies. In the manuscript "Discourse" of 1677 Pepys gives in great detail his views as to the administration of the school, the preparation of the students, and the curriculum. In a second report in 1682 Pepys outlines the qualifications of a master. Above all he believes the teacher should be practical.

In 1698 conditions became so deplorable that Pepys resolved to attract the attention of the authorities by a printed pamphlet, circulated only to those concerned. In the course of the dispute Pepys published six such papers. These rare pamphlets are here reproduced in facsimile, and there is an excellent discussion of the events leading to their publication. In addition to giving some idea as to Pepys' sound views on this kind of mathematical education, this work also tells of the various cross currents, political and particularly religious. Mr. Kirk has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the 'other side' of Pepys.

SANFORD V. LARKEY

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*Le Conte de Poitiers, roman du treizième siècle.* Édité avec introduction, notes et glossaire par V.-FRÉDÉRIC KOENIG. Paris: Droz, 1937. Pp. xxiii + 61.

*Saint Léger. Étude de la langue du manuscrit de Clermont-Ferrand, suivie d'une édition critique du texte avec commentaire et glossaire.* Par JOSEPH LINSKILL. Paris: Droz, 1937. Pp. 192.

*Introduction à la Fleur des Histoires de Jean Mansel.* Par G. DE POERCK. Gand: E. Claeys-Verheughe, 1936. Pp. 101.

*Le Conte de Poitiers*, the principal source of the *Roman de la Violette*, has not been republished since 1831, when Francisque

Michel made an edition that has become very rare. Accordingly, the present competent and careful edition of this entertaining tale is most welcome. The editor plausibly traces the chief theme—the Cymbeline or wager motive—to an *exemplum* designed to glorify the Blessed Virgin and shows how this theme has been developed by an author acquainted with various chansons de geste, with the Alexander and Troy romances, and with the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras. The author, a Picard who wrote between 1204 and 1210 (Koenig's dates seem more acceptable than those proposed by Gaston Paris and Ohle), was a poet of no great inventiveness or technical skill, but his narrative has the refreshing virtues of brevity and directness, virtues not to be despised after the *longueurs* of some of the later romances and chansons de geste.

The edition is entirely satisfactory and the following suggestions in no way affect its value. A closer analysis of the imperfect rhymes cited on pp. xv-xvi would have been useful: some of them result from phenomena of pronunciation noted by K. elsewhere, some from other phenomena equally common at the time, e. g. *r* lightly pronounced in certain positions, *s* beginning to be silent before *t*, slight nasalization of certain vowels, especially *i*, sporadic appearance of analogical *s* (incidentally Gautier 989 is probably a vocative without *s*, whereas *chevaliers* in the plural nominative, established by the rhyme in l. 82, may be due to the copyist in 94). Few misprints have been noted in the text, but *gou* and *go* frequently appear without the cedilla and the reading should be *après* in 157 and 1367. The note to 937 *sqq.* queries the correctness of the text at this point, although there is no reason for skepticism: a furred *peligon* was sometimes worn under a fur-lined *mantel* (see E. Goddard, *Women's Costume*, pp. 190-1). In the Glossary, *aufferrant* 614 should be glossed as an adjective (for *cheval* read *impétueux*) and *siglaton* 604 should be glossed by *manteau*, not *étouffe*. The *Table des Noms Propres* lists certain saints' names as "saints invoqués" without further identifying them; as an instance of the author's concern for verisimilitude (cf. p. xiv), it may be worth noting that some care is used in these oaths: the Duke of Normandy swears by St. Nicaise, martyr and bishop of Rheims, King Pepin by St. Denis, the Count of Poitiers by St. Martial, etc. The St. Amandus of l. 530, bishop of Maestricht and closely identified with Flanders, probably bears added witness to the Picard origin of the author. Harpin, identified as "neveu du comte de Poitiers," is clearly that in l. 624, but it might have been pointed out that he is the count's cousin in ll. 880 and 1006-8.

A thorough investigation of the *Saint Léger* was much to be desired. Unfortunately, the present volume, though seemingly exhaustive, only partially supplies our needs. The text is usable, if at times debatable, but the edition contains no literary or historical study of the poem, and certain fundamental assumptions in the linguistic part of the book raise doubts as to the validity of its conclusions here. The editor seems to believe, for example, that although medieval scribes were imperfect spellers, medieval authors were invariably consistent (cf. p. 9: "Mais puisqu'il n'est guère vraisemblable que l'auteur du poème se soit servi de deux graphies [read: sons dif-

férents?] pour représenter le même son [read: la même voyelle latine?], une de ces graphies doit être sans valeur phonétique.”). Similarly, in certain instances where the poet elides a final *e* and the scribe represents this elision by omitting the vowel, the editor confuses his reader by such clumsy statements as: “la liaison est sans doute due au scribe” (p. 151; cf. also p. 34). The difficulties involved in determining the dialect of a very old French text that was later copied by a Provençal scribe can hardly be exaggerated, but one’s confidence in the ability of the present edition to solve these difficulties is shaken when one investigates a word like *ols* and finds that on pp. 19-20, where its vowel is discussed, no decision regarding the form can be reached, while on p. 140 (for 174 read 171) the absence of *z* after *l* in this word is regarded as a picardism and on p. 167 the form is flatly called a provençalism.

The *Fleur des Histoires* belongs in a sense to the religious and didactic literature of the Middle Ages, but since its author took pains to interlard his stories from the Bible, his saints’ lives, miracles, *exempla*, etc. with numerous “entremets” of a lay character, the compilation constitutes a remarkably complete store-house of medieval lore. One finds there not only the “history” of the Trojans, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, Britons, Romans and French (through the reign of Charles VI), but also tales about Vergil the Necromancer, a geographical treatise, a description of the monuments of Rome, even—in a few late redactions—prose versions of the *Griselda* and *Girard de Roussillon* stories. None of the matter is original with the compiler, Jean Mansel d’Hesdin (ca. 1400-73), but because of this fact scholars seeking additional versions of material encountered in isolation elsewhere may find the mss. of the *Fleur des Histoires* of considerable use. (For example, one of them contains a copy of *Griseldis*, “traduction B,” which is not listed in the *Histoire de Griseldis en France* by Golenistcheff-Koutouzoff.)

Since this huge compilation was revised several times and since it exists, in whole or in part, in over fifty mss., the task of listing, classifying and dating the various redactions was not an easy one. De Poerck seems to have done the work well. He has also extracted from the mss. and from contemporary documents all that we are likely to know about Mansel. Citations from the prologues, analyses and lists of contents add to the usefulness of the book, which also contains plates illustrating three of the mss. De P. promises a study of the sources of the *Fleur* and it is to be hoped that this important addition to his Introduction may soon become available.

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

## BRIEF MENTION

*German Visitors to English Theaters in the Eighteenth Century.* By JOHN ALEXANDER KELLY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936. Pp. 178. \$2.00. This study is a welcome addition to our knowledge of German-English relations during the eighteenth century. With great care and acumen the author presents to us the views of German travellers concerning the English stage and English acting as found in descriptions of travels and in books on England from 1696 to the end of the eighteenth century. Much material that has been practically unknown or that is very inaccessible is made available. It is an interesting panorama of German visitors in England all giving their opinion on the same subject. As might be expected there is much agreement and disagreement. Among the travellers quoted we find such names as Muralt, Haller, Hagedorn, von Pöllnitz, Alberti, Mylius, Ewald, Kielmannsegge, Volkmann, Möser, Sturz, Füssli, Lichtenberg, Archenholtz, Bahrdt, Reinhold Forster, Moritz, Küttner, Brandes, Sophie von LaRoche, Wendeborn, Meister, George Forster, Schütz, von Schön, besides others less well known.

Exception must be taken to the author's use of the word *anglomania*. *Anglomania* denotes an excessive, undue or unreasonable admiration for or attachment to England and things English. It implies a fault. But for the Germans to recognize, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, the superiority of English culture cannot be called *anglomania*. It is merely the recognition of patent facts. Neither Bodmer nor Klopstock nor Lessing was afflicted with *anglomania*, though they got much of their inspiration from English sources. I cannot see that any of the men treated in the study were suffering from *anglomania* with the exception of Büschel and possibly Lehzen. Most of them were greatly impressed with the excellence of the English theater and English acting, as they might well be, but there is hardly one among them who is not also critical. Chapter headings like "Rise of *Anglomania*" or "Peak of *Anglomania*" are altogether misleading. Nor is the title of the last chapter "Critical Visitors" more appropriate. We find criticism in the earlier chapters and high praise on the part of the "critical visitors." There is no uniform consistent development in the views concerning the English stage which would allow generalization as to periods. We have the opinions of German individualists more or less colored by the changing conditions of their own country and of the English stage. In spite of this misconception the book is a distinct contribution to an interesting segment of the vast field of Anglo-German relations.

JOHN A. WALZ

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*William Blake, Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte des Mystikers.* Erster Teil. Von WALDEMAR BAGDASARIANZ. Zürich: Max Niehan, 1936. Pp. 171. (Swiss Studies in English, II.) Herr Bagdasarianz does not attempt any new interpretation of Blake's prophetic writings. Regarding them as intelligible only here and there, he bases his exposition on the early tracts, the marginalia, miscellaneous aphorisms, and the primary antitheses embodied in the early prophetic books, at which point this first part of the Study concludes. The four chapters—not including the brief introduction—might be described as an exposition of the Contraries from various points of view. Faith and Knowledge, Good and Evil, Freedom and the Law, the Twofold Life, are the leading topics. Yet the Blakean doctrine of the Contraries is, in my opinion, missed. In Herr Bagdasarianz's exposition the Contraries become an out-and-out duality, which Blake wished at all costs to avoid, and they are further evaluated into Good and Evil, the very thing against which Blake protested. The "marriage" of the Contraries is described as the absorption of the evil principle into the good one. But the condition of absorption is not Blake's "marriage"; it is his "hermaphrodite." Again, Energy and Repose are described as Life and Death. But Repose, in its proper function, is not death; it is a part of a necessary polarity; it is one of two Contraries, both of which are good. It is death only when it assumes to itself a false activity and tries to check the flow of energy, as the "moral codes" compel it to do. Finally, Love is set over against Reason and made the supreme virtue. Many Christian mystics do indeed take this position, but Blake does not. He decries Love as much as he does Reason. He has a right love and a wrong love, a right reason and a wrong reason. His supreme virtue is Intellect, which is unselfish reason animated by unselfish love, but in this relationship love is second, not the first. Intellect is king. While Herr Bagdasarianz, in my opinion, has failed to grasp Blake's metaphysics, he often writes of the issues involved with great sympathy and insight. There are many pages to which I would take no exception and certain topics, such as Innocence and Experience, the fallen world as a manifestation of the fallen self, the One and the Many as they apply to Blake, are discussed here more adequately, I believe, than anywhere else.

M. O. PERCIVAL

Ohio State University

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*Studies in Shelley.* By AMIYAKUMAR SEN. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1936. Pp. xvi + 343. In five essays Mr. Sen studies the relations of Shelley to six of the principal influences upon his thought—Locke, Hume, Baron d'Holbach, Godwin, East-



ern philosophy, and the French Revolution. It is impossible to trace Shelley's beliefs to their sources with anything like the finality that Mr. Sen's method assumes in treating various influences *seriatim*. An eager young man of quick, subtle and independent mind, reading steadily in seven different languages, passes through such a vast thicket of intellectual experiences that individual thorn-pricks are not readily isolated. Not even the most careful comparative analyses can always determine whether it was from Lucretius, Condorcet, Godwin, Paine, Hume, d'Holbach or Voltaire that Shelley first fished up some particular murex. In the main, however, Mr. Sen contents himself with general similarities that are sound. He is particularly enlightening in his treatment of Shelley's indebtedness to Locke and to Indian philosophy. Even here one wonders, in the first instance, if the introspective habits caught from Locke were solely responsible for turning Shelley into a rebel. In the second instance Mr. Sen concludes too hastily that Shelley's ultimate belief in the unreality of "real" phenomena *had* to come from the strikingly significant passages cited from Sir William Jones' translations. Any reader of the tenth book of the Republic might deduce the same idea from Plato, even though Zellner, as quoted by Mr. Sen, thinks Plato meant otherwise. Perhaps Mr. Sen's best service lies not in demonstrating particular and general indebtedness, but in showing Shelley's essential independence even when professing discipleship. This is particularly true in the case of Godwin. Yet here, too, one is surprised at finding Shelley's gradualism considered as if the difference were mainly between *Prometheus Unbound* and *A Philosophical View of Reform*, when it is equally true of Shelley's *published* verse and prose at almost any time. Mr. Sen is often vague or mistaken in chronological details,—see pages 20, 21, 63, 68, 76, 258, 268 for chronological vagueness.

NEWMAN I. WHITE

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*Daily Meditations*, by PHILIP PAIN. Reproduced from the original edition of 1668 in the Huntington Library. With an introduction by LEON HOWARD. San Marino, California: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1936. Pp. 36. \$0.75. Pain's *Daily Meditations* was popular enough in Puritan New England to earn two printings, in 1668 and 1670. The present reproduction is from the only known copy of the first edition, and contains an excellent introduction by Mr. Howard. Without magnifying the very modest literary merits of Pain's poems, he shows that they were written by someone who had read somewhat in the English metaphysical poets, and certainly was reasonably familiar with Herbert and Quarles. If Pain was a New Englander, this is a fact of some

interest, and his little book is a considerable item in the short list of such works published in the colonies in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately no one has been able to identify Pain. According to the title-page he was drowned in a shipwreck some time between July, 1666, when the *Meditations* was begun, and 1668, when it was printed. Support for the statement about the nature of his death may possibly be drawn from the suggestion in the verses that he was a seaman, or at least familiar with life afloat. The images drawn from ships and the ocean are frequent, even though they are commonplace enough to be drawn from books rather than from direct experience. Still, where there are no facts speculation is permissible, and one may guess that Pain was a young man, with a taste for books and strong pious convictions, who, whether English or colonial, followed the sea and was, if not resident there, at least well enough known in Boston so that his little book could find an interested audience among its citizens.

KENNETH B. MURDOCK

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*Die Lyrik und ihr Publikum im England des 18. Jahrhunderts.* By VICTOR LANGE. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1935. Pp. viii + 118. RM 3.35. (Literature und Leben, 2.) This study, endeavouring to describe the taste of 18th-century readers, pursues in part the method employed by Professor Havens in his article, "Changing Taste in the Eighteenth Century."<sup>1</sup> It is, however, vague in its aim and uncertain in its procedure. Most of the book does not treat of the true lyric or the song, but of the short poem, and no serviceable distinction is made between different types. If we are interested in such questions as the extent to which the true lyric was enjoyed, or the popularity of certain Restoration songs, we can find no answer in *Die Lyrik und ihr Publikum*. Moreover, the author makes little attempt to relate his conclusions concerning the poetical miscellanies to what we already know about 18th-century taste; consequently his generalizations, where they are valid, are valid only as accounts of the taste for poetical miscellanies. He is led somewhat astray by taking at their face value the statements of editors and compilers as to their purpose in issuing various miscellanies. It is not safe to assume that an editor invariably disclosed his real motive nor that each miscellany was issued in response to a popular demand, or reflected a wide-spread taste. There are several minor inaccuracies in this study which should have been corrected before publication.

EDWARD NILES HOOKER

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<sup>1</sup> *PMLA.*, xliv (1929), 501 ff.

*The Book of Apollonius.* Translated into English verse by RAYMOND L. GRISMER and ELIZABETH ATKINS. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936. Pp. xix + 113. Translating poetry from one language into another is seldom worth the effort; in this case the choice of a verse rather than a prose rendering has been particularly ill-advised. The sense has been mechanically repeated, but the jolting octosyllabic doggerel does not remotely suggest the quality of the Spanish original, nor can it be called readable in its own right. Here is a fair sample:

A man came who was a procurer,  
He very much wished to secure her.  
He doubled what the lord would pay,  
Thinking to hire her in vile way. (p. 69)

Six hundred-odd stanzas of this sort of thing are a severe trial to the most docile student or the most patient of readers; it is not easy to see how the general appreciation of Spanish poetry can possibly be enhanced by it. The introduction does not offer anything new, and repeats much that is open to serious question, especially in the section dealing with the ultimate origin of the story. The authors' mincing prose, too, is not appreciably superior to their verse. Such unlovely shorthand as "name-character" (p. xix) may perhaps be overlooked, but can such a revealing euphemism as this on page ii: "... a wealthy merchant, whom she murders while he is intoxicated?"

PHILIP H. GOEPP, 2ND.

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*Bildhaftigkeit im französischen Argot.* Von IRMGARD SCHULTZ. Giessen: 1936. Pp. 109. M. 4. Giessener Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie herausgegeben von Kurt Glaser, xxvii. Le titre du travail en question est trop prétentieux: comme il arrive si souvent pour des "dissertations" allemandes, le professeur a indiqué un beau titre et la "dissertanda" n'a pas su élaborer le travail correspondant. Une œuvre scientifique de valeur sur le caractère pittoresque de l'argot français ne saurait en effet être conçue que par un savant ayant mûri pendant des années une philosophie du langage propre à lui. Quel sens un ramassis de transferts de sens "pittoresques" peut-il avoir? Ne savions-nous pas que l'argot est pittoresque? Fallait-il le prouver par des listes de mots? Encore si les solutions de questions étymologiques pendantes étaient nouvelles! L'auteur de notre travail recourt même aux anciennes étiquettes de feu Wilhelm Wundt: "cause pour effet" pour expliquer *raser*, *barber*, *bassiner*, *scier* 'ennuyer' — ce logicisme désuet qu'a-t-il à faire avec la 'création picturale' du langage? Est-ce que le constat logique 'effet pour cause' explique véritablement la métaphore *refroidir qc.* 'tuer' ("völlig sachliche

[!], der Wirklichkeit ohne affektische Übertreibung entsprechende Bezeichnung . . .", p. 75—je pensais que dans *refroidir* la "Sachlichkeit" était *cruelle*, comme l'est toute objectivité quand il s'agit de la vie d'un frère humain—décidément, Mlle Schultz est trop 'sachlich,' trop logiciante!)? Ces listes ne sont animées par aucun sens d'humour: (p. 89) "Wie gesagt, drückt der volkstüml. Argot das Empfinden der Entrüstung und Geringschätzung gegenüber der Dummheit durch Nennung gewisser, auch sonst in der Auffassung des Volkes niedrig bewerteter Körperteile aus"—il s'agit, n'en déplaise au lecteur, de *couillon*, *con*, *cul* employés pour 'lâche, poltron, idiot' etc.: *cucul* (qui est 'hypocoristique,' ce que l'auteur écrit 'hypochoristique') ressortirait de la "mentalité des cultivés." Tout cela n'est pas sérieux! Mlle Schultz a en plus une conception *statique* de l'argot dont on pourrait décrire les qualités, alors que l'argot est mouvement, un mouvement d'émancipation incessamment renouvelé. D'ailleurs on ne sait pas bien ce que Mlle Schultz se représente sous le mot d'argot d'après ses explications trop brèves p. 1-2: est-ce qu'il embrasse "alles das, was nicht zum guten Hochfranzösisch gehört," par conséquent aussi la langue familière et, ce qui ne semble pas le cas, les dialectes? Dans un article que, naturellement, présentant son travail à l'université de Giessen, elle devait passer sous silence, j'avais pourtant essayé de préciser la notion d'argot. Pourquoi nous décrit-on les qualités soi-disant stables d'un être mythique "Argot," dont les contours nets ne sont pas même arrêtés dans la tête de l'auteur?

LEO SPITZER

*The Johns Hopkins University*

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*The Sources of the Play Cyrano de Bergerac.* By HOBART RYLAND. New York: Institute of French Studies (1936). Pp. x + 167. \$1.75. A Chicago realtor claimed with apparent sincerity that his *Merchant Prince of Cornville* was the original of *Cyrano* and even got a decision from the Supreme Court of his state. Fortunately Judge Hand of New York took a different view in 1920, but students of the drama may like to know what the fuss was about. Mr. Ryland will satisfy their curiosity by his ample analysis of Gross' play and by reprinting in full the fifth act and discussing at length the legal proceedings. His belief that the "Supreme Court of Illinois cannot be blamed enough for its erroneous decision" is welcome, but one cannot accept his conclusion that Rostand, having read the Chicago play, was inspired to write his own and "quite unconsciously used the balcony scene and perhaps a few other minor parts" (p. 142). The fact that Rostand could have seen at Paris a copy of the older play does not

prove that he read it. The only parallel that can be drawn is that each play has a balcony scene in which a man prompts another, then takes his place, but the characters and language are entirely different, balcony scenes are frequent, and the situations may easily have been conceived independently, for, after giving to Cyrano wit without beauty and to Christian beauty without wit, Rostand could hardly have failed to employ both prompting and substitution. Moreover, there is no proof that the balcony scene was the point of departure for *Cyrano*. It consequently seems reasonable to accept Rostand's statement that he had not read the rival play, even though it is accompanied by mistakes in dates. The rest of Mr. Ryland's work is unimportant and his bibliographical knowledge is insufficient. Following Nodier and Paul Lacroix, he asserts that Cyrano's *Agrippine* "predates anything of importance by Corneille" and that the latter must have used it since he "had not hesitated to use material by Diamante." This despite the facts that Cyrano was seventeen when *le Cid* appeared and that it was Diamante who imitated Corneille, not Corneille Diamante. Such errors, added to indifferent proof-reading, show need for editorial guidance. The distinguished scholars whose names, constituting an "honorary committee," adorn the advertisement of the series seem to have no function "fors l'honneur."

H. C. L.

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*Das Bremer mittelniederdeutsche Arzneibuch des Arnoldus Donelhey. Mit Einleitung und Glossar herausgegeben von ERNST WINDLER, 1932. Karl Wachholtz Verlag, Neumünster, pp. xv, 69 (Text), 70-84 (Glossaries and abbreviations). Denkmäler herausgegeben vom Verein für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung, Bd. VII.* Windler states in an introductory remark that this edition is supplementary to the dissertation of Franz Willeke, *Das Arzneibuch des Arnoldus Donelhey*, Münster i. W., 1912, pp. 71. The Introduction of Windler is based in the main on Willeke, who has concentrated his efforts on the sources of the *Bremer Arzneibuch*, benefiting from the work of predecessors. Apart from the welcome glossaries the work of Windler has been the editing of the text, which belongs to the Staatsarchiv at Hannover, Msc. AA 16, where it was examined by the reviewer. The editing is careful, but this reviewer regrets to find that Windler has in many cases departed from the fairly consistent manner in which the scribe has observed the spacing of the words. In some cases the scribe's practice may be merely an orthographic peculiarity, but in other cases there is a suspicion that it betrays peculiarity of pronunciation, while Windler's changes at times seem biased by modern habits of pronunciation. This system of changing the orthographical peculiarities of texts existing in one manuscript only seems

deplorable and greatly hampers research work in orthography. The standardising of classical texts is to be approved owing to an absolutely different situation.

FREDERICK H. WILKENS

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*A. E. Housman, A Sketch together with a list of his writings and indexes to his Classical papers.* By A. S. F. Gow. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xiv + 137. \$1.75. Prospective readers of this painstaking and valuable little book must not be misled by the subtitle "A Sketch." The biographical text of 57 pages is the account of Housman's career as scholar and makes no attempt to sketch the poet as a personality aside from such traits as were revealed in his relations with his material and his fellow scholars. It has long been known that Housman was a brilliant and acid commentator when his controversial spirit was aroused; in the present volume we have accounts of his disputes, together with quotations from his argument. His editorial labours are described in detail with reference to his academic career. Bearing in mind Housman's prohibition against collecting or reprinting his writing which appeared in periodical publications, the author, in reference to the bibliography which fills two thirds of his pages, warns the readers "to remember why they have to look for his papers in the places of their original publication, and to reflect that the earlier a paper is, the less certainly does it represent the author's (Housman's) mature opinion."

ROBERT HILLYER

*Harvard University*

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*Supplement for the Years 1930-1935 to A Shakespeare Bibliography.* By WALTHER EBISCH and LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. viii + 104. \$1.75. A welcome supplement, which lists both new studies and earlier ones which escaped the useful work noticed in this journal for November, 1932 (XLVII, 486). It is to be hoped that additional volumes will appear from time to time.

H. S.

Early this year an American branch of the new Istituto Inter-universitario Italiano was established at the Casa Italiana of Columbia University under the direction of Dr. H. R. Marraro which, should it fulfill its announced program, will be of keen interest to students and teachers intending to continue academic studies at an

Italian university. The new *Rivista* of the Institute, published with the title *Romana* by Le Monnier in Florence, will, judging from the issues so far, deserve the attention of all scholars of Italian literature. Outstanding to date is the April-May number containing various articles on Italian literature by such eminent critics as Giulio Bertoni, Luigi Russo, G. B. Angioletti and G. Titta Rosa, and an excellent bibliography of contemporary Italian literature and criticism compiled and continued in later issues by Enrico Falqui.

CHARLES S. SINGLETON

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Since 1931 the Huntington Library of San Marino, California, has published, usually twice a year, a quarto *Bulletin* devoted to bibliographies and excellent scholarly articles based on the library's remarkable collections. The *Bulletin* is now replaced by two publications: *Huntington Library Lists*, devoted to bibliographies, and *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, an attractively-printed octavo containing learned articles, for which subscriptions at \$5.00 a year are being solicited. We may confidently expect that the new quarterly will maintain the high standards of the *Bulletin* and give us articles of more than ordinary interest and importance.

R. D. H.

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*Supplément au Répertoire bibliographique se rapportant à la littérature géographique française de la Renaissance.* Par GÉOFFROY ATKINSON. Paris: Picard, 1936. Pp. 88. In his *Répertoire bibliographique* of 1927 Dr. Atkinson described over 500 geographical texts, published before 1610. In his new publication he adds descriptions of some 40 more and corrections of the preceding list. The work is handsomely printed in quarto format, with a reproduction of the title-page of *les Singularitez de la France antarctique* of 1557.

H. C. L.

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# Modern Language Notes

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## WIELAND UND DIE LEMGOER

Unterm 14. Jenner 1773 schreibt Wieland an Johann Georg Jacobi: „Auch ihm (d. h. Fritz Jacobi) muß ich auf einen großen Brief antworten, worin er unter anderm mir eine Idee von den Lemgoer Kunstrichtern giebt. Ich sehe daraus, daß diese Leute zu tief unter dem Gesichtskreise gesunder Köpfe sind, um zu verdienen, daß man von ihnen rede. Orandum est, ut sit *mens sana*.”<sup>1</sup> Am 18. Februar schrieb dann Fritz Jacobi an Wieland: „Meine Revision der Lemgoer Beurtheilung ist, in ihrer Art, wenigstens eben so gut gerathen, als meine Revision über Herder's Preisschrift. Ich habe Sie mit Sorgfalt ausgearbeitet, wegen der unbußfertigen, trotzigigen Vorrede, welche vor dem zweiten Bande der sogenannten auserlesenen Bibliothek steht.”<sup>2</sup> Unterm 1. März drängte Wieland bei Johann Georg Jacobi auf Fritzens Abfertigung der Lemgoer;<sup>3</sup> schließlich fürchtete Wieland aber, Fritz Jacobi treibe die Sache zu weit, die Welt vertrage den kaustischen Ton nicht (Seuffert a. a. O.). Aus diesem Grunde unterblieb wohl schließlich die Veröffentlichung im *Merkur*. In seinem Aufsatz „An die Leser des Merkurs”<sup>4</sup> machte Wieland dann die Bemerkung: „Ich höre, die Verfasser der Litteratur-Artikel in einem gewissen Lemgoer Journal sollen sich grosse Hofnung machen, daß der Merkur ihnen die Ehre erweisen werde, sich mit

<sup>1</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker. II. Ungedruckte Briefe von und an Johann Georg Jacobi*, hrsg. von Ernst Martin, Strassburg, 1874, S. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's auserlesener Briefwechsel*, Leipzig, 1825, I, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Seuffert, *Prolegomena zu einer Wieland-Ausgabe*, V, No. 207, Berlin, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> *Teutscher Merkur* 1773, I, 284, im März-Heft; der Band wurde nach Mitte April versandt.

ihnen abzugeben. Alles was ich ihnen darauf sagen kan, ist: daß sie sich sehr irren."

Grund für eine Fehde mit den Lemgoern hatte der *Merkur* als solcher überhaupt nicht, denn der erste Band wurde erst nach Mitte April versandt, und konnte also den Lemgoern noch nicht bekannt sein.

Wer waren nun die Lemgoer? Ein Brief von Friedrich Clemens August Werthes an Wieland, vom 2. Dezember 1773, gibt uns einen Fingerzeig: „Die Lemgoer hören nicht auf, zu sagen was Sie schreiben. . . ." Wenn Wieland dieses Brekekekoixkoix gestillt wissen wolle, glaubt er dem König dieser Frösche Maubillon, den er kenne, ein Siegel auf den Mund drücken zu können. „Er ist das bizarrste Geschöpfe, das ich je gesehen habe; von einigen Ihrer Werke spricht er mit einer Art von der höchsten Adoration, spricht als stünde er in der unmittelbaren Gegenwart irgend einer Gottheit, alle seine Gesichtszüge werden gleichsam in eine heilige Bewunderung aufgelöst; kömmt er dann auf andere, so schimpft er wie ein Pferd. Er bekümmert sich um niemanden, hat in allem sehr freye Grundsätze—übrigens eine äsopische Figur in Taschenformat."<sup>5</sup> Des Werthes Graf . . . läßt ihn durch den ältesten Sohn benachrichtigen, die Lemgoer, "welche er nur immer bey mir nach dem Merkur die Langöhrichten zu nennen beliebt," hätten aufs neue sehr unerfreuliche Ausfälle auf Wieland getan, und gibt sein Misfallen kund, zeigt aber in Münster die Recensionen mit dem boshaftesten Vergnügen herum. Am 20. Dezember 1773 schreibt Werthes wieder an Wieland: „Nichts übertrifft die Unverschämtheit die sich die Lemgoer erlauben. Der Verfasser des armseligen Einfalls wegen der Agathonischen Subscriptionssache, daß Sie die Dokumente dazu sollten drucken lassen, und die Originale davon irgendwo gerichtlich deponiren . . . Überhaupt verachte ich alle die recensirende Beelze-Buben und Bübchen, . . ." (ungedruckt, Mitteilung Seufferts).

Jakob Mauvillon, denn diesen meint Werthes, war 1743 in Leipzig geboren, hatte sich früh den militärischen Wissenschaften gewidmet, und war 1765, als er aus dem Heer austrat, Fähnrich

<sup>5</sup> Werthes war zu dieser Zeit Erzieher der beiden Söhne des Grafen Philipp Ernst von der Lippe-Alverdissen, die er nach Göttingen begleitete. Der Graf war damals Gouverneur von Münster. Alverdissen liegt weniger als zwanzig Kilometer von Lemgo entfernt.

beim hannöverschen Ingenieurkorps. Nach kurzem Aufenthalt in Leipzig, wo er Jura studieren wollte, wurde er Lehrer am Pädagogium in Ilfeld, 1771 Lehrer der militärischen Wissenschaften am Carolinum in Kassel; bei Errichtung eines adeligen Kadettenkorps in Kassel wurde er zum Hauptmann desselben ernannt (1778). Mauvillons Lebenslauf in der *Allgemeinen deutschen Biographie* (xx, 715) berichtet nur: „Er trat schon in ganz jungen Jahren als Übersetzer aus dem Französischen auf und versuchte sich in der nämlichen Zeit auch mit selbständigen schönwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten.“ Meusel<sup>6</sup> gibt mehr Einzelheiten, indem er Mauvillons Anteil an dem *Casseler Zuschauer* (gemeint ist Diesch No. 822), sowie Rezensionen in der *Lemgoischen Bibliothek*, in der *Allgem. deu. Bibliothek*, und in der *Allgem. Litteratur-Zeitung* erwähnt. Hier sind wir auf der Spur des „gewissen Lemgoer Journals,“ dessen Titel Wieland wohl absichtlich verschweigt: es ist die *Auserlesene Bibliothek der neuesten deutschen Litteratur*, Lemgo in der Meyerschen Buchhandlung, wovon in den Jahren 1772-1781 zwanzig Bände erschienen.<sup>7</sup>

Fritz Jacobis Revision vom Februar 1773, sowie Wielands Bemerkung im März-Heft des *Merkurs* können also nur mit dem ersten und zweiten Bande der *Bibliothek* in Verbindung gebracht werden. In dem von der Verlagsfirma unterzeichneten Vorbericht zum ersten Bande heißt es (S. xv):

Da der Verleger viele der gelehrtesten und angesehensten Männer in Deutschland zu Mitarbeitern dieser Schrift erhalten hat, von welchen

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<sup>6</sup> *Lexikon der vom Jahr 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen Schriftsteller*, VIII, 549-554.

<sup>7</sup> Nach Diesch No. 267 vollständig auf der Staatsbibliothek in Berlin erhalten. Das mir im September 1937 auf der Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart vorliegende Exemplar enthält nur die Bände 1-10 (1772-1776); die Universität Princeton besitzt die Bände 1-9. Auf jedes Jahr entfallen zwei Bände, die nicht in Hefte eingeteilt sind: der erste Band muß spätestens im Juni 1772 erschienen sein, da er in den *Frankfurter gelehrten Anzeigen* vom 7. Juli 1772, in den *Göttingischen Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* vom 25. Juli, und in den *Erlangischen gelehrten Anmerkungen* vom 28. Juli 1772 rezensiert wurde. Eine Anzeige des ersten und zweiten Bandes steht in *Almanach der deutschen Musen auf das Jahr 1773*, Leipzig; im Jahrgang 1774 des *Almanachs* werden die Bände drei und vier der *Bibliothek* angezeigt. Im allgemeinen ist wohl anzunehmen, daß jährlich ein Band der *Bibliothek* zu Ostern, und einer zur Michaelis-Messe erschienen sei.



jeder sein eignes Fach gehörig besorget, so verbittet er alle Einsendungen von Recensionen und Anzeigen. Diese berühmten Männer finden zwar gegenwärtig nicht für gut sich zu nennen; es kan aber alle Augenblicke geschehen, wenn der Nutzen des Publikums hierbey gewint. Eben so wenig kennen sich die gelehrten Mitarbeiter unter einander: denn auch diese Kenntnis würde weiter keinen Nutzen haben. Wollen die Gelehrten ihre kleinen Schriften, die selten in den Buchläden zu haben sind, dem Verleger übersenden, damit er selbige einem Recensenten, für dessen Fach sie gehören, zur Beurtheilung überschicken könne: so wird er dieses Geschäfte mit der größten Bereitwilligkeit volziehen. Dieses wird auch geschehen, wenn Buchhandler ihre Verlagsartikel ihm übersenden. Beide dürfen aber nicht hoffen und erwarten, daß wegen dieser Übersendung, (so wie es jetzo die algemeine Mode ist) von diesen Schriften ein anderes Urtheil werde gefallen werden, als es die strengste Wahrheit verlangt. . . .

Im alphabetischen Register des ersten Bandes kommen die Namen Wieland und Jacobi nicht vor: S. 101-105 findet sich jedoch eine Rezension der (anonym erschienenen) *Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope*:

Ein allerliebster kleiner philosophischer Roman von Hrn. Wieland. Zwar bleiben andere Werke dieses vortreflichen Dichters, nemlich sein Agathon, und seine Musarion über dieses erhaben, aber es ist doch allezeit seiner würdig. Witz, satyrische Laune, feine moralische Philosophie, und sehr ruhrende Scenen sind hier auf die lebenswürdigste Art von der Welt vereint. Es läst sich aber gar kein Auszug von dem Buche machen, und wir rathen dem Leser, es selbst vorzunehmen, wir versichern ihn, daß es ihm gar nicht gereuen kan. . . .

Sternens Manier ist also in diesem Buche nachgeahmt, und zwar sichtbarlich. Daß sich ein Schriftsteller nach denen, die ihm besonders wohl gefallen, bildet, das kan gar nicht getadelt werden, und kan gar nicht anders seyn, weil man gemeinlich das Schreiben von andern durch die Lecture lernt. So haben Cervantes, Fielding, Crebillon den Verfasser des Agathon gebildet, und kein Mensch kan ihm deswegen das Lob der Originalität versagen. Allein, wenn unsre besten Schriftsteller sich über das, was Neues bei Ausländern heraus kömt, mit so großer Begierde herwerfen, daß sie sich ganz darin verwandeln; so rechtfertigen und vermehren sie das Uebertriebne der uns so oft vorgeworfenen Nachahmungssucht. Es ist zwar wahr, gegenwärtige Nachahmung ist vortreflich, und wegen des Besondern der Erfindung hat sie allezeit viel Originelles. Aber Hr. Wieland hat in seinen comischen Erzählungen, im Agathon, in der Musarion, so sehr gezeigt, daß alles in seinen Händen Gold wird, wenn er es mit Fleiß bearbeiten wil, und daß er dies Gold lediglich aus sich selbst ziehen kan, daß man es ihm nothwendig etwas verdanken mus, ihn seine Talente dazu verwenden zu sehen, Schriftsteller, die allezeit unter ihm sind, (denn das ist Sterne gewis, dessen Werke vergehen werden, wenn Wielands Meisterstücke noch das Vergnügen der spätesten Nachkommen-

schaft sind) nachzuahmen. . . . Nur die Republik des Diogenes wil uns nicht in den Kopf. Wozu dieses unnütze Stuck Politik und moralischer Naturkunde des Menschen? Es ist durch und durch eine Chimäre. . . .

Eine ausführliche Besprechung der *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* findet sich S. 202-227 des ersten Bandes. Nur der Wieland'schen Vorrede und des darin erteilten Lobes wegen wird der Roman weitläufig untersucht:

Wir können ohnedies nicht begreifen, wie Freundschaft einen Man wie ihn [Wieland] so sehr hat blenden, oder Höflichkeit und Galanterie gegen die Damen so weit hat verleiten können, daß er diesem Buche, wenn es auch zehnmal von einem Frauenzimmer und von einer Freundin kömt, ein solch übertriebenes Lob beilegt. . . . Denn der Roman selbst verdient die Lobspprüche gar nicht, welche ihm beigelegt werden. (S. 204 f.)

Vor dem zweiten Bande steht eine Vorrede von dreissig Seiten, die hauptsächlich zu einer Auseinandersetzung mit den Rezensenten des ersten Bandes der *Bibliothek* dient.<sup>8</sup> Auf diese "unbußfertige, trotzige Vorrede" hatte Fritz Jacobi in seinem Briefe von 18. Februar hingewiesen. Ihm schwebten wohl Stellen vor, wie die folgende (S. IX):

Was sol man aber zu gewissen andern Urtheilen sagen, die man findet. In eben angeführter Recension<sup>9</sup> von unserm Journal, wird demselben der zuversichtliche, zudringliche Lehrton vorgeworfen. Eben diesen Vorwurf machen ihm noch viel deutlicher die Frankfurter Anzeigen Nr. 64 a. o. Man mus gewis darüber lächeln. Solten die Herrn nicht erst nachsehn, ob sie nicht selbst in diesen Fehler verfallen? Wir wollen nicht sagen, daß es der algemeine Ton der Götting. Gel. Anzeigen ist! Aber unser Rezensent, der in seinen scurrilischen Wendungen sich weit von dem gewöhnlichen Ton dieses litterarischen Blats entfernt, ist in bemeldeten Fehler gewis so sehr verfallen als einer.

Seite 12-14 werden Gedichte von J. G. Jacobi angezeigt (Düsseldorf 1771; Halberstadt 1771):

. . . Uns können sie gar nicht gefallen: sie sind alle noch unter den Mittelmäßigen. Die, so den Titel führen: *an Aglaja* und *über die Wahrheit*, sind nichts als ein philosophisch seyn sollendes, unzusammenhängendes, undurchdachtes Gewäsche. Die Lieder an Elisen sind

<sup>8</sup> *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* N. LIV. den 7ten Julii 1772; *Göttingische Anz. von gel. Sachen* 89. Stück den 25. Julii 1772; *Erlanger gel. Anmerk.* xxxi. Stück. Dienstt. den 28. Jul. 1772. Als Nachschrift wird S. XVIII-XXX der Text dieser Rezensionen, mit Glossen, wieder abgedruckt.

<sup>9</sup> nämlich in den *Göttingischen Anzeigen von gel. Sachen*.

schlecht. Nicht sehr viel besser sind die Gedichte ans Publikum, Schöpfung der ersten Menschen, und die Cantate auf das Geburtsfest des Königs. Man sage einmahl, welchen Vortheil erhält die Nation und die Kunst von der Herausgabe solcher Säckelchen? Ja, wenn sie etwas vortreffliches bezeichnete, so wäre nichts dagegen einzuwenden; aber sie sind schlecht, und es ist eine Schande zu sehen, wie so manche von unsern jetzigen Dichtern, wenn sie einigen Ruf erhalten haben, denselben unbarmherzig dazu misbrauchen, immer schlechter zu schreiben. . . . Daher vernachlässigen sich unsre schon vorhandenen guten Dichter und verderben. Aus den neuen angehenden aber wird nichts. In dieser Betrachtung haben wir so viel von diesen Blättern gesagt, die sonst kaum eine Anzeige verdient hätten.

Zweifellos war es diese Anzeige, welche Fritz Jacobi in Harnisch brachte, und zur Abfassung der schließlich doch nicht im *Mercur* veröffentlichten Revision trieb. Hierauf bezieht sich wohl Wielands Äusserung im März-Heft 1773 über "die Verfasser der Litteratur-Artikel in einem gewissen Lemgoer Journal." Übrigens hatte dieses bis jetzt Wieland selbst nicht angegriffen. Im dritten Bande jedoch, der vermutlich im Herbst 1773 erschien, steht S. 134-160 eine Rezension des *Goldnen Spiegels*, auf die sich Werthes in dem Briefe vom 2. Dezember 1773 wohl bezieht:

Es ist uns alle Augenblicke bei diesem Buche eingefallen, warum wir Menschen doch immer auf einem andern Wege Ruhm suchen, als dem, den uns die Natur scheint vorgezeichnet zu haben? Das findet nicht nur bei dem bischen Ehre stat, das man sich sucht in dem kleinen Kreise, worinnen man lebt, zu erwerben, sondern auch bei dem ausgebreitetern Ruhme, nach welchem Schriftsteller ringen. Das deutet uns auch der Fal bei Hr. Wieland zu seyn. Die Natur hat aus ihm einen Dichter gemacht. Er studierte Philosophie, die ein Dichter allezeit in einem gewissen Grad kennen mus. Er drang in die Geheimnisse derselben aber etwas mehr ein, als Dichter sonst zu thun pflegen; mischte seine Kenntnisse darüber in seine Gedichte herein, und gab ihnen dadurch einen originellen Stempel, der sie dem Kenner derselben angenehm, und dem Ungelehrten lehrreich machte. Von der Staffel eines philosophischen Dichters aber bis zu der Staffel eines Weltweisen, dessen Kenntnisse in diesem Fache Aufmerksamkeit verdienen, ist, ohne hier entscheiden zu wollen, zu welchem mehr Geisteskräfte gehören? noch sehr weit. Hr. Wieland hat, ich weis nicht warum, diesen letzten Namen seit einiger Zeit zu erwerben gesucht. Die Natur bildete ihn zum Dichter, er aber will mit aller Gewalt ein Weltweiser seyn. Ja was noch mehr ist, er wirft sich zum Staatsmanne auf. . . . Daher kan auch jemand ein gar feiner Moralist, aber ein sehr jämmerlicher Politiker seyn, und von dem *Jure publico universali* sowol als von der gesetzgeberischen Politik und der Staatswirthschaft gar nichts verstehen. Und so scheint sichs in der That mit Hr. W. zu verhalten, wie es sich aus seinen idea-

lischen Republiken, womit er das Publikum schon in einem halben Dutzend Bücher traktirt hat, und wovon auch beiläufig hier eine angebracht ist; und überhaupt aus gegenwärtigem ganzen Werke ergiebt. Aber warum wil er denn nun sich durchaus als statistischer Philosoph zeigen? Er, der den Menschen, wie er gegenwärtig ist, so vortreflich, auch in der fantastischsten Einkleidung schildern, und uns also auf die lehrreichste Art unterrichten kan. Er gebe uns doch mehr Romane wie sein Agathon, mehr Gedichte wie seine Musarion; er wird dadurch der Stolz Deutschlands seyn. Er kan, wenn er wil, unser Ariost werden; die Natur hat ihm einen Theil von dem Genie und der Einbildungskraft dieses Dichters gegeben. Warum wil er denn nicht in dieser Bahn fortlaufen? Sind wir etwa so sehr reich an wahren Gedichten? O gewis nicht. Pöschens haben wir genug; wahrer Gedichte aber sehr wenige, und Dichter sind unter uns gewis viel seltner als philosophische Köpfe. Aber der Grund des Übels scheint uns tiefer zu liegen. Hr. W. wil vermuthlich gerne viel schreiben; denn alle Messen kommen neue Werke von ihm heraus. Das geht mit Gedichten, wenn sie ein wenig wichtig sind, nicht so leicht an. Und wenn sie auch zehnmal so hingeschleudert sind, als seine Grazien und sein Amadis. Denn er mag von dem Feilen seiner Gedichte, und von der besondern Absicht, die er bei der nachlässig scheinenden Versart dieser beiden Gedichte gehabt, sagen was er wil, so heißt, uns so etwas weis machen wollen, des Publici Gutherzigkeit misbrauchen; da zumal die Nachlässigkeit sich durch sonst so viele Spubren in seinen mehresten Gedichten zeigt. Wenn er also auch seine Gedichte eben so unfleißig im Plan und Ausarbeitung, als oben benante, verfertigte, so gieng es damit doch nicht so geschwinde, als mit einem Roman ohne Verwicklung, und den man mit unreifen moralisch-politischen Lehren bis zu vier, und wenn man wil, bis zu hundert Theilen anschwellen lassen kan. Und freilich, wenn Hr. Wieland Deutschlands Zierde als Dichter seyn wolte, so muste er auf die Einrichtung des Plans, und besonders auf die brillante Ausmahlung jedes Theiles desselben, allen Fleis und viel Zeit wenden. Er verschleudert aber die Zeit in Dinge, die seinen Ruhm nicht erhalten, geschweige denn ewig festgrunden werden: und die Zeit, da die Kraft zu dichten in der That im menschlichen Leben ihre Periode hat, ist für seinen und für Deutschlands Ruhm allezeit unwiederbringlich verlohren.

Wir sagen diese Wahrheiten, nicht um Hrn. W. Ruhm zu schmählern, sondern aus patriotischem Eifer, aus Liebe für unser Volk, dem wir doch auch einen Rang unter die Dichter habende Nationen wünschten; verbunden mit dem wahren Gefühl von dem großen Genie, das Hrn. W. zugefallen ist.

Der Rezensent begründet sodann im Einzelnen seine abfällige Meinung über den *Goldnen Spiegel*, indem er Wieland zum Schluß nochmals den Rat gibt, „zu der Poesie zurücke zu kehren, die ihm so vielen wahren Ruhm verspricht, wenn er nur darum arbeiten, und Fleis und Mühe anwenden wil.“

Im vierten Bande der *Bibliothek*, vermutlich im Herbst 1773 veröffentlicht, wird S. 81-85 eine Rezension der *Gedanken über eine alte Aufschrift* gegeben, mit dem allgemeinen Urtheil (S. 82):

Seine Gedanken sind unterhaltend für den Denker, unpraktikabel in der großen Welt, und schädlich für den Jüngling, ob er gleich dem erstern nichts neues, der großen Welt etwas paradoxes, und dem letztern seine Lieblingsbegriffe vorträgt. Wir wollen dies Urtheil rechtfertigen, indem wir es noch mehr zu erläutern bedacht sind.

Der erste Band des *Merkurs* wird S. 204-213 besprochen:

Man bekommt manchemal einen Einfal, eine Lust, irgend eine Sache auszuführen, die in andern Zeiten oder Gegenden sehr beliebt oder nützlich gewesen ist: man siehet, sie wäre es auch anjetzt. Allein man bedenket entweder seine Kräfte nicht, oder man wil sich nicht die Zeit und die Muhe nehmen, die dazu gehörte, den Einfal in dem Grad der Vollkommenheit auszuführen, mit dem er die Wirkung, die man vor Augen gehabt hatte, hervorbringen würde. Hiedurch mislingt denn der Versuch: die ganze Sache geräth ins Stecken und verfault, und der Urheber derselben, anstat sich Lob und Ehre zu erwerben, zieht sich den Spot und die Miszufriedenheit des in seinen Erwartungen getäuschten Publikums zu. So scheint es gerade mit diesem Werke gegangen zu seyn, und dasselbe wird ganz gewis das besagte Schicksal haben, wofern es sich nicht ganz und gar ändert. In der That, man kan sich kaum vorstellen, wie himmelweit unter der Erwartung dieser erste Band des Merkurs gerathen ist. Nicht nur ist er nicht das, was man von einem Wieland hofte, sondern man müste ihn schlecht nennen, wenn auch der Herausgeber ein viel weniger berühmter Man wäre. Wir dürfen nur eine bloße Anzeige der in diesem Theile enthaltenen Sachen hersetzen, um unser Urtheil alsbald zu beweisen. Sie wird die Eilfertigkeit, den Mangel an gehöriger Vorsicht, um dem Publikum etwas seiner Aufmerksamkeit würdiges zu liefern; oder (hat diese nicht gefehlt, und das wäre noch schlimmer,) das gänzliche Unvermögen dazu deutlich an den Tag legen. Nach einer Vorrede, die eine Nachricht von dem, was man im Merkur suchen und finden sol, enthält, folgen gleich einige flüchtige poetische Stücke, 7 an der Zahl. Sie sind ganz mittelmäßig, wie es der Herausgeber, in einem dazu gehörigen Epilog, selbst gestehen mus. Er ermahnet zwar, sie ja nicht zu dem Maasstab dessen, was der Merkur in diesem Fache liefern wird, zu nehmen. Allein wie kan man hoffen, daß ihrer bessere kommen werden, da in den beiden folgenden Stücken nicht ein einziges, weder gutes, noch schlechtes zu finden ist? Nach diesem findet man Briefe von Hrn Wieland an einen seiner Freunde, die die Beurtheilung seiner Alceste enthalten. Es ist in den Briefen verschiedenes wahres und gutes; allein wer sucht, wer verlangt das im Merkur? Die wenigsten Leser desselben werden daran Geschmack finden. Wir rügen nicht, daß Hr. Wieland von seiner Oper mit viel zu vieler Selbstzufriedenheit spricht; da er einmahl über das andre Arien aus

derselben ohne alles Bedenken schön nent. Dies ist eine Nebensache. Die Hauptsache ist, daß eine solche recensionsmäßige Zergliederung derselben in den Merkur gar nicht gehört. Ja wenn er über die Oper überhaupt etwas neues, etwas lehrreiches gesagt hätte, das den Geschmack der Leser hierinnen gebildet hatte, so gieng es noch an: aber die Vergleichung seiner Alceste, mit der Alceste des Euripides, ist seinen Lesern, davon die wenigsten vom Euripides etwas wissen, gewis nicht interessant. Ubrigens nehmen diese Briefe einen ansehnlichen Platz in diesem Bande ein, nämlich 56 Seiten und also ein wenig mehr als den 5ten Theil desselben, die Vorrede mit gerechnet. Ferner enthält der Merkur eine Erzählung des Hrn. Jacobi; Charmides und Theona, oder die sitliche Grazie; wovon die 3 Stucke das 1te und einen Theil des 2ten Buchs liefern. Was noch aus der Erzählung werden wird, wissen wir nicht, und vielleicht weis es Hr. Jacobi selbst noch nicht recht. Das was wir aber davon vor uns haben, ist gewis alles, was man sich nur geziertes, unzusammenhängendes, langweiliges denken kan. Es ist gar nicht der Muhe werth sich dabei aufzuhalten; und wir behaupten, daß kein Mensch wissen kan, was Hr. Jacobi damit haben wil. . . .

In ähnlichem Tone werden andere Beiträge im ersten Bande des *Merkurs* besprochen; von der Rezension des Pariser *Almanach des Muses* (*Merkur* I, 84-96) meint der Lemgoer (S. 206 f.):

Wozu denn aber auch die ganze Rezension? Ohnmasgeblich könnte Hr. Wieland den ganzen Pariser Musenalmanach im Merkur abdrucken lassen; da füllte er seine Bogenzahl noch geschwinder und bequemer: denn wenn es einigermaßen weitläufig gedruckt würde, so könnte ein Band damit angefüllt werden; und die ganzen Unkosten, um sich die Materialien anzuschaffen, beliefen sich ungefehr auf 1 Gulden oder einen kleinen Thaler. . . .

Sodann nimmt der Referent Anstoß an Wielands Behauptung in der Vorrede zum *Merkur* (S. XIII f.), daß die gelehrte Republik in Deutschland seit einiger Zeit die Gestalt einer im Tumult entstandnen Demokratie gewonnen habe, und daß anmaßliche Demagogen versuchten, die gelehrte Republik in Verwirrung zu setzen, und die Verfassung dieses Staats, der seiner Natur nach Aristokratisch seyn müsse, gänzlich umzukehren. Die ganze Stelle wird wörtlich aus dem *Merkur* abgedruckt (*Bibliothek* S. 210), mit Glossen über Wielands lächerlichen Eigendünkel daß sein Oberrevisionsgericht auf die Verfasser der *Bibliothek* Wirkung haben würde. Darauf wird Wielands Anspielung auf die Verfasser der *Litteraturartikel in einem gewissen Lemgoischen Journal* abgedruckt, mit der Bemerkung (S. 212):

Woher Hr. Wieland diese Nachricht hat, weis ich nicht; es ist schwerlich zu glauben, daß sie gegründet sey, da alle Mitarbeiter an diesem Journal unbekant sind: und von den Hofnungen unbekannter Leute kan man nichts wissen. Mich, der ich auch die Ehre habe, darunter zu gehören, kan das nicht angehn; denn ich weis gewis, daß ich vom Merkur, bis er ans Licht kam, mit keiner lebendigen Sele gesprochen habe. Sollte dies wol nicht ein kleiner Schlag des Gewissens bei Hrn. W. seyn, daß er sich vorgenommen hatte, mit uns ganz besonders ein Wörtchen zu reden, aber nichts recht gutes aufzubringen wuste, und also lieber ein *air dédaigneux* annahm? . . .

Schließlich enthält der vierte Band der *Bibliothek* auf S. 625-644 eine Rezension der neuen Agathon-Ausgabe, auf die Werthes im Briefe vom 20. Dezember anspielt; kleinere Fehler werden gezeigt, und der neu hinzukommende Schluß der Geschichte der Danae wird nicht gebilligt,—im Ganzen wird der Roman jedoch sehr gelobt, und dem Fieldingschen *Tom Jones* an die Seite gesetzt. Am Schluß (S. 643 f.) wird die Subscription auf diese Ausgabe berührt:

Man erwartet vielleicht, daß wir von dem, was die Subscription zu diesem Buche betrifft, reden werden, da viele Interessenten nicht ohne Recht klagen, man habe die ihnen gethane Versprechungen gar nicht erfüllt. Die Sache ist freilich nicht hübsch, und Hr. W. hat sich deswegen zu rechtfertigen gesucht. Wil er das im Ernste thun, (und wenn er es thut, so hat er Recht, denn die Sache bringt eben keine Ehre,) so ist nur ein Weg dazu vorhanden. Er lasse die Dokumente zu der Geschichte der Subscriptionssache, die er zu haben versichert, und die, wie er sagt, seine vollkommenste Rechtfertigung enthalten, auf seine Kosten drucken, und schicke sie an seine Subscribenten, stat der versprochenen Dialogen des Archytas, und der Prüfung des Systems des Hippas, die sie im Merkur doch lesen, und sich ohne das werden anschaffen wollen. Die Herausgebung dieser Dokumente wird eine hinlängliche Genugthuung für die Subscribenten seyn, die, ohne gerade das Geld zu bedauern, sich für beleidigt halten können, daß man sie hintergangen hat, und die auch Hrn. W. die Satisfaktion nicht abschlagen können, seine Rechtfertigungsdokumente anzunehmen. Er deponire dabei die Originale an einem Ort gerichtlich, und mache denselben zu gleicher Zeit bekant. Dies ist der einzige Weg, diesen Fleck ganz rein zu waschen, denn durch solche Manifeste, wie das vorige, gelingt es ihm in den Augen streng denkender Leute wahrhaftig nicht. Doch dies geschehe oder geschehe nicht, so können sich die Subscribenten mit dem Gedanken beruhigen lassen, daß ihr Geld eine Belohnung des Schriftstellers gewesen, für das schöne Werk, womit er die Nation beschenkt hat. Eine Belohnung, die er wol verdient, und die ihm die Nation hätte ertheilen sollen, wenn auch keiner ein einziges Exemplar dafür erhalten hätte. . . .

Auf die übrigen Rezensionen Wielandscher Werke in der *Biblio-*

theke können wir hier nicht näher eingehen: im vierten Bande, S. 489-491, steht eine Besprechung der *Alceste*; im fünften Bande, 1774, werden S. 545-553 der zweite und dritte Band des *Merkurs* 1773 angezeigt; im siebenten Bande, 1775, steht S. 25-36 eine Anzeige des fünften und sechsten Bandes des *Merkurs*, 1774, und S. 478-480 eine ähnliche des siebenten Bandes; der achte Band der *Bibliothek*, 1775, bringt S. 399-403 eine Anzeige des ersten Bandes des *Merkurs* 1775. Alle diese Rezensionen sind in demselben Tone gehalten, wie die erste, nur selten findet ein Band des *Merkurs* Gnade in den Augen des Lemgoer Kunstrichters.

Erst im Jahre 1777 ergriff Wieland die Gelegenheit, sich, wo nicht an der *Auserlesenen Bibliothek*, so doch an dem Haupt der Lemgoer zu rächen: im Novemberheft des *Merkurs* steht S. 145-173 ein Aufsatz mit dem Titel: „Über Herrn Mauvillons angefangne Übersetzung des *Orlando Furioso*.“ Dazu steht als Fußnote die Bemerkung: „welche unter dem Titel: *Ludwig Ariost's, von den Italiänern der Göttliche genannt, wüthender Roland, ins Deutsche übersetzt von Herrn Mauvillon. Lemgo 1777. die ersten zwölf Gesänge*, schon vor einigen Monaten ans Licht getreten.“<sup>10</sup>

Im *Merkur* handelt es sich um keine Besprechung im gewöhnlichen Sinne,<sup>11</sup> sondern um eine offene und absichtliche Verhöhnung Mauvillons:

Herr Mauvillon entschloß sich, den Ariost zu übersetzen, als er hörte, daß die Meyerische Buchhandlung eine Übersetzung davon veranstalten wollte; weil er befürchtete, wie er in der Vorrede sagt, daß ihn nicht leicht ein andrer so gut übersetzen würde als er selbst. Er versichert, daß Er, ausserdem daß er vollkommen Italienisch verstehe und wisse was Verse seyen, in der erstaunlichen Sachkenntniß mit dem Ariost ungemein viel Ähnlichkeit habe; bis auf die Kleinigkeit (wie er zu bescheiden davon spricht) daß er in seiner Jugend Leibesübungen getrieben: zeigt dann ausführlich, mit wichtigen Fingerzeigen für unsre Dichter, daß man

<sup>10</sup> Die Mauvillon'sche Übersetzung wurde in der *Allgemeinen deutschen Bibliothek* rezensiert (Anhang zum 25.-36. Bande, 5. Abt. S. 2990 ff.). Hier lautet der Titel: „L. Ariosto's, von den Italiänern der Göttliche genannt, wüthender Roland. Ein Heldengedicht in 46 Gesängen, ins Deutsche übersetzt, (von J. Mauvillon.) Lemgo, bey Meyer, 1. Band, 1777. 18 Bog. II. B. 1 Alph. 12 Bog. III B. 2 Alph. 5 Bog. IV. B. 1778. 3 Alph. 3 Bog. gr. 8.“ Ich habe das sehr seltene Werk, von welchem der *Preussische Gesamtkatalog* nur Ein vollständiges Exemplar nachweist, nicht eingesehen.

<sup>11</sup> Unter der Rubrik *Kritische Anzeigen* werden auf S. 179-187 sechs Bücher besprochen.



ausserordentlich stark in der Naturgeschichte, Geographie, Mathematik, im Fechten und Tanzen, Kriegs- und Seewesen, und den meisten andern Wissenschaften seyn müsse, um den wüthenden Roland nur gleichsam in Kupfer zu stechen; und läßt sich endlich aus, daß Ariost immer sein Liebling gewesen.

Ariost war immer auch unser Freund. Und es freut uns in der That, daß Herr Mauvillon es unternommen, uns denselben in seiner ganzen Pracht und Schönheit zu liefern. Er ist an manchen Orten dunkel, besonders gegen das Ende. Und es freut uns noch mehr, daß Herr M. betheuert, daß er, äußerst wahrscheinlich, keinen einzigen Fehler begangen; ob wir gleich ein halb Dutzend Nachlässigkeiten, und verschiedene Lesarten, die nun freylich keine offenbare Druckfehler seyn dürfen, bey einer sonst trefflichen Übersetzung für eine solche Kleinigkeit achten, daß gewiß keiner, der nicht ein Narr ist, darüber viel Wesens macht. Aber desto besser! desto besser!

Mit einem Worte, da wir nicht nöthig haben, bey Herrn M. Verdienst uns so in Bescheidenheit zu halten, als er: wir haben hier zwölf Gesänge Meisterstück, wobey der Übersetzer, noch mehr als der Autor, sich in seinem vollen Lichte zeigt.

Es wäre nicht wohl möglich, alle die Stellen anzuführen, die man durchgehends bisher völlig falsch und unrecht verstanden, und wovon man in diesem *Commentarius perpetuus*, wie Herr M. mit Recht noch seine Übersetzung nennt, die scharfsinnigsten Auslegungen findet: geschweige die Menge von Schönheiten, die dadurch unsrer Sprache zu Theil geworden; welche Herr M. (wie Freund und Feind einmüthig bekennet) in höchster Vollkommenheit inne hat: wer wollte die Sterne am Himmel zählen, und die Blumen in Arkadien! Wir können, in Betracht des Ganzen, nur wenige ausheben, und zwar nur solche, die sich ausser dem Zusammenhang leicht verstehen lassen. Jedoch leben wir der Hofnung, aus der Klaue den Löwen! Bey den meisten werden wir ohne Hehl gestehn, daß wir selbst sie vorher ganz anders verstanden, ehe uns Herr M. mit seiner Klarheit zu Hülfe gekommen; und nur zuweilen das Wie und Warum befügten, damit dieser und jener bey ähnlichen Fällen auf seiner Hut sey.

Nach diesen allgemeinen Bemerkungen werden etliche fünf und zwanzig Stellen ausgewählt, und in demselben sarkastischen Tone besprochen. Am Schluß kommen wieder allgemeinere Bemerkungen und persönliche Hiebe (S. 170):

Schließlich können wir nicht umhin, noch anzumerken, daß es sehr wohl gethan sey, sich beyzeiten aufs Kritisieren zu legen, und wo möglich schon in seinen Studentenjahren. Man erlangt dadurch eine Fertigkeit, in jeder Wissenschaft, sie sey auch noch so schwer und erfordere auch noch so viel eigene Erfahrung, sich geschickt zu stellen, und wenn man auch nicht die ersten Anfangsgründe davon verstehen sollte, vielweniger sie in Ausübung zu bringen wüßte: und giebt sich mit der Zeit für einen alten Werksverständigen aus: glaubt endlich selbst, daß man es sey, wenn sich zum Glück

kein guter Kopf mit einem abgegeben; und nimmt dann einen Ton an und ein Wesen, wie ein wahrer Großsultan, und spricht von Musen und Künstlern, wie die Ottomannische Pforte von Verschnittnen und Weibern.

Eben dadurch ist unser gelehrter Freund Herr Mauvillon auf einmal wie der Donner und ein abgedrückter Pfeil zum Dichter geworden. . . .

Nachdem er einige Jahre lang in seiner auserlesenen Bibliothek mit der Wage in der Hand und *toruo ore* und verbundenen Augen da gesessen, und gewogen und gewogen, und alle unsere Dichter zu leicht befunden, alles kurz und klein geheißt, und (um Alles zu sagen) sogar über den Genius, der Götzen von Berlichingen und Werthers Leiden schuf, die Sentenz ausgesprochen: daß er kein Ganzes zu machen verstehe; und Leibnitzten einen schlechten Philosophen gescholten, der in seinen Schriften wenigstens unverdaute Sätze von sich gegeben.

Er würd' es gewiß nicht so weit gebracht haben, wenn er nicht so lange Kunstrichter von Lemgo gewesen wäre!—Zu welcher rühmlichen Stelle wir ihm denn noch fernerhin gute Lungen und Spektatoren wünschen.

Hierauf folgt (S. 172) ein *Zusatz von fremder Hand*.

Der Recensent hat den Übersetzer ein wenig zu viel gelobt, weil er vermuthlich die *commentarios perpetuos* im Französischen über den Ariost nicht gelesen. Verschiedene der wichtigsten Schönheiten, die er ihm zuschreibt, befinden sich augenscheinlich darinn von Wort zu Wort, als zum Exempel: *Les monts Rhipées bien au delà des mers glaciales*; der Donner und der abgedrückte Pfeil: *une fleche est moins porompte: la foudre même tombe du ciel avec moins de rapidité*, welches zwar der Teutsche durch die Stellung sich einigermaßen eigen gemacht;—allein und unbewafnet: *seul et sans armes*; die mit schönen Bauzierrathen geschmückten Säulen: *des colonnes d'une belle architecture*, welches nur der Teutsche ein wenig verschönert, wie es bey guten Köpfen nicht anders hergeht; und den *vaste Univers*, den der Phöbus bey ihm durchwandert, der andern nicht zu gedenken, die der Recensent nicht angeführt.

Indessen muß man doch gerecht seyn; was man dem Herrn M. auf der einen Seite genommen, muß man ihm auf der andern wieder zuertheilen. Manche möchten es, ohngeachtet seiner großen Bescheidenheit, ihm doch als eine kleine Eitelkeit auslegen, daß er bey einem so schweren Autor als Ariost, von dem selbst die gelehrtesten Italiener bekennen, daß er an verschiedenen Orten dunkel ist, versichert, daß ihm gewiß keiner so leicht einen Fehler zeigen würde. Der Vorbericht zu dem leztern *Commentarius perpetuus* im Französischen über den Ariost sagt das nehmliche; ohne Mauvillonische Bescheidenheit.

Übrigens hat der Übersetzer sehr wohl gethan, sich mehr an diesen Kommentar, als den Text zu halten: er ist verständlicher geworden. Und dann übersetzt sich's auch leichter aus Prosa in Prosa, als in Prosa aus Versen, und's geht hurtiger von Flecke: zumahl wenns einem so enge gedruckt wird.

Verfasser des Aufsatzes über Mauvillon ist Wilhelm Heinse, der

seit 1774 in Düsseldorf lebte, wohin ihn J. G. Jacobi als Mitarbeiter und Mitherausgeber der eben zu gründenden *Iris* gezogen hatte. Unterm 18. Jenner 1778 schreibt Heinse an Gleim über Wieland:

Und ist's Ebbe bey ihm, so schreibt er, wie zum Exempel noch in seinem letztern Briefe an Fritzen [Jacobi] aus Weimar: "Sage Heinsen, daß seine Mauvillonade durchgängig für ein Meisterstück passiert vom feinsten Persiflage. Wenigstens in der Welt, wo ich Athem hohle. Und das ist sie auch. Wir freuen uns, ein neues Talent an ihm zu entdecken, das er ja nicht vergraben soll. Ich hoffe, es soll dadurch ein Schrecken unter die Pursche gerathen: denn der ist nun todt und begraben."<sup>12</sup>

Der Aufsatz steht auch in Heinses Werken,<sup>13</sup> aber ohne den *Zusatz von fremder Hand*. In der oben (Anm. 10) angeführten Mauvillon-Rezension der *Allgem. deutschen Bibliothek* wird nicht nur Heinse als Verfasser der Mauvillonade im *Merkur* genannt, sondern es werden auch die Gründe angegeben, weshalb Heinse so ergrimmt auf Mauvillon war:

Herr *Mauvillon* versichert in seinen heftigen Vorreden, außer seiner enthusiastischen und wirklich zu weit getriebnen Liebe zu dem italiänischen Dichter, noch, daß er sich nie zu dessen Übersetzer wurde angegeben haben, wenn nicht *Heinse* eine Übersetzung davon angekündigt hätte. Bloß um den abzuhalten, entschloß er sich, damit sein Lieblingsdichter nicht schlecht erschien. Denn er beweist durch manche Stellen, daß H. des Italiänischen nicht sehr kundig ist—wie auch wahr ist. Dagegen hat H. im d. *Merkur* durch manche Stellen bewiesen, daß auch M. des Italianischen nicht sehr kundig ist—wie nicht minder wahr ist. . . .

Von wem der *Zusatz von fremder Hand* ist, läßt sich schwerlich bestimmen: als Herausgeber des *Merkurs* hat Wieland wiederholt solche Zusätze geliefert, aber stets mit der Angabe: *Zusatz des Herausgebers*. Wieland kommt also kaum in Betracht. Seuffert möchte auf Fritz Jacobi raten (briefliche Mitteilung): dies wird um so wahrscheinlicher, da Fritz Jacobi zu dieser Zeit den Verkehr zwischen Heinse und Wieland vermittelte.

W. KURBELMEYER.

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<sup>12</sup> "Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Heinse," hrsg. von K. Schüddekopf, Zweite Hälfte, 1895, S. 66 (*Quellenschriften zur neueren deutschen Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, Hrsg. von A. Leitzmann. Bd. IV.)

<sup>13</sup> W. Heinse, *Sämmtliche Werke*, hrsg. von C. Schüddekopf, Leipzig, 1906, III, 513-533.

DRAYTON'S LAPIDARIES<sup>1</sup>

As long as the Aristotelian physics remained the basis of Renaissance scientific thinking, the mediaeval lapidary retained its place in the imagination of men of letters. Many of the more obscure lapidaries were probably to be had in manuscript, and the important lapidaries of Marbodius and Albertus Magnus were frequently reprinted. The great encyclopaediae of Pliny, St. Isidore, Rabanus Maurus, and St. Hildegard all contained lapidaries and were available. The newer encyclopaediae like *Batman upon Bartholomew* and the *Hortus Sanitatis* ascribed to Juan de Cuba devoted large sections to this fascinating subject. In addition to these works were the more contemporary lapidaries like Leonardus' *Speculum*, Ruet's *De Gemmis*, Cardan's *De Subtilitate*, the pseudo-Mandeville's *Le Lapidair*, Boodt's *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia*, and Dolce's *Trattato della Gemme*. Finally, one finds short lapidaries in a variety of places like Scribonius' *Rerum Naturalium*, Bodin's *Universae Naturae Theatrum*, and Porta's *Magiae Naturalis*. All of these works are compiled in the tradition; however, in the treatises of Dolce and Boodt one finds a slight scientific skepticism coupled with a suggestion of seventeenth-century rationalism.

Occasional references to the powers of precious stones appear in Elizabethan letters. Greene, Nashe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Spenser, and others are aware that one wears precious stones for their occult powers as well as for their beauty. It is interesting however, to find in "The Ninth Nimphall" of Drayton's *Muses Elizium* (1630) the most extended section on the influence of jewels in Elizabethan literature. In the course of this passage<sup>2</sup> Drayton refers to twenty-one stones; to nineteen gems some power or quality is ascribed; to two, the pearl and topaz, no special influence is attributed. Now all of the minute description and all of the odd material incorporated in these lines may have been common knowledge, but the sheer detail of the verse suggests an open textbook.

Of all the lapidaries available to him Drayton seems to have

<sup>1</sup> The material for this note was gathered while the author was a fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works* (J. W. Hebel, Oxford, 1933), III, 319-320.

used Boodt's work most frequently. This seems not unusual. The *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia* was published first at Hanover in 1609 and it was frequently re-issued; one of these re-editions appeared a few years before the publication of the *Muses Elizium* and Drayton might be expected to use the most up-to-date book. Drayton's use of Boodt is established by his account of the Onyx, which could derive alone from the *Gemmarum*. Drayton writes:

The Onix from the Ancients brought,  
Of wondrous Estimation,

which corresponds to Boodt's statement:

Nam apud eos [Judeos] in magna existimatione est onyx, fortassis quia una fuit ex 12 illis gemmis, quae rationali Aaronis insertae fuerunt.<sup>3</sup>

With equal felicity Boodt supplies the material for eighteen of the nineteen stones described in some degree by Drayton. A few examples will indicate the closeness of the relationship.

Then that celestially colored stone  
The Saphyre, heavenly wholly,  
Which worne, there wearinesse is none,  
And cureth melancholly.

Gemma haec caeruleo colore, pellucida, et diaphana est. . . . Tota enim natura putatur venenis resistere, et cor mirifice recreare. . . . Cor laetificat, cardiacos ac melancholicos affectus quosvis lenit, tollitque.<sup>4</sup>

The verdant gay greene Smaragdus,  
Most souveraine over passion.

Communi etiam hominum opinione castitatis custos, ac adulterii proditor existimatur, quod venereos actus illegitimos non ferat, ac si peragantur in partes dissiliat.<sup>5</sup>

The Lazulus, whose pleasant blew  
With golden vaines is graced.

Opacus est hic lapis Sapphiri colore, aut florum Cyani, aureis punctulis aut flammulis exornatus.<sup>6</sup>

Had Drayton a complete library of lapidaries at his service, he could have secured much of this material by using them all; but the fact that his descriptions are so close to Boodt in the majority

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* (Hanoviae, 1609), p. 123; (Lugduni Batavorum, 1647), p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* (1609), pp. 98-99; (1647), pp. 185-186.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* (1609), p. 100; (1647), p. 199.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* (1609), p. 138; (1647), p. 273.

of examples indicates that he used that authority most frequently.<sup>7</sup> The one exception to this is the lore about the Sardonix; Drayton writes:

The Sardonix approu'd by us  
To master Incantation.

The short section devoted by Boodt to this stone gives no hint of this property; in fact, of all the lapidaries available to the men of Drayton's age, only the *Lapidaire en francoys* of the pseudo-Mandeville suggests this. The compiler of that curious document writes, "detrui les malefices et les enchantemens."<sup>8</sup> This lapidary also emphasizes the lore that Drayton found in Boodt about the Diamond, Sapphire, Ruby, Amethyst, Smaragdus, Lazulus, Selenite, Cornelian, and Carbuncle.

For his private study Drayton seems to have had access to two of the more important lapidaries of his time, or to a manuscript lapidary compiled from these two sources. For material of this sort it is not unusual to find a poet consulting a congress of authorities. In the composition of *Les Amours et Nouveaux Eschanges des Pierres Precieuses*, Remy Belleau, whom Drayton may have been imitating in a limited way, studied the *περὶ λίθων* of the pseudo-Orpheus, Pliny, Marbodius, Agricola's *De Ortu et Causis* and *De Natura Fossilium*, and the pseudo-Mandeville.<sup>9</sup> With this precedent, Drayton may be permitted a double authority.

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<sup>7</sup> Had Drayton possessed all the lapidaries mentioned in the first paragraph of this article, he could have found his data about the Emerald in Leonardus, Boodt, the *Hortus*, and *Batman*; his material on the Beryl in Boodt and Dolce; his description of the Jacinth in Boodt, the *Hortus*, Cardan, and Dolce; and his account of the Amethyst in Leonardus, pseudo-Mandeville, Boodt, the *Hortus*, Cardan, Dolce, and Porta. The closest competitor to Boodt is Dolce, who supplies descriptions similar to Drayton's for thirteen of the nineteen described stones. The economy of a poet's life would suggest Boodt as the principal source.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* (Paris, 1561), sig. A6r.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander Eckhardt, *Remy Belleau* (Budapest, 1917), p. 142.

THE DATE OF *REVENGE FOR HONOUR*

*Revenge for Honour*, a play copyrighted as Henry Glapthorne's in 1653, but published as Chapman's in 1654, has recently been dated 1619-1620 by Bowers on the strength of a letter sent to the doge of Venice by the Venetian ambassador at London.<sup>1</sup> Bowers agrees with Fleay and Parrott, also, in identifying *Revenge for Honour* with *The Parracide*, a lost play licensed for performance on May 27, 1624, the assumption being that the license was postponed from 1620 to 1624 because the production seen by the ambassador gave offense to James I.<sup>2</sup>

This view is in line with Stoll's argument that *Revenge for Honour* dates from about 1621. Stoll has pointed out a borrowing from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, first printed in 1621, and an allusion to a proclamation against monopolies which James I uttered in the same year.<sup>3</sup> The borrowed material and the allusion, if we adopt Bowers' theory, might thus be regarded as interpolations made between 1620 and 1624.

It is entirely possible that *Revenge for Honour* was originally a Jacobean play. There can be little doubt, moreover, that the play which the ambassador saw has a superficial likeness to it:

a king with his two sons has one of them put to death, simply upon a suspicion that he wished to deprive him of his crown, and the other son actually did deprive him of it afterwards.<sup>4</sup>

But if we take this summary at its face value, we find that it accords quite as well with the plot of Fulke Greville's *Alaham*, which was not printed till 1633, but which was doubtless written many years earlier. Indeed, on close scrutiny *Alaham* seems to satisfy the conditions of the ambassador's synopsis even better than does *Revenge for Honour*. In *Alaham* the father orders the son to be executed, not, as in *Revenge for Honour*, because he has violated a nobleman's wife, but, as in the ambassador's account, because he is suspected of being a usurper. It is difficult, there-

<sup>1</sup> F. T. Bowers, "The Date of *Revenge for Honour*," *MLN.*, LII (March, 1937), 192-196.

<sup>2</sup> See T. M. Parrott, *The Tragedies of George Chapman* (London, 1910), p. 713.

<sup>3</sup> E. E. Stoll, "On the Dates of Some of Chapman's Plays," *MLN.*, XX (1905), 208-209.

fore, to accept the statement that "*Revenge for Honour* . . . of all extant Elizabethan tragedies conforms closest to the Ambassador's description."<sup>5</sup>

It is equally hard to believe that the play, as it has come down, was composed in the reign of James I. The text of 1654 may of course look back to some lost Jacobean manuscript, but the version we have seems referable, on the whole, to the era of Charles I.

In the first place, though some of the sources are Jacobean, at least one of them is Caroline. The names Almanzor, Abilqualit, Abrahen, and Tarifa were apparently taken either from Robert Ashley's *Almansor, the Learned and Victorious King that Conquered Spain*, first published in 1627, or from *The Life and Death of Mahomet, the Conquest of Spain together with the Rising and Ruin of the Saracen Empire*, printed as Sir Walter Raleigh's in 1637. The name Simanthes, too, may have been copied from the Semanthe of Suckling's *Aglaura* (1638).

Next, the allusion to the abolition of monopolies points more clearly toward the turn of events in 1640 than toward James I's proclamation in 1621. James I merely checked the spread of patents by his edict; parliament, in 1640, actually outlawed them, and the reference in question reads:

Since your monopolies and patents, which  
Made your purse swell like a wet sponge, have been  
Reduc'd to the last gasp.<sup>6</sup>

Between April and November, 1640, Pym and other members of the House of Commons so vigorously attacked the granting of patents that parliament voted to debar all owners of monopolies from sitting.<sup>7</sup> A dig at monopolies, moreover, is just what we should expect Glapthorne, if we accept his authorship, to have made. In *The Hollander* (1635) he derides the vintners' monopoly and the patentees for draining fenland; in *Wit in a Constable* (1639) he pokes fun at both the salt and fishing syndicates; in *Whitehall* (1642), speaking of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he declares:

Then within my frame  
Nere had been heard that so detested name

<sup>4</sup> Bowers, p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> Bowers, p. 193.

<sup>6</sup> Parrott, p. 480.

<sup>7</sup> *CSPD.*, 1640, pp. 37-38, 46-47, 466; *CSPD.*, 1640-1641, pp. 252-253, 263-264, 271.



Of a Monopoly; nor by patent made  
Lawfull, were iniuries to every trade.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, if we assume *Revenge for Honour* to be a Jacobean play, we shall have trouble in ascribing it to Glapthorne; whereas, if we label it Caroline, the difficulty vanishes. Glapthorne was born at Whittlesey, Cambridgeshire, in 1610, and entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1624.<sup>9</sup> He was consequently too young to have written *Revenge for Honour* in 1619, when he was only nine years old. Besides, his earliest acknowledged drama was first performed in 1635. Yet critics are now fairly well agreed that *Revenge for Honour*, as we have it, gives every evidence, internally, of being his work;<sup>10</sup> and there is reason to believe that the exchange of Chapman's name for Glapthorne's on the title-page resulted from misread handwriting or a compositor's oversight.

*Revenge for Honour*, in short, seems to have been written by Glapthorne sometime between 1627 and 1641. Walter says "circa 1640" without adducing evidence.<sup>11</sup> Unless we deny Glapthorne's authorship or, accepting it, believe that he was reworking an old manuscript, it would appear unwise to date the play as early as 1619. In any case, the text of the 1654 quarto was probably not reduced to final form until about 1640.

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#### FURETIÈRE AND WYCHERLEY:

#### "LE ROMAN BOURGEOIS" IN RESTORATION COMEDY

*Le Roman Bourgeois* of Antoine Furetière was first published in Paris in 1666. An English translation appeared in 1671 with the title, *Scarron's City Romance, Made English*; as the publishers

<sup>8</sup> *The Poems and Plays of Henry Glapthorne*, ed. Pearson (2 vols., London, 1874), II, 244.

<sup>9</sup> See J. H. Walter, "Henry Glapthorne," *TLS*, September 19, 1936, p. 748.

<sup>10</sup> See Parrott, pp. 715-720, and H. D. Sykes, "Revenge for Honour: Glapthorne's Play Attributed to Chapman," *NQ*, Series 12, I (1916), 403-404.

<sup>11</sup> Page 748.

of the 1703 edition of Scarron's *Works* explain, "it was none of his, but only Father'd upon him to make it sell."<sup>1</sup> This statement is corroborated by the fact that, while Furetière must have been almost unknown in England at this time, editions of Scarron's *Novels* had appeared in 1657, 1662, 1665, and 1667, as well as *Typhon*, *The Unexpected Choice*, and three editions of *Scarronides*.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable also that Scarron was generally accepted in England as the author of the *City Romance*, particularly since Furetière's name did not appear on the title page of a French edition of the work until after 1700. The situation has caused some confusion, and various critics, including M. L. Charlanne,<sup>3</sup> have assumed that the *City Romance* was a translation of Scarron's *Roman Comique*.

Of the relation of *Le Roman Bourgeois* to Restoration comedy, Mr. Allardyce Nicoll writes:

It is just possible also that the character of Major Oldfox in *The Plain Dealer* (D. L. 1676) owes somewhat to *Le roman bourgeois*: part of Farquhar's *The Constant Couple* (D. L. 1699) is derived from the same source.<sup>4</sup>

The latter part of this statement is in error. *The Constant Couple*, as several critics have noted, is borrowed in part from *The Adventures of Covent-Garden In Imitation of Scarron's City Romance*, a work attributed to Farquhar himself; but, as the author of this novel remarks in his preface:

As for my imitating *Scarron*, I confess 'tis not *Copia vera*, as many draw their Imitations, but there is something as Odd in this Gentlemans Writings, as there was in *Person*, which may puzzle an Author as much as a Painter to delineate him.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, strictly speaking, nothing in *The Adventures of Covent-Garden* is copied from the *City Romance*. Furetière's work may have suggested the idea of writing such a book and the inclusion of conversation on literary topics, while the character of Emilia

<sup>1</sup> *The Whole Comical Works of Monsr. Scarron* (London, 1703), p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> See Magne, *Bibliographie Générale des Œuvres de Scarron* (Paris, 1924), and Esdaile, *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed Before 1740* (London, 1912).

<sup>3</sup> *L'Influence Française en Angleterre au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1906), pp. 118, 281.

<sup>4</sup> *A History of Restoration Drama*, p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> Farquhar, *Complete Works* (London, 1930), II, 198.

may possibly owe something to Polyphile; but none of the material borrowed by Farquhar in *The Constant Couple* is to be traced back to the *City Romance*.

Wycherley's indebtedness to *Le Roman Bourgeois* was first noted by Langbaine.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Montague Summers writes:

Langbaine thought that Major Oldfox was perhaps borrowed from *Scarron's City Romance*. As is well known, however, his scenting after plagiarism not infrequently led him into over-rare subtilty, of which this is an example. . . . Wycherley has in a couple of speeches, Act IV, i, remembered an incident in the novel which relates the history of Charroselles the Gascoin, Collantina (a Pleading Damsel), and Bellaste. Charroselles reads Collantina a "Satyr against Lawyers" and then hands her a sonnet, "saying it was a Master-piece in Poetry. Now you talk of Master-pieces, replied she, let me show you a Conveyance. . . . He thought he should have better success by producing some little *Stanza*, in which he said a Lover made a Declaration to his Mistress. For *Declarations*, cried she, I have one very well drawn up, and of three hundred Articles not one hath been marked as Defective." <sup>7</sup>

Langbaine undoubtedly exaggerated the similarity between Charroselles and Major Oldfox, but Wycherley is indebted to Furetière for more than the speeches here indicated. In the *City Romance* one finds:

Our poor Author, who got not so much as commendations for all his Charges, sought many other occasions in his Visits to *Collantina*, of reading something to her, but she ever stood upon her guard: not that she had any aversion for his Works, but because she had so many other Papers to read that pleased her better. One day amongst the rest, after several unsuccessful attempts, he grew so mad, that he resolved to bind her, and put a Gag in her Mouth to be revenged, and preach to her at his leisure; when a new occasion of a Suit interposed.<sup>8</sup>

This suggestion was cleverly dramatized in Act V of *The Plain-Dealer* (II, 190).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), p. 515.

<sup>7</sup> Wycherley, *Complete Works* (London, 1924), II, 91.

<sup>8</sup> *Scarron's City Romance* (London, 1671), pp. 179-180; for the original French, see *Le Roman Bourgeois* (Paris, 1868), II, 30-31. The *City Romance*, with the exception of a few omissions, is a fairly literal translation, and it has been impossible to determine whether Wycherley was familiar with the original or the English version. Since the latter hypothesis seems more probable, and since *Le Roman Bourgeois* is available in various recent editions, while the translation, never having been reprinted, is comparatively rare, quotations have been taken from the latter, with corresponding

Nor are Wycherley's reminiscences of *Le Roman Bourgeois* confined to *The Plain-Dealer*. Marjory Pinchwife's objections to writing to Horner in Act IV of *The Country-Wife* (II, 56) were suggested by Javota's reply, when Bedou asks if she has received a letter that had been sent to her:

*To me, cried out Javota, all amazed, do Maids receive Letters? Are not Letters written about business? Besides, from whom should it come? I took the boldness to send it, said Bedou. You, said she, you are not in the Countrey; do you take me for such a Fool, that I know not that Letters are brought from a great way off by Posts and Carriers? We receive many daily, and my Father as often complains of the Portage. Besides, to what purpose were it to write to me? Can you not as well, when you come hither, tell me what you have to say to me, without sending?*<sup>10</sup>

It is possible also that, in *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*, Act IV (I, 202) Monsieur De Parris' comment:

'Tis true, there are some well-bred Gentlemen have so much Reverence for their Perriquet, that they wou'd refuse to be Grandees of your *Spain*, for fear of putting on their Hats. . . .

was suggested by Furetière's description of Nicodemus:

His Hair . . . was in the Evenings covered with a fair Flaxen Periwig. . . . His Hat bore so great respect to it, it durst hardly touch it. . . .<sup>11</sup>

It is particularly interesting to discover that the dedication of *The Plain-Dealer* "To my Lady B——," one of Wycherley's masterpieces of satire, must have been inspired by Mythophilacte's dedication of his first book to the public executioner of Paris, to be found in the second part of *Le Roman Bourgeois*. Wycherley's dedication clearly echoes the following passages:

You will possibly fancy I go about to court your good opinion, as all Authors do by their Dedications; but I assure you . . . I neither have nor desire to have any obligation to you. . . . They are not so honest in their *Profession* as you in yours, none more punctually executing the *Orders of Justice*; whose principal Pillar you are. . . . It seems to me that you may be very conscientiously applauded, if for no other reason, that you bring

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passages in the 1868 edition of the original indicated in parentheses. The author is indebted to the University of Chicago Library, which supplied a copy of the *City Romance* on interlibrary loan.

<sup>10</sup> Page citations to Wycherley refer to volume and page in the 1924 edition of his *Complete Works*.

<sup>11</sup> P. 75 (R. B., I, 98-99).

many into the right way, and open them the Gates of Paradise, according to the Proverb, *That more go thither from the Gallows than from the Churchyard*. . . . In a word, all things considered, I find you merit an *Epistle Dedicatory* as well as many others. I should yet apprehend this would scarcely pass for one, did I not beg something; I therefore beseech you not to deny your friendship to certain poor Authors, that stand in need of your charitable assistance: for the Injustice of the Age is arrived to such a height, that many of the best qualified, forsaken by their *Mæcenas's*, starve; and unable to support contempt and poverty, are reduced to despair. now these wanting the courage of *Judas* to hang themselves, you by taking that pains, might ease them of a great deal of misery. I would end here, did not one thing come in my head, that usually accompanies such *Encomiums* of *Dedications* as are given in haste; which is a Promise of setting out at large the Life or History of their *Hero*. I hope one day to acquit my self of this Duty, intending to write a Comment on the *English Rogue*; where I may properly bestow on you an ample Commemoration and celebrate your Prowesses and Memorable Actions.<sup>12</sup>

It seems likely, moreover, that several lines of Wycherley's dedication were suggested by Furetière's account of the coming into fashion of mercenary love:

At that time Sonnets, Madrigals, and Letters were cried down like antiquated Coin, and whole Dozens of them scarce worth a Cardecu. This caused many to become Bankrupts, for formerly wit was the price of the heart and affection. . . .<sup>13</sup>

The foregoing passages have not been cited as a means of exposing plagiarism on Wycherley's part. In no case has he merely copied Furetière; he has adapted these suggestions perfectly to his own purposes. Major Oldfox and the Widow Blackacre are not in any sense copies of Charroselles and Collantina,<sup>14</sup> while Wycherley's dedication is primarily a satire of affected modesty. The presence of these traces of Furetière in three different plays, however, makes it evident that Wycherley must have been attracted by *Le Roman Bourgeois*.

This is not surprising. Furetière and Wycherley shared the

<sup>12</sup> P. 8 (R. B., I, 13).

<sup>13</sup> Pp. 231-236 (R. B., II, 120-123).

<sup>14</sup> P. 126 (R. B., I, 162).

<sup>15</sup> The Widow Blackacre and Racine's Comtesse de Pimbesche have, in Collantina, a common relative; Furetière is said to have collaborated in *Les Plaideurs*. It is remarkable that this has not been noted by those who have discussed Wycherley's supposed borrowing from Racine.

same dislikes; the Plain Dealer, who thought affectation nature's "greatest monster," must have enjoyed an author who wrote that "there is not any Deity, how fabulous soever, but is infinitely offended by hypocrisie,"<sup>15</sup> and who concluded his description of a fop:

. . . in a word he was so fine, that a Countrey Gentleman would have made him his Pattern to dress by: but . . . his Meen, Gesture, Countenance, and Discourse sufficiently discovered him; for these are not so easily shifted as Suits of Clothes, and his Grimaces and Affectations made evident that he imitated Courtiers onely in what they are defective and ridiculous. This may by the way be said of all that imitate in what kind soever.<sup>16</sup>

*Le Roman Bourgeois*, indeed, approaches Restoration comedy closely in many respects; Furetière, at least in his realism, seems nearer than even Molière to the manner of his English contemporaries. Of the novelists, Scarron, by comparison, wrote little but burlesque and farce; Furetière, the friend of Boileau, was a true satirist. In part, at least, this resemblance results from the similarity of literary theory, since Furetière's prefatory "Epistle" might be mistaken for the preface of an English comedy of the same date; there is, in fact, a striking parallel between this "Epistle" and Shadwell's preface to *The Humorists*.<sup>17</sup>

Wycherley, however, is the only comic author of the period who appears to show definite evidences of familiarity with *Le Roman Bourgeois*. Farquhar, if he is indeed the author of *The Adventures of Covent-Garden*, presumably had read it, but no traces are

<sup>15</sup> P. 112 (R. B., I, 144).

<sup>16</sup> P. 8 (R. B., I, 13).

<sup>17</sup> *The Humorists* and the *City Romance* were published by Henry Herringman and both are listed in the *Easter Term Catalogue* for 1671, the *City Romance* having been entered in the *Stationers' Registers* November 17, 1670, and *The Humorists* on February 9, 1670/71. Both Furetière and Shadwell assert that the purpose of comedy is to correct vice and folly by ridicule; both argue that instruction by means of comedy is highly valuable, because, though the affectations and follies corrected by it are not great crimes, nearly all mankind is subject to such imperfections, while few are guilty of criminal vices; both stress the realism of comedy and the effectiveness of ridicule; and both deny that individuals have been satirized. While Shadwell may have read the *City Romance* immediately before writing this preface, nowhere in his writings, apparently, is definite proof of acquaintance with the work, and the ideas in question here may be traced back to common sources in Latin and early Renaissance criticism.

evident in his plays. It may also be pointed out that, though Langbaine's comments on *The Plain-Dealer* and a quotation from the *City Romance* at another point in his *Account of the English Dramatic Poets*<sup>18</sup> indicate that he knew the book well, Wycherley is the only author whom he accuses of having borrowed from it.

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### MARCEL PROUST'S DUEL

Biographers of Proust have piqued the curiosity of their readers by an isolated reference to a duel with Jean Lorrain but have never satisfied that curiosity since they lacked the necessary documentation. The following evidence, which gives us accurate information concerning this episode of Proust's literary début, discloses, however, more than an anecdotal interest since it places in greater relief an often neglected aspect of Proust's character: his ability to rise to meet difficult situations and to dominate his refractory nervous system at the critical moment.

Welcomed unenthusiastically by the daily press which indulged in hollow-sounding compliments, ridiculed by the cotery of precocious youths whom Proust had forsaken for high society,<sup>1</sup> *Les plaisirs et les jours* had been forgotten when Raitif de la Bretonne exhumed it in his column "Pall-Mall Semaine."<sup>2</sup> Did Raitif de la Bretonne, pseudonym for Jean Lorrain, whose real name, however, is Paul Duval, have a personal grievance or was he singling out Proust as an especially vulnerable example of the amateurism of society people? At any rate, he calls attention to a book "committed" by one of them, a book which contains

de suaves mélancolies, d'élégiaques veuleries, des petits riens d'élégance et de subtilité, des tendresses vaines, d'inanes flirts en style précieux et prétentieux, avec, entre les marges ou en tête des chapitres, des fleurs de M<sup>me</sup> Lemaire en symboles jetées. . . .

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<sup>18</sup> P. 21.

<sup>1</sup> In his *Souvenirs sur Marcel Proust*, Robert Dreyfus writes that this group presented a review "Les lauriers sont coupés" in which Proust was chided for publishing a book beyond the means of his friends.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Journal*, Feb. 3, 1897.

This passage was enough, no doubt, to incense Proust; the concluding sentence, however, is most provocative:

M. Marcel Proust n'en a pas moins eu sa préface de M. Anatole France, qui n'eût préfacé ni M. Marcel Schwob, ni M. Pierre Louys, ni M. Maurice Barrès; mais ainsi va le train du monde et soyez sûrs que, pour son prochain volume, M. Marcel Proust obtiendra sa préface de M. Alphonse Daudet, de l'intransigeant M. Alphonse Daudet, lui-même, qui ne pourra la refuser, cette préface, ni à M<sup>me</sup> Lemaire ni à son fils Lucien.

This was a distinctly personal attack and suggests that there may be other factors involved, since Lorrain displays intimate knowledge of Proust's affairs. Of course, he was wrong in one detail: it was Madame de Caillavet who obtained the preface and, for that matter, who may even have written it.<sup>3</sup>

Proust therefore demanded satisfaction. Such impetuosity is not surprising in a "nerveux," nor is this dramatic gesture astonishing in a young man, who, at this time, took feudal society seriously. Proust rose to the occasion, demonstrating unusual calmness; his friend, Reynaldo Hahn,<sup>4</sup> testified in his journal: "Il a montré un sang-froid et une fermeté, depuis trois jours, qui paraissent incompatibles avec ses nerfs, mais qui ne m'étonnent pas du tout." At a later date, when critics had begun to make insinuations about his character, Proust frequently referred to this episode as evidence of his courage. In 1904 he wrote to Robert de Montesquiou:<sup>5</sup>

Je me souviens que quand je me suis battu avec M. Lorrain, à une époque où je n'étais pas encore couché le jour, mais où j'étais déjà couché le matin, ma seule inquiétude était que le duel n'eût pas lieu avant midi. Quand on me prévint qu'il aurait lieu dans l'après-midi, cela me devint tout à fait égal.

It would be possible to read into this statement the interpretation that, in one's emotional life, the minor disturbances of the metabolism may assume the proportions of a veritable crisis to the extent of minimizing the crises of the external world. The celebrated asthma, itself, might account for Proust's courage. Such an inter-

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Crémieux upholds this thesis in the *Annales Politiques et Littéraires*, Feb. 15, 1928, in a review of Jean-Jacques Brousson's *Itinéraire de Paris à Buenos-Aïres*.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes*, p. 54, published in 1933.

<sup>5</sup> *Correspondance Générale*, I, 128.



pretation would at least be endorsed by "Proustian" psychology. In the *Journal* for February 6, 1897, at the end of a short story, *M. de Mortimer*, by Jean Lorrain, appeared two paragraphs, the *procès-verbaux* of the duel. If we assume that the publication of the second of these paragraphs was in no wise delayed, the duel must have taken place on the preceding day. Further evidence corroborates this belief: in the *Figaro* for the same date, an ordinary news item refers to the duel as having occurred "hier." The first of the unheaded paragraphs in the *Journal* relates the circumstances of the duel and that the seconds met at the home of Jean Béraud where, as no settlement was reached, the conditions were made: "L'arme choisie est le pistolet de tir. Deux balles seront échangées; la distance est de vingt-cinq pas, et le duel aura lieu au commandement." Witnesses for Proust: Gustave de Borda, Jean Béraud; for Jean Lorrain: Octave Uzanne, Paul Adam. Proust's remark about his sleep proves that this meeting must have occurred at least a day prior to the encounter.

In his *Jean Lorrain* (p. 24), Octave Uzanne relates that, in company with Paul Adam, he seconded a duel of Lorrain in the bois de Meudon at the Ermitage de Villebon; he does not say with whom the duel was fought. Lorrain, famous in his day as a Bohemian poet and novelist, may have had many duels, but this much is certain: his biographers do not refer to them. However, that this must be the duel with Proust seems very evident since Robert Dreyfus, in his *Souvenirs sur Marcel Proust* (p. 152), states that Proust's duel took place on a "pluvieuse matinée d'hiver à la Tour de Villebon." The outcome of the encounter is related by the second *procès-verbal* of the *Journal*: "Deux balles ont été échangées sans résultat, et les témoins, d'un commun accord, ont décidé que cette rencontre mettait fin au différend."

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## A LOST ARTICLE BY PROUST

In an undated letter<sup>1</sup> evidently belonging to a period when he was still socially active, Proust writes to Robert de Montesquiou: <sup>2</sup>

J'ai su qu'on était venu de chez vous, en rentrant, à 11 heures, mais j'étais déjà allé au *Gaulois*. Mais quelle déception ce matin! Pendant toute la journée j'avais noté des descriptions de robes, toutes revues et corrigées par les femmes les plus élégantes. Quelle main tardive, imprévue, mystérieuse et maladroite a corrigé cet article?

No such article is listed in Silva Ramos' *Bibliographie Proustienne*.<sup>3</sup> A further obstacle to the recovery of this description of the notorious Count's elaborate reception is its anonymity: Proust's name is not even included as among the guests, for he goes on to say: "J'ai toutes les raisons de la trouver maladroite d'abord parce qu'elle a supprimé mon nom qui terminait dignement la liste des invités!" And he discusses at length the changes and omissions imposed by an unappreciative editor armed with blue pencil.

On May 31, 1894, there appeared on the first page of the *Gaulois* an article which conforms strikingly with the specifications in Proust's letter. It is entitled "Bloc-Note Parisien | Une Fête littéraire à Versailles" and is signed "Tout-Paris."<sup>4</sup> By taking into account both negative and positive indications named by Proust—that is, specifications as to what is omitted and what is included in the article,—it should be possible to prove this is the one to which he alludes. At the same time, his letter must date as of the same day on which the article appeared.

As negative evidence, Proust remarks that the following names

<sup>1</sup> The dating of Proust's letters is treated in the present writer's Ph. D. dissertation, shortly to be presented at Harvard University.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondance générale*, Paris, Libr. Plon, 1930, I, 69-71, Lettre LXXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Cahiers Marcel Proust*, Paris, éd. N. R. F., 1932, VI, 64. At present the most complete, though far from adequate, bibliography of Proust's works. It does mention a pastiche of Saint-Simon entitled: "Fête chez Montesquiou à Neuilly" describing another affair under the signature "Horatio," in the *Figaro* of January 18, 1904. But Montesquiou, who had it reprinted in pamphlet form, did not learn until later that Proust was its author. Cf. *Corresp.*, I, 157, 172, 216, 217-18; II, 72, 105.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently an impersonal pseudonym used by various collaborators of the *Gaulois*; the title "Bloc-Note Parisien" also recurs frequently in this newspaper.

have been suppressed: Marcel Proust, Yturri, Prince Borghèse, Mmes de Broissia, Howland, Talbot. Examining the *Gaulois* notes, we find no mention of these people, although their social doings often receive attention in this newspaper. On the positive side, Proust remarks (70): "Il est vrai que M. Detelbach a été rétabli." M. Detelbach is in fact named in the article. Continuing, Proust gives a positive clue with a negative aspect: "Mais nombre de descriptions de robes ont disparu, celle de Mme Potocka, celle de Mme de Brantes. . . ." Accordingly we find these ladies cited together, but without accompanying comments on their apparel; this can hardly be ascribed to coincidence. Pursuing his complaint, Proust adds: "Au lieu d'une description rigoureuse de la robe de Sarah Bernhardt des banalités vagues, les pervenches de Mlle Bartet sont devenues des bleuets." In the *Gaulois*, to be sure, there follows: "Nouvel enchantement. Mme Sarah Bernhardt, vêtue d'une longue robe de soie argentée, garnie d'une magnifique guipure de Venise. Mlle Bartet, ayant une jupe de dentelle blanche et un corsage de mousseline de soie *bleuet*. . . ." Apologetically Proust concludes: "Si j'y mets tant d'amour-propre d'auteur, c'est plutôt amour qu'amour-propre, car les auteurs étaient Mme de Pourtalès, Mme d'Hervey [de Saint-Denys], Mme A.-J. de La Rochefoucauld, Mme de Brissac, Mlle Lemaire, Mme de Fitz-James." Significantly enough, the article mentions each one of these persons and describes their costumes. It is to be noted, moreover, that the order in which these items appear in the *Gaulois* corresponds exactly with that of Proust's letter.

No serious doubt can remain, therefore, regarding the identity of this article. Thus one more title finds a place in Proust's bibliography, and the letter to Montesquiou, which was written on the morning the article was published, may be dated *May 31, 1894*.

The article itself is of scant literary importance,<sup>5</sup> and, exceptionally, contains nothing of significance later utilized in Proust's work. It merely provides a further example of the inter-relation at that early period of his two favorite activities: literature and society. And it shows him in a characteristic pose. At Montesquiou's garden party, instead of idly enjoying the program, he is busy

<sup>5</sup>It might nevertheless be interesting to compare it with the "Fête chez Montesquiou à Neuilly" (cf. note 3) written ten years later on a similar theme.

inquiring for precise technical terms<sup>6</sup> with which to describe what the elegant ladies are wearing, and that evening he writes his impressions of the *fête*. A fleeting glimpse of the apprentice: for these notes foreshadow his numerous allusions to feminine apparel in *A la Recherche du Temps perdu*.<sup>7</sup>

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## THE PERSONAL NAMES IN *THE BATTLE OF MALDON*

It is a commonplace that the Old English poetry that survived the Scandinavian invasions, the Norman Conquest, and the dissolution of the monasteries is predominantly religious; and it is, therefore, difficult for one to gather from this source much information concerning the naming-customs of our Germanic ancestors. The difficulty increases if one is concerned solely with the name-giving of the English, since *Beowulf* and the other heroic poems that have come down to us treat kings and heroes who, although they were well enough known to our English forefathers, were not English themselves. Indeed, were it not for *The Battle of Maldon* one would have to be content with such prosaic documents as chronicles and charters for an understanding of the Old English principles of naming.

That this poem is a veritable storehouse of names becomes immediately evident when it is pointed out that thirty-seven different persons are named in the course of the three hundred and twenty-five lines that have, thanks to Thomas Hearne, been preserved.<sup>1</sup> It may, first of all, be noted that thirty-two of these figures have

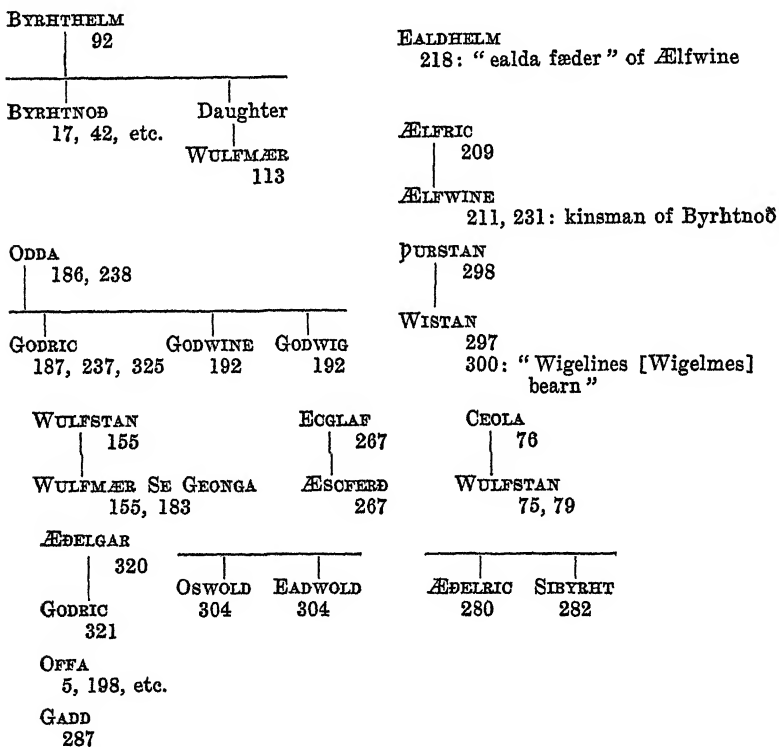
<sup>6</sup>He never ceased to be curious about such special vocabularies. Cf. R. de Billy, *Lettres et Conversations*, Paris, éd. des Portiques, 1930, 31-33; letters XII and XIII to Mme G. de Caillavet (written in the spring of 1912), *Corresp.*, iv, 124-28; letters to Lucien Daudet, *Cahiers*, v; *et passim*.

<sup>7</sup>The importance of this particular theme becomes apparent if one glances at the two and one-half pages of references given under the heading "Toilette" in the *Répertoire des thèmes de Marcel Proust*, by Raoul Celly, *Cahiers*, vii, Paris, éd. NRF, 1935, 326-29.

<sup>1</sup>This number is reached by assuming that *Eadweard* of 117 and *Eadweard se langa* of 273, *Wulfmær* of 113 and *Wulfmær* of 155 and 183, and *Wulfstan* of 75 and 79 and *Wulfstan* of 155 designate separate figures. It is, of course, made clear by the poet that Godric, son of Odda (187, 237, 325) is distinct from Godric, son of Æpelgar (321).

names made up of two themes.<sup>2</sup> This is what one would expect, for Mats Redin has shown that "the uncompounded names in OE were relatively rare in comparison with the compound ones."<sup>3</sup>

*Maldon* is also important in indicating the widespread use of both alliteration and variation. Of the thirty-seven names—no one of which, unfortunately, belongs to a woman—ten are not mentioned in connection with the name of a kinsman and they must, therefore, be dismissed from further consideration.<sup>4</sup> The remaining twenty-seven fall into these groups of kinsmen:



<sup>2</sup> The uncompounded Germanic names are *Ceola* (76), *Gadd* (287), *Odda* (186, 238), and *Offa* (5, 198, 230, 286, 288). The fifth uncompounded name, *Maccus* (80), is derived by Fr. Klaeber ("Zu Byrhtnoðs Tod," *Englische Studien*, LV [1921], 391-392) from the Latin *Magnus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919), p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> The ten are *Ælfhere* (80), *Ælfnoð* (183), *Ælpeired* (53, 151, 203),

The largest of these groups is that to which the main figure of the poem, the warrior Byrhtnoð, belongs. Five of his kinsmen are named, and only one of them, his father, Byrthelm, bears a name in any wise linked to his own—in this case by end-variation and, of course, alliteration. The others have names that lack *b*-alliteration, but *Wulfmær*, the name of Byrhtnoð's sister's son, can probably be explained on the grounds that his father's name began with *w*, while the *Ealdhelm-Ælfric-Ælfwine* group (whose connection with Byrhtnoð, although not definitely known, may be through the maternal line) adhere strictly to a vocalic alliterative pattern. It is to be noted, however, that *Ælfric* and *Ælfwine* are joined by end-variation while *Ealdhelm* and *Byrthelm* are linked by front-variation.

The family group of Odda and his cowardly sons is of some importance in that, although the father's name is in no way connected with those of his sons, the three brothers, Godric, Godwine, and Godwig, were given names joined by end-variation and, consequently, alliteration.

The name in line 300, *Wigelin*, is best emended to the better known *Wig[h]elm*,<sup>5</sup> but the relationship between *Wistan*, *Purstan*, and *Wighelm* is by no means clear.<sup>6</sup> At any rate, *Purstan* and his son *Wistan* have names which, although they are not marked by alliteration, are linked by front-variation, and *Wighelm*, although it has no connection whatever with *Purstan*, is joined by end-variation (and alliteration) to *Wistan*.

The remaining family-groups are pairs: *Wulfstan-Wulfmær*, *Ecglafe-Æscferð*, *Ceola-Wulfstan*, *Æþelgar-Godric*, the brothers *Oswold* and *Eadwold*, the brothers *Æþelric* and *Sibyrht*, and the kinsmen (their exact relationship is not pointed out) *Offa* and *Gadd*. Here, end-variation marks one of the seven groups (*Wulfstan-Wulfmær*), front-variation and, incidentally, alliteration another (*Oswold-Eadwold*), and alliteration a third (*Ecglafe-Æscferð*).

The personal names in *Maldon*, then, are of some significance in

*Byrhtwold* (309), *Dunhere* (255), *Eadric* (11), *Eadweard* (117), *Eadweard se langa* (273), *Leofsunu* (244), and *Maccus* (80).

<sup>5</sup> W. J. Sedgefield (ed.), *The Battle of Maldon* (Boston and London, 1904), p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Klaeber (p. 392) suggests that *Wighelm* and *Purstan* refer to the same figure, the doubly-named father of *Wistan*.

showing that, considerably after the downfall of the Goths, the Langobards, and the Merovingian Franks, and after the Scandinavians had abandoned their naming-customs of the Migration Period for those of the Viking Age, tenth-century Englishmen were following with no little care the practices which their ancestors had observed as long ago as the fifth century.<sup>7</sup>

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"BULLOCK STERTEP, BUCKE VERTEP"

Editorial prudishness has kept that fine little Middle English poem, the *Cuckoo Song*, out of many a school-book, all because the old poet was familiar with English barn-yards and meadows and in his poem recalled those sights and sounds. He knew that bullocks and bucks feel so good in the springtime that they can hardly contain themselves, and he set down what he saw and heard, leaving it to squeamish editors to distort one of his innocent folk-words into a meaning that he would not recognize.

One is surprised to find two scholars<sup>1</sup> as late as 1926 insisting that the poet's word *vertep* means 'harbors in the green!' There was, to be sure, an early noun *vert* meaning 'the undergrowth of the forest,' but no verbal form of it is on record. One suspects that scholarly ingenuity has been overworked by the above-named scholars to save the children of England from indecency.<sup>2</sup>

George Meredith appears to have had a special fondness for the word, and when Richard Feverel attaches it directly to his dyspep-

<sup>7</sup> Although there is in *Maldon* no instance of name-repetition, a practice which began to appear among the English about this time, perhaps through Scandinavian influence, there are two by-names, *Eadweard se langa* and *Wulfmær se geonga*, which point toward a future custom. And it should be observed, finally, that Klaeber (p. 392) notes the light thrown on the amalgamation of Scandinavians and English by the presence among the English warriors at Maldon of figures bearing such names as *Purstan* and *Odda*.

<sup>1</sup> E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics* (1926), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> There were linguistic Galahads of an earlier day, too. The anonymous reviewer in *Fraser's Magazine*, VII, p. 202 (1833), makes *vertep* mean "goes to harbor in the fern," and a reviewer in the *London Quarterly Review*, 106: 51 (1859), reads "frequents the green fern."

tic uncle Hippias, one at first suspects that Meredith mischievously used it with its primitive meaning. But when in the same work he says of young Richard, "He flew in the very skies, *verting* like any blithe creature of the season," we become aware that Meredith conceived of its meaning as "to jump or dart about." This, apparently, he derives from such words as *invert*, *divert*, *pervert*. And he has the old song in mind when he so uses the word, for he has Richard parody:

"Hippy *verteþ*,  
Ricky *sterteþ*,  
Sing, Cuckoo!"

Now in Middle English *stert-* and *fert-* were rhyme sounds. Some time around Chaucer's day, the *er* [ɛr] changed to *ar* [ɑr], as in *herte*, *clerk*, *service* to their modern standard or dialect equivalents *heart*, *Clark*, *sarvice* (*sarvice-berry*), etc. This phonetic change (when one recalls that in Southern dialect the voiced *f* is frequent) would put *verteþ* into the group that Mr. Sinclair Lewis calls "the nine forbidden monosyllables." This is the sense in which our best scholars have rendered or explained *verteþ*.<sup>3</sup>

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## SOME NOTES ON CHARACTER-WRITING

Miss Gwendolen Murphy's extensive bibliography of English character-books, 1608-1700, amply shows the interest which character-writing had for seventeenth century readers. The following items should be added to that bibliography. Even those published after 1700 are perhaps worth recording, since they appear in out-of-the-way places.

<sup>3</sup> For example: Carleton Brown, *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century*, renders it "breaks wind." A. S. Cook, *A Literary Middle English Reader*, uses the Latin *pedīt*. The following anthologists define the word as the poet intended: Lieder, Lovett, and Root, *British Prose and Poetry*; McCutcheon and Vann, *Anthology of English Literature*; Woods, Watt, and Anderson, *The Literature of England*.



*A Timely Advice. Or, a treatise of play, and gaming*, London, 1640 (in British Museum), an interesting and well-written little tract, has, at page 119, a witty Character of a Gamester.

Samuel Vincent in 1674 published *The Young Gallant's Academy. Or, Directions how he should behave himself in all Places and Company*, London, R. Mills (in British Museum, Yale, and Harvard), which is merely an adaptation of Dekker's *Guls Horn Book*. Added at the end, however, are two characters which are not in Dekker's work: "The Character of a Proud, Huffing, Self-conceited, Foppish and Lascivious Young Gallant" (pp. 73-86), and "The Character of a True, Noble, Liberal, and Stayed Gentleman" (pp. 87-100).

"The Character of a Valiant Man" is the title of the fourth chapter of *The Art Of Making Love: Or, Rules For The Conduct Of Ladies and Gallants In their Amours*, London, Richard Tonson, 1676 (in British Museum). But the character itself occupies only pp. 85-9; the rest of the chapter (pp. 89-103) merely comments on the character.

A racy little treatise of 1698 of the *Guls Horn Book* sort, J. W.'s *Youths Safety: Or, Advice To the Younger Sort* (in British Museum), combines cautionary advice with lively descriptions of the trickery and artifices and insinuating rookery used by sharpers to "bubble" young gulls. Chapters 3-7 begin with characters of the persons whose chicanery is to be exposed. The beginnings of the headings of chapters 3-7 are, in order: "A lively Character of a Gentile Town-Shift," "A Town-Shark, his lively Character," "The lively Character of a Sharper, or ordinary Town-Shift," "The Character of a Beau," "The Character of a Rake." The book has eight chapters.

Exactly the same sort of book is *Do no Right, Take no Wrong*, London, Robert Gifford, 1711, by S. H., Misodolus (in British Museum). The second edition, 1713, has for its title *The Young-Man's Counsellor Or The Way of the World Displayd*. It is full of amusing stories of contemporary life, people, places, of all sorts of cheats, gamblers, astrologers, jilts, and the like. Part III consists of twenty-four prose characters, with some verses interspersed; e. g., a scrivener, a baker, a pawnbroker, a prisoner, a surgeon, a tobaccoconist, an upstart sheriff, the master of a ship, and the like.

An interesting sidelight on the popularity of character-writing

in the seventeenth century is obtainable from the schoolbooks and rhetorics of the period. By the Restoration, the schools had taken up the characters as composition exercises suitable for children. The writing of characters was a pleasing addition to the stock exercises of essays, fables, epistles, orations, epitaphs, and the like. I cannot say exactly how soon schoolboys were set this task, but the English grammars of the second half of the seventeenth century quite often include directions for writing characters. At the end of the century, the rules were set down thus by K. P. in *The Scholar's Instructor* (1700?—in British Museum):

#### A Character.

Is a Facetious and Witty Description of the Nature and Qualities of a Person, or some sort of People. If your Subject be a Taylor, Pedlar, Lawyer, Constable, Upstart, Gentleman, or the like; Express their Practices, Natures, Qualities, Conditions, Tools, Aims, Ends and Desires; by Witty Allegories, or Allusions to things or Terms in Nature or Art of like Resemblance. Let all be witty and pleasant, with tart nipping Jerks about their Miscarriages or Vices; Conclude with witty neat Matter, leaving them to the Reflect of their Follies.

Ralph Johnson sets out similar rules in another English grammar, *The Scholar's Guide From the Accidence to the University*, London, Tho. Pierrepont, 1665.<sup>1</sup> To his composition rules Johnson adds models for scholars to follow: "For Characters, see *Blunts Charact Overburys Charact.* Bp *Halls Charact.*"<sup>2</sup>

In the library of the Society of Antiquaries, London, there is a collection of broadsides, two at least of which are of interest here: No. 552, *The Character of a Phanatique* (c. 1660),<sup>3</sup> and No. 553, *The Character of an Anabaptist* (1661).

Two single folio sheets in the British Museum may be separate editions of the same work: *An English Monster: or the character of an Occasional Conformist*, London, 1703; and *A Character of a Turn-Coat: or, the true picture of an English monster*, London, 1707.

<sup>1</sup> P. 15. Copy in British Museum, which also has a 1677 edition and the 4th edition, 1679. The 5th edition appeared in 1699.

<sup>2</sup> P. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Gwendolen Murphy notes No. 552, but locates copies only in the British Museum and Bodleian. I have not seen any of the items noted from here to the end.

"The Character of a good Man, neither Whig nor Tory, price 2d." is advertised for sale at the end of H. P.'s *A Looking-Glass for Children*, London, 1708. H. P.'s book is in the British Museum.

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### A *LAPSUS CALAMI* OF JONATHAN SWIFT

In his essay entitled "A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet," Jonathan Swift makes the remark that "Every great genius seems to ride upon mankind, like Pyrrhus on his elephant."<sup>1</sup> Such a reference to Pyrrhus is surely a *lapsus calami* on the part of the Dean, since historians, to my knowledge, do not represent the famous general as actually riding upon any of his elephants, although he certainly made use of the beasts in numerous battles. There are, however, frequent allusions to his appearances on horseback during the engagements.

Riding on an elephant in battle was considered unbecoming to a Greek king; this mode of leadership being left to barbarians, *i. e.*, generally Indians, who were trained to handle the animals—to make them advance or retreat, or even to cut their jugular vein to prevent them from trampling on men of their own side in a panic.

It is probable that Swift had in mind not Pyrrhus, but *Porus*, an Indian king riding on an elephant when overcome by Alexander the Great. His capture is related in several sources as follows: Arrian<sup>2</sup> states that Porus . . . when wounded in the right shoulder . . . wheeled his elephant and retreated. Alexander having seen him play a great and gallant part in the battle desired to save him. He sent therefore to him first Taxiles the Indian; and Taxiles, riding up as near as he thought safe to the elephant on which Porus was riding, requested him to halt his animal, since further flight was unavailing, and to hear what Alexander's message was; but Porus, seeing in Taxiles an old enemy, turned his elephant and rode up to pierce him with a javelin . . . Alexander

<sup>1</sup> *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. by Temple Scott, London, 1907, xi, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian Flavius, *Anabasis*, v, 18, 5 ff. (ed. E. I. Robson, II, London 1933. n. 59.)

. . . sent orders, in relays, and finally an Indian, Meroes . . . a friend of Porus. But Porus, hearing Meroes' message, and being also much distressed by thirst, halted his elephant and dismounted.

. . .

Quintus Curtius<sup>3</sup> writes that Porus, finally overpowered, began to slip down from his mount. The Indian, leader of the elephant, believing that the king was getting down, made the animal kneel, according to custom; but scarcely had it knelt than the others did so likewise, a circumstance which delivered Porus and his train to the vanquishers. Alexander, who believed him dead, gave the order to despoil him, and men crowded to take from him his cuirass and his clothing; but the elephant, defender of his master, started to strike those who were despoiling him, and lifting him with his trunk, replaced him on his back. Then from all sides darts rained upon the animal, and when it succumbed, they charged Porus in chariots.

In his life of Alexander, Plutarch<sup>4</sup> recounts the battle with Porus, of whom he says, "Almost all the historians agree in relating that Porus was four cubits and a span high, and that when he was upon his elephant, which was of the largest size, his stature and bulk were so answerable, that he appeared to be proportionately mounted, as a horseman on his horse. This elephant . . . gave many singular proofs of sagacity and of particular care of the king, whom as long as he was strong and in a condition to fight, he defended with great courage . . . and as soon as he perceived him overpowered with his numerous wounds and the multitude of darts that were thrown at him, to prevent his falling off, he softly knelt down and began to draw out the darts with his proboscis. When Porus was taken prisoner, and Alexander asked him how he expected to be used, he answered, 'As a king.'"

Judging from these several accounts, it is evident that Swift must have used the name of Pyrrhus, then, by mistake, instead of that of Porus, doubtless because of the close similarity in sound between the two.

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<sup>3</sup> Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander the Great*, VIII, 14, 38 ff. (ed. E. Hedicke, Lipsiae, 1908, p. 306.)

<sup>4</sup> Clough, A. H. (ed.), *Plutarch's Lives. The Translation Called Dryden's, "Alexander,"* IV, pp. 235-38.

## SPENSER'S STHENOBOEA

In *The Faerie Queene*, I. v. 50. 5-6, Spenser alludes to the "Fayre Sthenoboea" who strangled herself "With wilful chord for wanting of her will." The character of this would-be adulteress is not unknown to those familiar with the classical accounts of Bellerophon, but her means of killing herself are not explained by the classical sources. Miss Sawtelle abandons her search for the source by writing, "therefore Spenser is original in saying she did it by choking herself with a rope."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lotspeich, after referring the student to Hyginus' *Fabularum Liber*, says, "Her suicide 'with wilful chord' remains unexplained."<sup>2</sup> The explanation of the heterodox nature of this allusion is probably to be found in the *Epitheta* of Ravisius Textor.

The *Epitheta* was used continuously in this period as an aid to poets in search of choice expressions sanctioned by classical usage. In its complete form it contains twenty thousand references which are interspersed with sections of classical lore that might be useful to the tyro in Latin verse. Often it contains a *De Prosodia*. In every respect it is a book that would be attractive to a young poet, and the fact that Ascham condemned it as the only book of epitomes harmful to the grammar schools<sup>3</sup> indicates that it was too attractive. The *Epitheta* gives the following account of the career of Sthenoboea:

Stenobea fuit uxor Proeti regis Argivorum, quae quum Bellerophontem eximiae formae puerum, sed tamen castissimum, cuius amore tota deferebat, ad coitum non posset inducere, eum falso apud Proetum ipsum detulit, ut insidiatum suae castitati. Proetus sceleratae mulieris accusationi fidem adhibens, Ariobatem regem Lyciae, & Stenoboeae patrem literis monuit, ut iniuriam illatam filia vindicaret, sumeretque supplicium de Bellerophonte. Itaque iussu Ariobatis Bellerophon variis hostibus & portentis obiectus est. Quorum quum semper evaderet victor, venit in gratiam cum Ariobate, adeo ut alteram eius filiam acceperit in uxorem. *Quod audiens Stenobea, seipsam laqueo suffocavit.*

Ut Proetum mulier perfida credulum Falsis impulerit criminibus nimis Casto Bellerophonti maturare necem. Hor. 3. Car.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology* (Boston, 1896), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (Princeton, 1932), p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *The Scholemaster* (Arber, London, 1937), p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* (s. 1., 1612), p. 437r.

It is not to be assumed that Textor's *Epitheta* is the direct source of this allusion, although it is not improbable that Spenser knew of the book. The last sentence in Textor's account points to the commentary in some edition of Horace and may give a clew toward the identification of Spenser's edition of the *Carmina*. The commentaries in the more common school editions of the classics would, if they could be inspected, yield without doubt the explanation of many puzzling passages in Renaissance writers.

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## TWO NOTES ON DR. FAUSTUS

### I

2 *Schol[ar]*. Why, didst thou not say thou knew'st?

*Wag[ner]*. Have you any witness on't?

1 *Schol[ar]*. Yes, sirrah, I heard you.

*Wag[ner]*. Ask my fellow if I be a thief.

*Dr. Faustus*, I, i, 18-21.<sup>1</sup>

Wagner's "jesting" with the two Scholars in I, ii, includes his use of the merry Elizabethan proverb, "Ask my fellow if I be a thief." Here, as elsewhere, it is used to reject as unsatisfactory the evidence of a "witness" too partial to be trustworthy. Both Apperson<sup>2</sup> and Smith<sup>3</sup> cite the proverb in the form used by Wagner.

### II

*Knight*. Villain, I say, undo what thou hast done.

*Faust*. O, not so fast, sir; there's *no haste*; but, *good*, are you rememb'red how you crossed me in my conference with the Emperor?

*Dr. Faustus*, II, iv, 101-103.

<sup>1</sup> These lines from Text A are included by Professor Hazelton Spencer in the text of his edition of the play, "edited with new text," in his *Elizabethan Plays*, 1933, p. 44. In the Case edition of the play, edited by Professor Frederick S. Boas, 1932, they are to be found in the textual variants, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> G. L. Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, 1929, p. 18, s. v. Ask.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> W. G. Smith, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 1935, p. 56.

The incorrect punctuation of this passage in *Dr. Faustus*, as it has come down to us, obscures the meaning of Faustus' words. "No haste but good" was a common proverb "spoken when we are unreasonably urged to make haste."<sup>4</sup> The examples of the proverb cited by Apperson (448) and by Smith (317), together with the tortured construction of "but good," as at present punctuated, leave no doubt that Faustus here makes use of the proverb, when urged unreasonably by the Knight to relieve him of "a pair of horns on his head."

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### GOTHIC NOTES

(1) *Hwa taujis þu taikne*, τί οὖν ποιῆς σὺ σημεῖον, J. 6, 30.

Since it is doubtful that a neuter *taikn* ever existed, we should have expected *hwo taikne*.

In the Grk. phrase τί οὖν ποιῆς σὺ σημεῖον, the word σημεῖον is used in apposition with τί; i. e., 'what dost thou do as a sign' (Luther 'was thust du für ein Zeichen').

The Goth. translator has correctly rendered this thought by preserving the neuter gender *hwa* in conformity with the Grk. τί. Goth. *hwa . . . taikne* means then 'what thing of signs' > 'what sort of sign' = τί . . . σημεῖον.

This idiom is preserved in North and West Gic. (cf. ON *hwat manna* : OS *hwat manno* 'what sort of man').

Goth. *hwo taikne* would have meant 'what signs' rather than 'what sort of signs' (= *hwa . . . taikne*).

(2) *Leitil hwa* = μικρόν τι, II Cor. 11, 1, 16.

II Cor. 11, 1 *ei wainei uspulaidedeiþ meinaizos leitil hwa unfrodeins*, ὄφελον ἀνείχεσθαι μου μικρόν τι ἀφροσύνης 'would that ye could bear [with me in] a little of my foolishness.'

II Cor. 11, 16 *ei jah ik leitil hwa hworau*, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ μικρόν τι καυχῶμαι 'that I also may boast a little.'

Jellinek (*Geschichte der got. Sprache*, § 149, Anm.) construes

<sup>4</sup> James Kelley, "A Complete Collection of Scottish Proverbs," 1721, p. 261.

*hwa* in both these passages as an adjectival modifier of *leitil*; i. e., as an exception to the rule that *hwa* is used substantively with a partitive genitive.

But *hwa* in conjunction with *leitil* is best construed not as an adjective but as an adverb of degree; <sup>1</sup> i. e., *leitil hwa* = 'somewhat little, etwas wenig' (cf. *filu* in the same function, *slaidjai filu*, M. 8, 28).

(3) *Ni waiht : ni manna-hun*.

The form *ni \*waiht-hun* (= ON (*ne*) *væt-ki*) does not appear, evidently because *waiht* was still felt as a substantive. *Ni manna*, on the other hand, was felt as a pronoun (= *oðels* 'no one, nobody, niemand'); hence also *ni manna-hun* after the model of the original pronominal form *ni hwas-hun* (Lat. *quis-que*).

The neuter pronominal form *hwa* is always used positively,<sup>2</sup> nor does the indefinite negative *ni \*hwa-hun* (corresponding to the masculine *ni hwas-hun*) appear, so that there existed no neuter pronominal form according to which *ni waiht* could be remodeled to *ni \*waiht-hun*.

Goth. *ni waiht* should not be equated with ON *væt-ki* because in ON the usage of the suffix *-gi* > *-ki* (= Goth. *-hun*) had been so far extended as to negate any substantive<sup>3</sup> whatsoever.

In Gothic, on the other hand, the facts show that the suffix *-hun* was not attached to substantives or adjectives unless there existed a semantically corresponding pronominal form with the suffix *-hun* (cf. *ni manna-hun* and *ni ans-hun* after the model of *ni hwas-hun*; *ni hweilo-hun* after the model of the pronominal adverb *ni hwan-hun*).<sup>4</sup>

(4) *þis-hun* = *μάλιστα* 'especially.'

In support of Professor G. K. Anderson's contention<sup>5</sup> that the particle *-hun* in *þis-hun* has a latent negative force (i. e., *þis-hun*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *hwa managizo* = *περισσότερόν τι* 'somewhat more, etwas weiter' (Luther) in II Cor. 10, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *nih alls ist hwa fulginis*, *οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν τι κρυπτόν* 'nor is there anything hidden,' Mk. 4, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ulf-gi*, *mat-ki*, *þorf-gi* etc. of the Elder Edda.

<sup>4</sup> That the form *ni hwan-hun* represents a secondary formation after the model of *ni hwas-hun*, as Braune (*Got. Grm.*<sup>10</sup>, § 163, b) maintains, is not at all certain. The adverb *hwa-n* represents simply another case form (ablative-instrumental) of the pronoun *hwas*. The suffix *-hun* is pronominal.

<sup>5</sup> "The *þis*-Compounds in Gothic," *JEGPh.*, 35, 36 ff.



= 'not of this but rather of that' > 'especially') I venture to suggest two semantic parallels in the Gic. languages, viz. NHG *besonders* : Swed. *sär-skildt* 'especially.'

The detachment of one group of ideas from another (Germ. *sondern* : Swed. *skilja* 'to sunder, cut off, divide'; cf. Germ. *nicht dies, sondern das*) implies a negation. The semantic development of these two adverbs is then 'detached' > 'exclusively' > 'especially.' Note that Swed. *sär-skildt* denotes 'cut off by itself' (from something else).<sup>6</sup>

The assumption that the particle *-hun* in Goth. *þis-hun* implies a negation supports not only its meaning but also Professor Anderson's contention that the genitive form *þis-* is (at least in this combination) of partitive origin<sup>7</sup> (cf. *ni waitts*).

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## REVIEWS

*Glosarios latino-españoles de la edad media.* Par AMÉRICO CASTRO. (Anejo XXII de la *Revista de filología española*), Madrid, 1936. Pp. lxxxvi + 379.

Ce livre volumineux, empreint de toute la largeur d'esprit et d'information que nous connaissons à l'auteur du *Pensamiento de Cervantes*, marque un pas décisif en avant, non seulement dans nos études de langues médiévales, mais dans l'histoire de l'enseignement du latin sur la péninsule. M. Castro n'a pas seulement publié pour la première fois, commenté et tâché d'expliquer les trois glos-

<sup>6</sup> *Sär* < ON *sér* dat. of the reflexive pronoun. Cf. Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wtb.* II, 1231 (sub *sär*).

<sup>7</sup> As apparently analogous formations to the Goth. *þis*-compounds Professor Anderson (42) calls attention to the OHG compounds in *eddes* : *ettes*-. To these I may add ON *eins-hverr* : MLG *ichtes-icht*, *-wē*, *-welk* and (as I have pointed out in *MLNs*, 52, 209 the isolated OS indefinite *ge-thes-wes* gen. sing. *Ess. Gl.*).

The fact that the final *s* in OHG *edde-s* : *ette-s* was gradually discarded and finally entirely lost and that the genitive form *eins-* in ON *eins-hverr* (restricted chiefly to W. Norse *œins-*) was rare shows that the feeling for the partitive construction had faded just as in the Goth. *þis*-compounds (cf. Anderson, 42).

saires de Tolède (T, XIV<sup>e</sup> s.), de la Biblioteca del Palacio Nacional (P, XIV<sup>e</sup> s.), de El Escorial (E, XV<sup>e</sup> s.), tous trois d'origine aragonaise (en Aragon le latin étant cultivé davantage) et précédant les vocabulaires de Valencia (1490) et Nebrija (1492), mais il a aussi donné une description de cette langue latine des gloses, toute livresque, "jerga anfibia," "jerigonza cultivulgar," ni seulement parlée ni écrite, se ressentant de la technique et de la tradition du maître d'école: contrairement à ce qui se passe pour d'autres collections de gloses, les mots latins sont ici d'un intérêt plus grand encore que les mots espagnols. M. Menéndez Pidal avait su entendre et démêler, à travers les défigurations de chancelleries latinisant maladroitement, le langage parlé (y inclus les latinismes) des siècles X à XII. M. Castro, son disciple, continue l'œuvre du maître, en traçant l'histoire de ces *cultismos* de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> au commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle; il distingue cinq époques:

1<sup>re</sup>, des origines jusqu'à Alfonso le Sage (la période traitée par Menéndez Pidal): "vocabulario culto poco abundante, y en gran parte alterado por el uso oral."

2<sup>e</sup>, jusqu'à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> s.: "nuevos, numerosos y poco alterados cultismos," grâce à Alfonso.

3<sup>e</sup>, jusqu'au commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup> s. (la période traitée par Castro dans notre volume): "El latinismo penetra abundante, pero en tropel desordenado. Su forma es a menudo viciosa," grâce au dérèglement produit par l'entrée des études classiques dans des milieux imbus de philologie médiévale.

4<sup>e</sup>, jusqu'à l'action de l'Académie au XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.: correction de ces médiévalismes par le grammairien renaissanciste Nebrija.

5<sup>e</sup>, jusqu'à aujourd'hui: l'Académie "purifica" la langue; depuis lors les latinismes n'entrent plus que par la voie savante. Ils sont d'ailleurs limités par les mots empruntés aux langues modernes.

Bien entendu, beaucoup de ces latinismes "prerrenacentistas" de la troisième période ont été accueillis par la littérature théâtrale des XV-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles (type: *grolia* 'gloria,' *tronica* 'retorica') et conservés dans des patois (type: And. *dejar una cosa aventestade* = *ab intestato*), ou même dans la langue académique (*parasismo*). On comprend à l'aide de Castro la tradition dans la prononciation de mots savants en espagnol, différente en maints points du procédé des autres langues romanes (cf. *celda*, *ilustre* comparés avec ital. *cella*, *illustre*). On n'avait plus vu depuis G. Paris dans une œuvre de ce genre les constatations linguistiques s'élargir en *histoire de la civilisation*. M. Castro nous dit (p. vi.) ses hésitations de la première heure, alors qu'il fallait "enfrascarse en el zarzal" ("le fouillis inimaginable des glossaires du moyen âge," disait G. Paris), mais il n'a pas besoin de regretter le temps et l'effort dépensés pour résoudre ces énigmes, ces gloses qui quelquefois ne révèlent à l'étude rien d'autre que de déconcertantes erreurs (témoin ce *latomus* 'anzuelo' de E, qui dérive d'une glose latino-française *latomus* 'maçon,' où *maçon* avait été confondu avec *ameçon*), mais d'autre

part nous apportent des renseignements précieux sur le lexique espagnol (p. ex. *jiza*, *varanda*, *sinoga*, *marota*, *güero*, *pedagon*, *neguilla del ojo*, *pizco*, *apelmazar*, *esparteña*). L'auteur nous donne, en outre de l'introduction, dont nous avons détaché quelques idées, et de la transcription des glossaires, un lexique comparatif des mots latins (lemmata) avec explication des lemmata ainsi que des interprétations; un lexique des mots espagnols traités; un commentaire sur un appendice de E, qui contient des phrases de tous les jours, des proverbes, des devinettes, des obscénités cléricales, et même une courte chanson de malmariée. On voit combien la tâche explicative, exécutée avec une précision et une condensation admirables, était difficile, par les multiples rectifications (pp. 363-378), qui sont quelquefois "re-rectifiées" dans les notes de l'introduction. On sent quelque hâte dans la rédaction du volume. Pourquoi le FEW de v. Warburg est-il constamment confondu avec le EWF de Gamillschegg? Et pourquoi le mémorable article de Priebisch, "Altspanische Glossen" (ZRP<sup>h.</sup>, xix), n'est-il, autant que je puisse voir, nulle part mentionné? Et pourquoi la recherche des sources des glossaires "no valdría la pena" (p. xxv)? Le travail de M. Labhardt sur les gloses de Reichenau a bien montré l'intérêt de cette question pour l'établissement du texte et l'explication des gloses.

Il serait plus commode pour le lecteur s'il trouvait le commentaire et les corrections proposées directement sous le texte non retouché des originaux, alors qu'il doit chercher chez Castro à quatre ou cinq lieux différents tout ce qui se rapporte à telle glose. Ensuite, comme l'éditeur donne dans son lexique latin les formes qu'il propose personnellement, on est facilement induit à confondre le texte original avec les corrections de Castro. P. ex. on trouve au lexique latin un *suffumatum* 'saumerio,' alors que dans le ms. on lit *siguimatum*, ce qui réapparaît dans la liste des mots obscurs sous la forme *sigrimatum* (!). On trouve au lexique la forme *caucus*, correction de *ancius* du ms. d'après le glossaire, *aucius* d'après le texte du ms. réimprimé. Dans T on lit d'après C. *beata* 'malua,' que C. corrige dans le texte réimprimé *altea*, et dans le glossaire il reprend la glose sous la forme *blata* qu'il corrige en *bleta*. *Cefresus* est corrigé en *ceresus*, mais ce *fr* est une transcription analogique du *r* (v. plus bas). Un *zuracinus* est corrigé en *duracinus*, mais qui sait si cette forme, énumérée sous les mots commençant par *c*, n'est rien qu'une erreur de scribe? Au glossaire latin M. C. ne donne pas la déclinaison ou conjugaison des originaux, ce qui est aussi une source d'erreurs (v. plus bas *cures*, *sma*). Enfin, comme l'ordre alphabétique des glossaires mêmes est détruit dans le glossaire de Castro, nous sommes privés d'un puissant, bien que pas toujours valable, critère (v. plus bas *compulum*, *metari*, *mora*) dont M. C. n'a pas dûment tenu compte (v. pourtant sous *rexus*, *gravitudo*).

Je me permettrai de suggérer, dans ce qui suit, quelques rectifications, que je présenterai dans l'ordre du vocabulaire latin. (Si les mots romans sont écrits en italique, il s'agit du mot espagnol.) Je sais bien que dans beaucoup de cas, sans la recherche systématique des sources, je ne pourrai ajouter à une incertitude de M. Castro qu'une incertitude qui est mienne. C'est particulièrement sur les lemmes d'origine grecque, si surprenants dans leur fréquence, que porteront mes efforts: en effet, la plupart des mots que M. Castro n'a pu reconnaître et beaucoup de ceux qu'il a corrigés trop hâtivement, sont grecs (pourtant il a noté *s. v. pantapoles* un sens grec ancien conservé; à remarquer que l'itacisme ne se trouve pas), et presque chaque fois que, cessant de tourmenter en vain les mots romans, je me suis adressé aux lexiques grecs, j'ai trouvé une solution plus satisfaisante.<sup>1</sup> Il est dans la nature de tout travail de défrichage que le premier savant soit plus violent que ceux qui, venant après lui, profitent de son travail et peuvent être, après le déblayage accompli par leur prédécesseur, beaucoup plus conservateurs. On n'arrive ici, comme ailleurs en science, à la vérité qu'à force de dégrossissements et de retouches successives.

ABIMELECH 'interpretatur figens sanguinem' doit être une confusion avec des gloses comme celles que Ronsch, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxi, p. 453 a relevées dans le 'Amplonianisches Glossar': *A malech* 'populus lambens vel lingens' et *Damascus* 'bibens sanguinem.' Probablement faut-il lire *lingens sanguinem*.

AB RRE 'sin por que.' Pour le sens de *ab* cf. *ab oculis* 'sans yeux' > fr. *aveugle et à* π' ομάρων 'id.', cf. aussi *à* δ' ακάνθης ρόδον 'rose sans épines.'

ACARIOLUS 'mandilejo,' = *fazariolo* (a. 1038 pallios fazerolios). Je pense que l'étymologie est le lat. *faciale*, 'mouchoir,' que le REW atteste (no. 3128a), cf. *fazalejo*, \**faciaholus* > \**faciariolus*.

ACELLA, 'aliella.' Castro relève la nouveauté pour nous de ce dérivé de *ala* au sens d' 'aisselle.' Je suggérerai d'expliquer l'esp. *islilla*, *astilla*, en considérant notre glose, non pas par *axilla* + goth. \**ahsila* (REW). mais par *axilla* + \**atilla*.

ADENTO 'alançar' (2418 non 2318!) sera peut-être une latinisation d'un gallicisme: *adenter* 'renverser' (*a tere* etc.), *adens* 'sur les dents, couché sur le visage' (God.; Du C. s. v. *indentare*).

AGARDINUS, 'goloso.' Corr. *agaremus*, 'fils d'Agar,' 'Sarrazin,' pour le sens cf. la glose *ligur*, 'goloso' et le prov. mod. *alabre*, *arabre* (= *Arabs*, REW<sup>s</sup> 590) 'roh, gefräßig, habsüchtig.' Cf. aussi des cas comme *enñica* (= *ethnica*) 'payenne' > 'moecha' (CGIL).

ALETILIUM, 'almodrote.' Castro: soit *allium* + *olium*, soit \**allect-illum*. Plutôt dérivé de *ἄλτρον*, *ἀλέτρια* 'farine' + *ἐλαίον*: \**aletléa*.

ALIGROBA, 'enaziados.' Ce dernier mot est défini par la *Prim. cron. gen.* 'que uan descobrir a los moros lo que los cristianos cuedan fazer.' Le premier signifie quelque chose comme 'étranger, émigré.' Je crois donc pouvoir donner l'étymologie de *enaziado* = *ex* + *natio* + *-atus*;

<sup>1</sup> V. les nombreux mots grecs que M. Coromines vient de découvrir en catalan (*Homenatge a Antonio Rubió y Lluch*, III).

- (pour ce mot cf. mallorque *náscia, nêscia*, REW<sup>3</sup>, 5848a et l'anc. fr. *nace* dans la locution *nace que nace*): 'celui qui a perdu ou trahi sa nation.'
- ALOFOLIUM, 'chapin.' Lire *calopodium*, avec aphérèse du *c* par influence de *hoc*. Pour *d > l* cf. la glose *comelipolium > camelopodium*.
- AMASIUS, 'entendedor.' Je ne crois pas que le sens puisse s'expliquer par *propendo*, 'entender,' (p. 272), signifiant 'avoir une relation charnelle avec un être de l'autre sexe.' Cf. Schutz, "A Preliminary Study of *irobar e entender*" (*Romanic Review*, XXXIII, p. 131), qui démontre le même usage en a. prov. et anc. ital. et le reconduit au biblique *et intendit animo Dinae filiae Jacob*. Ce sera un des nombreux euphémismes (cf. *conoistre une feme, acointier*, etc. en a. fr.).
- AMENIUM 'cominos.' C. corrige en *cuminum*, sans avoir remarqué la glose (CGIL) s. v. *ameus*: *cuminum Aethiopicum id est ameos*, où le dernier mot est *ἀμμι -εως* (*ἀνθος ἀμμιεως*). Il y a eu influence du lemme sur l'interprètement (*cominos* d'après *ameos*) et de celui-ci sur celui-là (*ameos, ameus > \*amenos* d'après *cominos*).
- AMES, 'píxa.' *píxa* au sens obscène se trouve aussi dans les gloses, p. ex. E 424 (*androgeus*: ombre que tiene conno e píxa) et dans l'appendice de E 287 (en rime avec *fiwa*). Je signale le hongr. *pícsa*, 'mentule' qui pourrait bien être un hispanisme, bien que Schuchardt dans son article "Romano-Magyarisches," *ZRPh.*, XV ne le mentionne pas.
- AMIA 'voz.' Je corrigerais 'pez' et comprendrais: *ἀμια* 'sorte de ton.'
- AMILLA 'arpilla' est tout simplement *ἀμυλον* 'amidon' et *arpilla* doit signifier la même chose, puisque *arpillera* est une grosse toile, 'raide.' Le -a du lemme est sous l'influence de celui de l'interprètement.
- ANABRATUM, 'cortina.' Castro corrige *anabratum* < 'lugar adonde se sube.' Je lirais plus exactement *ἀνάβαθρον* 'Stufe, auch erhöhter Sitz, Katheder' (Pape): il faut peut-être imaginer un dais, cf. *anabathrum* chez Juvénal. *armabratum* 'molde de candelas' doit être le même mot.
- ANBURIUM 'caxcavel.' Castro corrige *cimbarium* (= *cymbalum*), bien que ce sens ne soit pas attesté. Je propose de voir ici une confusion de deux gloses, comparable à celle que Castro a montrée pour *latomus* 'anzuelo' (v. plus haut): *augurium* 'signum' (je corrige donc *anburium*, qui figure sous des mots avec a-, en *augurium*, pour -b- cf. esp. *abur*; cf. CGIL) + *signum* 'campana,' cf. Du Cange.
- ANCIUS 'copa' inséré sous a-. C. corrige en *caucus*. Plus proche est *ἀργεῖον* glosé par *vas* (CGIL). Pour *g- > c* cf. *ecce*.
- ANPHIATRUM, '... varanda.' Sur le mot correspondant en port. du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, v. Dalgado, *Influência do vocabulario português em linguas asiáticas*, p. 160.
- APTICULARE, 'apropriar' sera l'étymon, jusqu'ici muni d'astérisque, de l'anc. fr. *atillier*, 'arranger, appareiller'; *apropriar* aura ce sens. V. en dernier lieu Bloch, *Rev. d. ling. rom.*, XI, p. 314.
- ARMILA, 'trenchado.' Pourquoi ne pas rattacher *trançar*, 'cortar, menuzar,' *trange*, 'lineamento,' *trance de armas*, 'passe d'armes' etc. à *\*tractiare*, 'tracer,' contaminé peut-être avec *lanzar* ou *trincar* ou avec insertion de -n- comme dans *trenza*?
- ABUE 'altamente': appartient peut-être à la famille *αἰσφα* 'balance,' 'machine pour suspendre,' *αἰσφω*, *αἰσφω* 'élever.'
- ART(ER)UCULUS, 'pepino.' Je suppose *\*[f]artuculus*, de *fartus*, *ūs* (à côté de *fartum*, *i*, de *farcire*), 'das Hineingestopfte, die Füllung, das Füllsel, das Inwendige einer Sache' (Georges), *fartum fici*, 'das Fleischige (auch *pulpa* genannt),' Columelle; donc, à proprement dire, 'pulpe du concombre.' Pour la disparition du *f* cf. germania *arton*, 'pain' (REW, s. v. *fartus*).

ASPECTO 'esperar o escardar.' Confusion avec *pectere* 'peigner,' dont il existe des variantes *pectare* (Dief.).

ASTRAHO 'fuera sacar,' ELICEO 'fuera echar,' PULULO, PUPILLO 'fuera sallir.' C. cite encore *foragido* = *fora exire* (cf. en plus *Poema del Oïd* v. 685 *yscamos fuera*), cat. *foragitar* = *fora jactare* (ajoutez *forallançar*, *foraviar* = fr. *fourvoyer*). On peut se demander s'il n'y a pas là influence de glossaires galloromans: cf. dans le *Abavus* français *potendere* 'avant senefer,' *effere* 'fors porter,' *inicere* 'ens geter.' Les grammairiens voulaient rendre les préfixes latins *ex-* *por-* etc.: *ef-ferre* > *fors porter*, *e-liceo* > *fuera echar*, à noter la forme tonique de *fuera*, ce qui fait bien l'impression d'une construction *ad hoc*. M. Holmes, *Speculum* 1937, p. 531, compare aux interprétations de l'*Abavus* les constructions pléonastiques a. fr. *monter sus*, *descendre aval*, *fors issir* (cf. encore Ste. Eulalie: *enz en l fou lo jetterent*, *Poema: en Santesteuan dentro los metio*) et voit là une preuve pour sa théorie (et celle de Mlle Vaughn, *Language*, IX, 165) de l'origine germanique de ces constructions: *abscede* = a. h. a. *hou aba*, *lua orta* = *gieng uf*. Mais il faut remarquer (1) que les constructions allemandes citées ne sont nullement pléonastiques, (2) que les constructions espagnoles, si autochtones, devraient remonter au gothique, (3) qu'il faut distinguer glossographie et langage spontané. *Non liquet*.

ATEMUS 'fasta agora,' ATENUS 'fasta aqui, o carosamente.' Je me demande si les deux gloses ne remontent pas à une confusion faite entre *abstemie* 'sobriété, ne buvant pas,' (cf. la glose E 39) dont on trouve des formes avec *-n-* (v. Du Cange), et l'adverbe *hactenus* 'n'allant pas plus loin.' L'interprètement *carosamente*, qui rappelle le prov. mod. *carous*, 'o rébarbatif, rude, sévère,' (*faire caro* 'rester sur ses dents, rester court,' cf. *faire la caro* 'faire la mine, être refrigné' = esp. *hacer cara* 'faire teste, monstrier les dents, résister,' Oudin) semble bien l'indiquer.

AUTAMO 'pasmare' est probablement *autumo* 'asmar,' *autumo* signifiant dans la basse latinité 'croire, penser' (Ernout-Millet): cf. les nombreuses gloses *autumare*, 'aestimare, existimare' (CGIL), *autumare* 'cuidare' Roques "Recueil général des lexiques . . ." *Abavus*, IV-V, 773. Peut-être le lapsus *p-asmar* s'est-il introduit à la suite d'une confusion entre *asmar* 'estimer' et *asma* 'asthme.'

AUTICA 'pampiana de vid' est corrigé par C. en *antica*. On pourrait penser à *οὐνάνθη* 'le bourgeon de la vigne' ou 'fleur de vigne,' cf. *τὸ ἄνθος τῆς ἀμπέλου* 'pampineum' *οὐνάνθινον* 'pampineum' (CGIL), de *οἶνος* 'vin' + *ἄνθος* 'fleur,' à condition d'admettre un \**en]antina* ou *-ica* (-ικῆ) mutilé. Cf. *ἀνθικός* 'se rapportant aux fleurs,' *pámpano* est soit 'feuille de vigne,' soit 'le bourgeon de la vigne' (Oudin) comme en latin.

BACO 'poner embargo' sera un \**baelo*, cf. a. prov. *baclar*, fr. *bâcler* (REW, FEW, EWF).

BALDUCA, 'puntada.' Je suggère le radical de la famille de mots cat. (Llinàs) *baltrigar*, 'calcigar' (Aguiló, Alcover-Moll), *baldruch*, 'aguât mal fet,' (*ibid.*), prov. mod. *bauduga*, *bautuga*, 'troubler, déranger, gêner, profaner,' (a. prov. *bautugamen*, 'Verwirrung, Entweihung'). D'ailleurs, *batuta*, 'cuajada' (Du C. *balducta*, etc.) doit être le même mot: sens fondamental 'troubler, remuer.'

BALENCINA 'tripa.' Sans aucun doute = *valenciana* 'Woldecke aus Valencia' (REW 2129) et *tripa* a le sens du fr. *trippe de velours* 'sorte d'étoffe' attesté en 1483 (*triperie* se trouve déjà en 1275) par Bloch. *Tripa* est donc un des gallicismes à ajouter à la p. LVII.

BELOTUS 'esparago' est sans aucun doute une variante de *boletus*, v. *asparagus* 'boletus,' CGIL, 'ein swam' chez Diefenbach.

- BICANARIA** 'nuevas fiestas' est placé sous *b-*, donc *lucanaria* me semble exclu. Je propose *ἐπι-καιν-aria* de *καινός* 'neuf' (it. *incignare* 'étrenner'), *ἐπικαινίζω*, *ἐπικαινοτομέω* étant des formations de grécité postérieure (*ἐπι-καίνα* 'la *dedicatio* d'une église'). Pour *-p->-b-* cf. *obatum* et *meabolo*.
- BISUGIUM** 'vesugo.' Le mot me semble tout simplement \**bis-ācus*, avec le suffixe *-ācus* comme *fabucus* > *avugo*, et *bis-* 'double.' Le cat. *besuch* semble avoir un *s* sonore (Alcover-Moll).
- BOMBIZO** 'peer.' Cf. all. *pumpfern* 'pedere' (Kluge s.v. *Pumpfernichel*), angl. *bum* 'derrière,' Abavus (Roques, Abavus, iv-v, 901) *bonbinare* 'perre,' (902) *bonbizare* 'idem.'
- BRIGULUS** 'gorrion' est le gr. *φρυγίλος* 'nom d'oiseau' (Ernout-Meillet s.v. *friguttio*) ou (σ) *πέργουλός* 'δρυθάριον ἄγριον,' *σποργύλος* 'moineau' = m. h. a. *sperke* 'moineau' (Boisacq).
- BROTUS** 'bocado de dueña.' Je lirais *botrus*, 'tocado de dueña' en rappelant *βότρυς*, 'Haarlocke, gekräuselt Haar,' 'Ohrehänge,' lat. *botronatus*, 'eine Haarfrisur der Frauen in Gestalt einer Traube' (de *βότρυς* au sens de 'grappe,' attesté chez les pères de l'Eglise).
- BRUNELLUS** 'borrico.' Ce nom de l'âne se trouve dans le *Speculum stultorum* de Nigel Wireker (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Canterbury, cf. T. Wright, Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the XII<sup>th</sup> Century, Rolls ser. 1872, i 145).
- BULINO** 'ensuziar.' La glose est un document précieux pour étayer l'idée de M. Bertoldi, « Wörter u. Sachen » XI, p. 6, qui voit dans fr. *bouillon* (blanc) 'verbasum' (= *bullionus* dans une glose du XI<sup>e</sup> s.) un mot de pêcheurs et le dérive de *bouiller* 'troubler l'eau pour faire sortir le poisson,' puisque le *verbascum* (cf. le nom *herba piscatoria* dans les gloses) sert à enivrer ou tuer les poissons (port. *embarbascar*) pour les prendre plus facilement. Notre glose en donnant *bulino* (= \**bul-ion-o*) semble attester une provenance galloromane. *Ensuziar* signifie donc *turbare aquam*, qui est d'après le célèbre mémoire de Schuchardt à la base du fr. *trouver*. Ou \**blennō* de *βλέννα* 'morve'?
- BUO** 'peer.' Je crois que le témoignage de notre glose, bien qu'isolé, est valide: gr. *βύω* 'constiper' (CGH 'obdo, obturo').
- CA(U)LAMAULA** 'camponna o albogues.' Le *calamaula* rétabli par Castro est attesté bien avant Palencia, v. ThLL (= *calamus* + *άλός*) et Abavus iv-v, 967, *calamaula* 'chalumel.'
- CALATARIA** 'puta vieja' pourrait être \**γεραι(o)-εταίρα* 'vieille hétaïre' avec dissimilation de *r-r* en *l-r* et *c-* pour *g-* comme *olis* 'glis.' Ce seront des exercices de formation de mots composés qui auront provoqué ces 'ghost-words.' Cf. *catarasia*.
- CALEBUS** 'bordon.' Vu le *chalyps* 'krucka' de Dief. (= *χάλυψ*, *χάλυβος*), je n'expliquerais pas *hio agolus*. Cf. *calibis* 'acier' dans Abavus, iv-v, 1001, et Blondheim, « Les gloses franç. dans les commentaires talmudiques de Raschi » II, 48.
- CANA** 'partidas de lugaron.' Je comprends *canna* 'mensura agri' (Du C.) et *partida por tierra* 'contree, pays, region, quartier' (Oudin).
- CANSILE**, 'estribera de vallesta o de silla, escrinno.' Ne sera pas *capsile*, vu la glose *scansile*, 'estribera,' mais *scansile*, de *scansilis*, '(be)-steighar' (via *scansilis*, etc.), cf. Diefenbach *scansile*, 'scabellum textoris' avec la traduction que donne Oudin pour *estriberas*, 'des chevaux de menuisier.' Cf. Abavus iv-v, 7689 *scancile* 'estrieu.' Le sens 'escrifo' est celui de l'ital. *scansia*, 'scaffale,' qui, il me semble, doit être expliqué en dernier lieu, par des intermédiaires inconnus, par *scansilia* (REW 7968 a trouvé le rapport avec \**skankjan* 'unverstänlich').

- CAPALUS** 'arroz.' Je crois à une confusion, attestée dans CGIL s. v. *oniza*, de *δρυζα* 'ris' et *δρυξ* 'ongle,' instrument à forme d'ongle, de crochet.' C'est ce dernier mot qui répond à *capalus* 'manubrium gladii,' *capus* 'faucon,' 'avis armata unguibus quam nos falconem vocamus' (CGIL). Ou *capalus* = *κάπηλος* 'mercier' et l'interprètement serait incomplet: 'vendedor de arroz' (cf. all. de Vienne *Greisler* litt. 'marchand de semoule' qui a le sens de *κάπηλος*).
- CARDELUS** 'alcaravea,' **CARDUELUS** 'alcaraván.' Il y a au-dessous de ces deux gloses sans aucun doute *ardeola* 'alcaraván,' le butor (*ardea stelleris*), avec influence para-étymologique de *carduellus*.
- CARAMARAGARABEUM** 'dinero malo' = *παράχαραγμα* 'false stamp, false coin' (Sophocles), néogr. *id.*, CGIL: *παπαχαράξιμος* 'falsus monetarius,' *para-characta* (Du C.) 'id., *paracharagma* 'moneta adulterina.'
- CARILUS**, 'pepino,' est sans doute le *carilium* 'Nusskern' que cite REW<sup>s</sup> s. v. *caryon*, 'wallische Nuss.' *Pepino* signifie 'concombre,' mais le lat. *pepo* a signifié une sorte de 'melon,' et *pepita* signifie 'semence de melon' etc.—ce qui se rapproche de 'noyau de noix,' amplement attesté en roman. Peut-être aussi le concombre (*pepino*) pourrait être comparé, à cause de sa surface rugueuse, aux grains (*carygium*).
- CARRYOBOLUM** 'badajo.' A ajouter Diefenbach *cariobulla* 'kamprad' (= *Kammrad* 'roue à dents'). Le *Deutsches Wörterbuch* de son côté cite pour *Kammrad* un 'vocabularium theutiscum' de 1482 donnant *kamprade* '... baculus mobilis super molarem,' ce qui est conforme à l'explication 'barra de hierro que movia la rueda del molino,' 'clavija del molino.' Je suppose pour les *caryobolon*, *cariobellum*, *scariobella*, *storiobella* un étymon grec *σπρίβιλος* 'ein jeder gedrehte, gerundete od. sich drehende Körper, Kreisel, Tannenzapfen, kegelförmiger Ohrenschmuck.' Cf. CGIL *strobilus* 'conum' (Du C.). À la même famille appartient *σπρίβλη* 'Werkzeug zum Drehen, Winde, Rolle, Walze,' et à des verbes comme *σπρίβλιω* 'loucher' *σπρίβιλιω* 'hin und herdrehen' doivent se rattacher les *estarábizaterium* etc. signifiant 'battant de cloche.'
- CAS** ... JA, E 'espumadero.' Je propose *cassia* ou *cascia*, v. Du C. s. v. *cassa* 'sartaginis species...' 'poëlon' en Anjou et Normandie, 'lèche-frite,' cette dernière servant à recevoir la graisse et le jus qui dégouttent.
- CASEDILE** 'fardel.' L'étymologie de Castro (*capsella* + *duvides*) n'est pas appuyée par la forme *cassedile*, qui d'après Traube *Arch. f. lat. Lex.* vi, 266 a un *i* long au moyen âge et est expliqué dans le ThLL par *cassis* 'casque.'
- CATARASIA** 'manceba falsa.' Pour risquer une hypothèse: je lirais \**κα[κε]-κοράσιον*, de *κακός* 'mauvais' + *κοράσιον* 'jeune fille' (mot biblique), *t* fautive pour *c*.
- CEJOR**, 'non ayna.' Castro corrige *celor*, 'mas aina.' Je crois qu'on pourrait admettre un comparatif aussi au lemma: soit *cel[er]ior*, soit un vulgaire \**celior*, cf. *cicius* [= *citius*] 'mas aina' (T. 2248, E. 83).
- CAESPITO** 'entropear.' Pour *caespitare* 'trébucher' cf. REW<sup>s</sup>, 1477 (où l'esp. et port. *cespitar* semblent des 'cultismos') et Abavus IV-V, 1304: *cespitare* 'trébucher.'
- CHYLIDRUS** 'percha.' Ce ne sera pas le poisson *perca*, mais la 'perche' (*percha*): *chylidrus* sera donc *cylí[n]drus* 'colonne,' sens attesté en roman, où *columna* a contaminé le mot: a. prov. *coronda* 'colonne, poteau, solive,' fr. *colombe*, 'grosse solive posée à plomb pour faire des édifices de charpente' (Littré) = *percha* 'madero o estaca larga y delgada, que regularmente se atraviesa en otras para sostener una



cosa; como parras, etc.' (Dice. Acad.). *Chilidrus* montre donc un sens qui ne s'explique que par la contamination romane avec *columna* (cf. Schuchardt, *ZRPh.*, xxvi, 412).

CIATIM 'ordenadamente' sous c-: C. corrige *seriatim*. Plutôt \**sce[u]atim*, de σκευή 'apparatus', σκευάζω 'préparer', cf. soiemement sous c-.

CICITUS 'tranca' sera *circuitus*, cf. Du C. *circuitatus* 'entouré' (*cofretum nigrum circuitatum, cum duobus clavaturis*). Si *talanguera*, la glose de *valum*, est *tranca*, comme le suggère C., *circuitus* 'circumvallatio' s'expliquerait aussi. Je suppose d'ailleurs pour *tranca*—que la dernière édition du REW inclut dans le registre, mais non pas dans le corps de l'ouvrage, alors que l'édition précédente avait un étymon (d'origine inconnue) \**tranca* 'barrière'—un étymon \**tramica* de *trames* -itis 'chemin de traverse, chemin,' ce qui cadre bien avec *circuitus*. Pour *circ*->*cic*- cf. *ciciter* = *circiter* E102.

CIRLITRIGICOPACINTIUM 'telaraña.' Cet exemple de *sesquipedalia verba* dans notre glossaire se réduit pourtant à l'expression si simple χιτών ἀπάχνης 'toile d'araignée,' peut-être dans une forme latinisée \**chitonarachnum*. Le P (= r) majuscule a été confondu avec un p latin; pour -chn->-cin- cf. *ellyphnium* > *lucinium* REW 1852. Peut-être y a-t-il encore ὀπίξ 'cheveu' dans la combinaison des mots.

CIROCITROCICONIUM 'rodezo.' Je crois distinguer dans la fin du mot *ciconia* signifiant, ainsi que son dérivé *ciconiola*, 'manivelle' en roman (REW, 1906-7). La première partie sera un τροχίσκος 'petite roue' avec métathèse (*trochiscus* dans CGIL 'rotulus,' cf. *rodezo*). Le mot total serait donc: \**τροχίσκο-ciconium*. Pour l'hybridisme cf. p. II des exemples comme *pilasca* = *pilus* + ἀσκάς. Le commencement du mot semble contaminé par χειρῶν 'mola manualis.'

CIMABULUM 'almendra,' sera le χαμαιβάλανος "Erdeichel, eine Art Wolfsmilch, sonst άπιος, Diosc." (Pape), cf. Nemnich, *Polyglotten-Lexikon*, soit s. v. *lathyrus tuberosus*. "chamaebalanus leguminosa; terrae glandes; apios; arachnida Theophrasti," (all. *die knollige Platterbse, Erdnüsse, Erdeicheln, Erdmandeln*, fr. *la gesse tubéreuse*), soit s. v. *arachis hypogaea* (*chamaebalanus japonica*, fr. *noix de terre*, port. *amenduinhas* [sic!]).

CLEPIO 'rrelvar.' *Rrelvar*, 'donner le premier labour à la terre,' sera le latin *relevare*, envisagé par la langue vulgaire comme un verbe simple (cf. la forme dans la 3. pers. du présent *rielva*). Le mot se trouve avec le même sens aussi en portugais (*Tras-os-montes rrelvar*, Figueiredo), de là *relva*, 'conjunto de ervas rasteiras e delgadas, ordinariamente gramíneas, que crescem espontaneamente nos campos e nos caminhos,' qu'on a à tort expliqué jusqu'ici par \**helva* (REW<sup>3</sup>, 4103): c'est l'herbe que le premier labourage 'relève,' 'levanta,' *relevat*. Il faut donc enlever l'article *helva* au REW et partager l'article *relevare* actuel en deux parties:

1. *re-levare*, \**re-lévat*: fr. *relever*, *relief*, etc.

2. *relevare*, \**rélevat*: esp. port. *relvar*, (esp. *rielva* 3<sup>e</sup> pers.).

*Clepio* est souvent glosé (CGIL) par *subripere*: c'est peut-être ce *subripere*, compris comme 'soulever,' 'donner le premier labour' (cf. all. *den Acker umbrechen*), qui donne la clef de *clepere*.

COLUMNUS 'abellano,' ne sera pas une faute pour *colurus*; cf. *columnus* 'aus Haselholz' (Georges) et CGIL vi, x: "λεπτοκαρυον est *colurna*."

COMINATUS 'calnado.' Comprendre peut-être \**combinatus* (de *combinare*) avec *mō* > *m* aragonais; cf. *Arbedo biná*, 'resistere, sopportare; tener saldo; domare' (FEW s. v. *binare*).

COMPLODO 'atar.' Peut-être *complodo* 'die Hände zusammenschlagen' (vor Schmerz) et *atarse* 'turbarse alguno, no darse manos a lo que haze' (Cou.).

- COMPULUM 'porquera' [sc. *lanza*]. La correction en *venabulum* est trop violente. Plutôt = \**compul[sori]um*, de *compulsor* 'Treiber des Viehs.'
- CONGERIES 'majano de piedras.' *Majano* sera l'équivalent du mirandais *malhão*, esp. *mojon* 'Grenzstein' = *mutulus* (REW<sup>3</sup>, 5797).
- CORUGA 'ave que cria filios ajenos o cornudo.' Le passage cité de Mal Lara: "Diciendo a otro cucu . . . le declaramos . . . que su mujer cria hijos ajenos," appuie mon explication de fr. *cocu*, angl. *cuckold*, *Über einige Wörter der Liebesprache*, p. 71.
- COUUM 'coyunda,' inséré sous *c-*, donc *lorum* est impossible. Quelque chose comme \**co-jūg-um*, (cf. *yuvada* s. v. *juger*).
- CREDIPETA 'el que pide algo ajeno' n'est pas formé sur *heredipeta*, mais doit être corrigé en *eredipeta*; cf. Du Cange, s. v. *haeredipeta*: Joh. de Janua, 'Heredipeta, qui alterius hereditatem petit vel cupit.'
- CROCENUS 'cosa maravillosa' Je suppose: *crocinus* 'cosa amarilla,' = gr. *κρόκινος*, cf. Abavus IV-V *croceus* 'jaune.'
- CULPONEUS, 'madruennas.' Il n'est pas juste de dire que le prov. et cat. *esclop* 'sabot' ne se trouvent pas dans les dictionnaires étymologiques. REW<sup>3</sup> s. v. *cloppus* ("cf. *scloppus*") a admis dubitativement ces mots. *Sculponeae* comme étymologie de ces mots est moins vraisemblable que (s) *cloppus*.
- CURES, -TIS 'cabildo,' précédé de *curia*, -e, 'corte de rey.' Ne s'agirait-il pas, plutôt qu'encre une fois de *curia*, de *κούρητες* (= *Coretes*, CGIL) 'die junge waffenfähige Mannschaft,' qui formait un 'comité.' Ou peut-être aussi le collège de prêtres à Crète dont le nom est tiré de cet appellatif grec. *Cabildo* serait alors une faible explication, au lieu d'une traduction. Cf. les gloses *lupercus* 'mastin,' *nemeus* 'cosa [de] monte' et plus bas sur *getulus* 'ginete.'
- CURSIDULUS 'tajon.' Peut-être = *κρεωδαιουλα* 'Fleischverteilung' (*κρεωδαίτης* 'Fleischer') > \**curdes* > \**cursid* ?
- DECE, -RUM 'tenazas' corrigé en *cancella* est vraiment trop osé. Comme all. *Zange* est apparenté à *δάκνω* 'mordre,' je suppose une formation parallèle à *δῆξις*, *δῆγμα*, *δῆγμός* 'morsure,' *δῆξ* gén. *δῆκος* 'charançon.' Le roman \**daca* 'poignard' (fr. *dague*), toujours inexpliqué, aura-t-il quelque rapport? Cf. la forme *deca* pour le poignard attestée pour le XVe s. dans Bartał.
- DERISO, 'embarnecer.' Corr. *diviso* (*diviso*) de *dividere*, 'machen dass etwas hervorstecht, etwas heben, verzieren,' (Georges); Du Cange: *divisatus*, 'colorié,' ital. *divisato*, 'id.', *divisa*, 'l'uniforme.'
- DIDIMUS 'dubdoso.' Cf. Habel: *Dydimus* 'Zwillingsbruder, der ungläubige Thomas.' Il s'agit de l'incrédule Thomas qui doutait du Seigneur. Plutôt explication que traduction. Cf. Isidore, VII, IX, 16: "Thomas abyssus, vel geminus, unde et Graece Didymus appellatur" et Abavus IV-V, 2432: *didimus* 'douteux vel double' avec des vers faisant allusion à Thomas (le nom hébreu signifie en effet 'jumeau').
- DIFERENCIUS 'departidamente.' Il faudrait dire peut-être que ces comparatifs équivalents à des positifs (v. aussi *celor*, *diligentius*) expliquent *vivacius* > a. prov. *viatz*, etc.
- DISTRUCTIO -IS 'sagudir.' Peut-être *desringo* + \**destrictio*, *are*, l'étymon de l'anc. fr. *destreicter* 'mettre à l'étroit, resserrer,' cf. a. prov. *destressa* 'Busse, Strafe, zangsweise Beitreibung einer Strafe, Zwangsmittel' (*e nol deu hom far destressa ni metre en tor*, 'soll man kein Zwangsmittel gegen ihn anwenden,' Levy), m. lat. *distringere* 'compellere ad aliquid faciendum, per multam, poenam, vel capto pignore' (Du C.). C'est à peu près le sens de *sagudir* 'saisir.'

DUMTANGO 'tan solament.' Ne serait-ce pas une sorte de rajeunissement étymologique de la conjonction *dumtaxat* de la part du grammairien qui voulait faire comprendre la forme "ancienne et classique, mais rare" (Ernout-Meillet) du verbe désidératif \**tazo*, dérivé de *tangere*? Cf. Abavus IV-V, 2662: *dumtaxat* 'tant seulement.'

ECEO 'apostar' = \**e[n]cio*, gr. ἐγγυῶ 'engager,' *g* hypercorrect pour *c*, cf. *clis* = *glis* etc. Pour *g* cf. *ancius*; -*e* pour -*i*.

ENCENIUM 'letuario.' Le sens peut aussi avoir été déduit de la contiguité dans le vers du Grecismus (cf. Du Cange, s. v. *encaenium*): *Fercula sunt epulo: sed sunt Eccennia dona* . . . (cf. Labhardt, *Contribution à l'explication des Gloses de Reichenau*, p. 101). Mais je me demande si nous avons vraiment à faire à *enium* 'don': *encenium* ne serait-il pas plutôt ici un \**encaenium*, de *encaeniare* 'aliquid novi dedicare, novam tunicam induere,' de là ital. *incignare* 'étrangler,' corse *incignà* 'sboconcellare, entamer' (Jaberg, RLiRI, 122 et 143)?—le *letuario* sera donc une sorte de hors-d'œuvre commençant le repas.

ENDENIA 'endecha.' Je ne conclurais pas à un croisement de *indicta* + *neniae*, mais à une glose antérieure *neniae* 'endecha' (d'ailleurs attestée dans le glossaire), où l'interprètement aurait été par erreur assimilé au lemme (procédé courant, v. Labhardt, et cf. encore dans notre même glossaire *ardenio* 'tacanno' au lieu de *ardelio*). *Endenia* n'est donc pas une forme du langage parlé, mais purement livresque, "glossographique."

EPARIOTUS 'echa cuervo,' est ἐπαρίκτος (avec *p* lu *p*, cf. *cirlitricopacinium*), de ἐπάρος 'collatio, collecta' (CGIL), dans Bartal *eranista* 'mendicus.'

EPAS, EPATRIS 'tan buen dia.' Au lieu de rattacher ces mots tant bien que mal à l' a. esp. *evad(es)*, il faut p.-ê. admettre une lecture du P grec par *p* (cf. *cirlitricopacinium*) et comprendre néogrec [καλῶς] *épōate* 'soyez le bien venu!', *épōate* 'entrez, s'il vous plaît!'. Je sais bien que le mot se trouve dans E sous la lettre *e*, mais le mot doit être estropié, comme aussi la forme *epas*. Ou *ἐπάπερος* 'agréable'?

ESTRIGILIS 'chicharron.' Ce sens s'explique de *strigilis* comme le fr. *gratin* de *gratter*. Cf. Abavus IV-V *strigilis* '... creton...'

ESTUPANATUS 'cosa maravillada' peut-être = *stuporatus* + cat. etc. *estavanado* 'affolé' (de *tabanus*).

EUMYTICUS 'castrado o . . .'. C. corrige trop violemment *eunuchus*. Serais-je à mon tour trop hardi en proposant *eu[phe]miticus*, de *Euphemitae* ou *ἐϋμίται*, la secte hérétique des Marsalians qui voulaient s'abstenir de tout contact charnel et ne s'adonnaient qu'à la prière? Cf. l'évolution sémantique du nom de secte *bougre* (*rabougri*).

EXPERNANTER 'spreciadamente' = *aspernante*, de *aspernari*.

FALA 'bastida.' Ajoutez l'esp. *extrafalarío* 'bizarre, extravagant' qui doit venir de ce *fala*: 'ce qui se trouve en dehors des bastions d'une ville,' cf. *huraño* de *foraneus*.

FALSIPERIS, IS 'falso m<sup>o</sup>.' Je suppose que l'abréviation est = *modo*, cf. dans le même glossaire E *nubo* 'casar (a<sup>o</sup> de antiquitate),' où le *m* de *m<sup>o</sup>* = *modo* sera tombé. Toujours est-il que la glose est tronquée. *Falsiperis* = *falsipare[n]s* [*Amphitryonides*] = Hercule, 'faux fils d'Amphitryon' dans un passage de Catulle que connaissait encore Nebrija?

FAPULUS, FAMILUS 'formigos.' Aussi montañá *formigos* 'ocimiento de harina de trigo y agua.' L'explication *formica* est probablement juste, pour le masc., cf. Maur. Schneider, *El colectivo en latin* etc. (1935) p. 52. *Fapulus* ne sera pas *farriculus*, mais un \**pappulus* modelé sur *formigo*, de \**pappula*, *pappa*, avec dissimilation *p* — *p* > *f* — *p* (cf. mall. *perfando* de *furfante*). *Familus* est contaminé par *fames*.

- FAUSTE 'orgullosamente.' Je crois qu'il faut admettre, et aussi pour esp. *fausto* 'ostentacion,' un croisement de *faustus* + *fast(u)osus*, *fastus* 'air orgueilleux.'
- FETO, NIS 'esparto,' 'espartero.' Je suppose une confusion entre deux mots grecs: *σπάρος* 'né, engendré' a bien pu être traduit par \**feto* (> fr. *jaon*), alors que *σπάρος* est la graminée nommée *esparto* en espagnol.
- FILATERIUM 'tropas o polayna.' Castro lui-même renvoie à Du Cange, s. v. *filaterium* (= *phylacterium*), sans comprendre. Il s'agit des *tephillim* des juifs qui sont enroulés autour du front et du bras. Donc *polayna* a le sens usuel de 'guêtres,' parce qu'ils sont roulés autour de la jambe.
- FINGIA 'simia,' au lieu d'être la 'sphinx,' ne serait-ce pas une fausse reconstruction de l'esp. *wimia* (*yimia*) d'après des couples comme *famelicus* > *jamelgo*? D'ailleurs *f* et *s* alternent comme graphies: *para-sonista-para-sonista*.
- FISCARDUS 'puges.' Sur cette monnaie cf. E. Belz, « Die Münzbezeichnungen in d. altfrz. Literatur » p. 54, qui atteste une *pugese de lerida* au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle et qui nous apprend que la légende de cette monnaie était *FOIES*, de là la forme masculine de notre texte. Pour *fiscardus*, la correction en *balhardus* me semble trop violente.
- FRABITERIUM: cf. l'article de Tagliavini sur l'it. *fabbriciere*, *fabbriceria*, *ZRP*h., 1937, p. 88, qui appuie *fabricerium*.
- FRUGO 'orin de fierro.' Il ne faut peut-être pas corriger en *aerugo*, mais en *ferrugo* (REW<sup>3</sup>, 3261: astur. *ferruñu*, port. *ferruge*). Toujours est-il que le fr- peut être une graphie pour *r* tout simplement, v. sous *malufrimum*.
- FULFUR 'gorion.' Un parallèle plus proche est offert par les mots sardes énumérés REW<sup>3</sup> s. v. *furfurarius*, signifiant précisément le 'moineau.'
- FULGETURA 'fustan,' lire *foleratura* (*folleratura*, *folrature*, *fodratura*, attesté aussi en Espagne, Du Cange, cf. aussi la glose *subuoca* 'forradura,' dont l'interprètement manque au glossaire espagnol) = 'fourrure,' ce qui me semble plus près du mot glosé qu'un \**follicatura*, qu'on pourrait déduire de *follicantes* 'vestis grossior' (Papias, Du C.; chez Isidore dit de chaussures), et qui (\**holgadura*) montrerait au moins le -g; l'esp. *traer holgado el vestido* 'estre vestu & chaussé à son aise, & non pas trop juste' (Oudin) reproduirait bien le sens de *follicantes*, mais y a-t-il une formation \**holgadura* 'vêtement flottant'?
- FUNGA 'gemollete.' Je suppose un *fun[u]g[ul]a* 'fenollete,' ce dernier gallicisme (cf. prov. *fenouiet* 'petit fenouil, fenouil d'eau') se trahissant dans -ll- (esp. *hinojo*) et le suffixe. Le *f*- se confondait avec *j*-, *x*-, v. *fingia* = *wimia*.
- FYLARGYRUS 'contendor.' C. corrige *contador* 'tesorer.' Peut-être *contendor* = \**contendedor* (cf. *avediz* = *avenedizo* dans le même glossaire, p. 153), *contendere testamentum* 'rescindere' (Du C.), 'contester la validité d'un testament,' fr. *le contentieux* etc.
- GACURRIA 'squiancia.' Peut-être y a-t-il confusion avec la coqueluche, qui produit aussi le sentiment de l'étranglement. Dans cette hypothèse *gacurria* serait une variante de *cucurrio* 'chant du coq' (chez Anthimus variante: *gugurrio*, Graur, Les consonnes géminées en latin), cf. le fr. *coqueluche* (*gogueluter* dans Jaubert), ital. *tosse coccolina* etc., que j'explique après Brissaut par le chant du coq (Bibl. dell' arch. rom. III, 145).
- GALURNIUM 'carajo palmar.' Je suppose que *palmar* seul traduit *galurnium*, qui, lui, est une variante (ou forme erronée) de ce *galowina*, 'jointée (de mains)' (*galosinas*, *gallonias* etc.) dont Thomas a traité dans Bull. Ducange, iv, 95.

- GANICUS 'castrado.' corr. *gallinaceus*, cf. la phrase du *Grecismus* citée sous *castratus*: 'castrato similis est gallinaceus omnis' (p. 186)? Ou *gallicus*, dérivé de *Gallii*, les prêtres de Cybèle qui s'émasculent.
- GENOBRODIUM 'barvilla.' Au lieu d'admettre la coalescence d'un mot grec avec l'interprétation slave *barda*, dont on ne voit pas la justification dans le latin centre-européen, je propose, sur la suggestion de M. Panos Morphopoulos, *γενειοφρύδιον*, de *ὄφρυς* 'cil,' 'bord' + *γενειον* 'menton.'
- GENOLOSIA 'fidalgua' ne sera pas *genealogia* + *generosia*, mais tout simplement *genealogia* avec *s* pour *g* comme contrepartie à *g* pour *s* dans *ceragium* > *cerasia* p. XLVIII. Cf. Abavus IV-V, 3654: *geneologia* 'parage.'
- GEROBOLADUS 'vadajo.' C. reconnaît bien *χειρο-* + le radical *βάλλω* (seulement corriger *βολίδος* en *βολίς*). Je signalerai le mot composé effectivement attesté dans CGIL: *falarica* 'χειροβαλλίστρα' donc 'sorte de lance' (néogrec *χειρόβολον* 'gerbe' etc.) et le verbe *χειροβολῶ* dans Lucien. Mais cf. ci-dessous, *globodius*.
- GEROLOMIDO 'peliscar.' Il y a *λαβίς*, *λαβίδιον* 'tenailles, pincette,' *χειρὶ λαμβάνειν* (*λαβεῖν*) 'toucher de la main,' *χειρολάβη*, *-λαβίς* 'Handgriff am Pfuge.' Mais mieux me semble *χειρο-* + *βελόνη*, *βελονίς* 'pointe, aiguille': \**χειρο-[βελονίδ-]iō* (-ίζω?).
- GETULUS 'ginete.' Il s'agit sûrement des *Gaetuli*, dont Salluste nous dit: "vagi palantes quas nox coegerat sedes habebant," v. Forcellini, qui rappelle aussi. "Gaetuli militaverunt pro Hannibale in Italia . . . , pro Jugurtha in Africa . . . Hinc quoque inter alas cohortesque auxilium reperiuntur in exercitu Romano. Sic ala Gaetulorum memoratur in *Inscr. in Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, v. 7007." C'est donc plutôt une explication d'un terme ancien qu'une traduction: nos glossaires sont des encyclopédies (Konversationslexika) rudimentaires.
- GLIUS 'varraco' se trouve dans une liste de mots commençant par *o*. Comme il y a dans CGIL des gloses comme *olivus* 'singularis via,' *singularis* aura été interprété comme 'sanglier.' Ce sens est d'ailleurs plutôt gallo-roman et catalan (*porc senglar* REW) qu'espagnol.
- GLOBODUS 'cordon' = *ἀγέλας* 'entraîne du troupeau' (avec *ἀγέλη* 'troupeau,' qui a p.-ê. le sens de *ἀγέλαδιον* 'vache,' Sophocles), cf. *χειρόπετον* 'manica ferrea' > \**gerobodum*; cf. ci-dessus, *geroboladus*.
- GRANICUS 'cosa frances' est parallèle à *gallicus* 'cosa de frances.' Il ne faut pas corriger *granicus* en *francus* mais admettre un croisement glossographique de *gallicus* + *francus*. Il faut lire dans l'interprétation 'cosa [de] frances.'
- GRAPES -DIS 'grulla.' Le gén. -dis exclut le rapprochement avec *γρύψ*. Il s'agit de ces *grapides* dont parle Ugutio (Du C. s. v. *carda* 1): "Grapides, apud Graecos vocatur quaedam avis, apud nos carda, quia gravi volatu detenta, ut non caeterae volucres, attollitur velocitate penarum," c'est à dire l'outarde (= *avis tarda*, Du C. corrige *carda* en *tarda*).
- GUALA 'box de zapatero' est le néogrec *γυαλίω* 'polir, cirer' (des bottines), 'briller,' *βάλι* 'verre,' du grec ancien *βαλος* 'toute pierre transparente, verre.' De même, GULIBERGIIUM 'redomo' est une formation du type *βαλουργική* 'l'art de faire des verres' (= \**hyalurgium* = — *ουργείον*, cf. *μεταλλουργείον*), cf. *hyalus* 'Trinkglas' (Habel). Cf. *hysopo* > *guisopo* p. LXXVI pour *hy-* > *gui-*; le *b* est un *u* rendant le *v* grec.
- HALO 'esperizar.' Pour le sens cf. REW<sup>3</sup> s. v. *halare*: campobasso, *yalà* 'bâiller.'
- HEBETO 'besar.' Je propose *besar* = *versare* 'tourner sens dessus dessous' (gal. *besar* 'labourer,' ptg. *vessar* 'id.', esp. *envesar* 'renverser, retourner'), cf. lat. *versura* 'encoignure.'

ICI 'cruellement.' Je lirais *ifi* = *ἰφι* 'avec force' (Homère).

IDOMA, AE 'ciudad.' Pourquoi *Sidonia*, et non pas *Idume*, ville en Idumée (Palestine)? De même *Edon*, que C. n'a pas identifié, sera Idumée: l'interprètement ne me semble pas manquer: ce sont précisément les mots 'inter tenus vel sagineus' écrits par erreur du côté du lemme. C. corrige *inter* [te]renus, ce qui ne donne pas de sens. Je suppose qu'il faut lire *terenus* pour *inter tenus* conformément à l'Onomasticon de la Vulgate "Idumaea rufa sive terrena," cf. *Ἰδουμαία* . . . ἡ γῆνός, cf. Rónsch, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxi, 461. *Sagineus* doit signifier 'gras,' ce qui correspond à la tradition biblique, v. sous *eumitrous*. M. Labhardt a aussi constaté dans le Gloss. de Reichenau de ces lacunes dans les interprètements de mots rares (noms propres etc.): "Il est vraisemblable qu'au moment où il travaillait à la composition de son glossaire, le compilateur ne trouvait pas dans sa source l'explication désirée et réservait dans le manuscrit la place destinée à la recevoir." L'interprètement mis sur le côté gauche de la page sera donc une note provisoire, destinée à être remplacée sur le côté droit par du définitif. Cf. *Sobal uana*.

ILLICIA 'sobervia' peut être *elatia*, mais contaminé par *ἡλικία* 'âge,' 'âge mûr,' 'grandeur apparente.'

INIA 'porra.' Je suppose que *porra* veut dire la nuque (cf. le sens 'entêté'), cf. les *pitillum*, *cucurbita*, *cucutia*, *tubellum* désignant la nuque en roman (REW, registre s. v. *Nacken*). *Inia* est modelé sur le féminin *porra* et représente le gr. *ἰνίον* 'occipitium' (CGIL).

IPOTAGIUM 'cueva para vino' ne sera pas une faute pour *hypogeum* mais = \**ὑποστέγιον*, cf. *ἀντρον ὑπόστεγον* 'cave couverte' (*ὑπόστεγος* 'sous le toit,' 'dans la maison').

JAMELUM 'arrope.' *Arrope* est 'vin cuit' c. à d. 'vin raisiné,' donc une sorte de cidre cuit. Nebrija traduit *arrope de moras* par *diamoron*, qui est = *διά + môrum*. Par conséquent *jamelum* sera un *διά μήλων* (μήλον 'pomme') attesté par Thomas, *Bull Du C.* v, 120: *diamelum* 'concoction de pommes.'

JNCUBO 'yacer en guero.' Sur *guero* voir mon article Neuphil. Mitt., xxii, 120, et REW, s. v. *augurium*.

YNITOR 'pensar.' Pourtant conserver *innitor* (ou *enitor*) 'se donner de la peine' et prendre *pensar* au sens identique à *pensar(de)* en a. esp. 'cuidar de, occuper en,' cf. la glose *oconomia* 'pensamiento,' p. 256.

INNIO 'requerir.' Ne serait-ce pas *hinnio* 'relinchar,' Georges donnant *hinnire* 'vor geiler Lust aufwiehern' (dit des femmes)?

INPETO 'enxerir.' C. corrige *inserto*, qui n'existe pas. Sans aucun doute = \**amputo* ('greffer') avec un *r* venant de l'interprètement.

INSTITOR 'regaton.' Meyer-Lübke ne mentionne pas l'étymologie *ergasterium*, et pour cause: je l'ai combattue dans *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XLIV, 197: *regaton* vient de *gato* 'chat,' 'voleur' etc.

INTERDUM 'a las de vezas,' 'a las de vegadas.' Ajoutez l'exemple de cat. *devegada* 'vegada' qu'a le Diccionari Aguiló dans un passage de Blanquerna qui, il est vrai, n'offre pas toute certitude: *e vos algunes devegades haure* . . . Pour *de-* devenant partie du substantif cf. mall. *denou*, *denoves* 'nouvelle(s),' *dematinada* 'matinée,' *decapvespre* 'soir,' Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissensch. Anstalten xxxv (1918), p. 14, et peut-être le *con decabo* de nos gloses.

INTER SONPER 'contra sí mesmo.' C. corrige *inter se ipsum*. Plutôt *intrō* (r)-*sum-per*, avec un *-per* pléonastique (cf. *parumper* au sens de *parum* 'peu' dans Grégoire de Tours, v. Bonnet, p. 277).

- IRRIGU**[U]s 'dardo corido.' *Dardo* ne serait-il pas le reste d'une glose *irriguus* 'κα[ρά]β[ε]υτος (CGIL), cf. s. v. *valva*? *corrido* = 'irrigué.'
- ISTER** 'insula.' En faveur de la confusion de *Ister* + *Istria* (péninsule!) on peut alléguer le passage d'Isidore: "Istriam Ister amnis vocavit, qui eius terram influit, ipse est Danubius"; déjà Pline s'était prononcé contre l'opinion que le Danube a ses embouchures en Istrie.
- JUBERNUS** 'homme sin cojones.' La correction *imberbis* est ingénieuse. Pourtant ne faudrait-il pas se demander si *jubernus* ne serait pas *Juvernus* l'habitant de l'*Hibernia* ou *Jubernia* (Juvénal) 'Irlande'?
- JUGITO** 'enderredor' parmi les adverbes commençant par *i-*. Je corrigerais *in girō* (= *gyro*), v. Löfstedt, *Philolog. Komm.* etc. p. 67.
- LANIA** 'pedaçon.' Le sens diminutif est un précieux témoignage pour ce que j'ai dit dans *Beiträge zur roman. Wortbildungslehre* (Bibl. arch. rom., II, 2) sur le sens originaire de *-on*. Cf. *ponticulus* 'pontion.'
- LENARIUS** 'ranacuajo,' de *laena* (= gr. χλαίνα 'Stuck langhaariges, wollenes Zeug, das über dem Pallium oder der Toga getragen wurde'), cf. les mots romans *crapaud*, *rospo* etc. qui remontent à l'idée de 'rugueux.'
- LESTRINE**, *-arum* 'andas.' C. a bien reconnu *basternae*, seulement ajouter: + \**lectica*, \**lectarium* (Du C.), cf. fr. *litière*.
- LILIUM** 'lirio o rosa.' Je suppose qu'il y a confusion de deux gloses probables: *lilium* 'flos'; *flos* 'lirio o rosa'—on sait que *fleur* au moyen âge pouvait signifier particulièrement le lys.
- LITROBOLEUM** 'mojon redondo.' M. Castro a corrigé le mot dans l'édition du glossaire (E 1406) en rayant *r* et *c*, mais au glossaire il déclare ne reconnaître que le gr. λίθος 'pierre.' Au point de vue phonétique λιθοῦλος 'Steine heraus-, in die Höhe ziehend' (de ἔλκω), avec le reflexe de *v* > *b* comme s. v. *gulibergium*, serait tentant, mais je préfère *lithocollum* 'Steinkitt, Marmorboden' (Sleumer), gr. λιθοκόλλος 'orné de pierreries.'
- MACERIA** 'engaño' = μακάρια 'le pays des bienheureux,' pour les Champs Elysées des Grecs, que le chrétien ne peut que concevoir comme des illusions (cf. d'ailleurs βάλλω ἐς μακάρων chez Athénée). Cf. les matérialisations de dieux païens dans nos gloses *Nereus* 'rana,' *P(e)an* 'porquerizo.'
- MALUFRIMUM** 'melon.' En corrigeant *CEFRESUS* en *ceresus*, C. s'est privé de la possibilité de voir dans la graphie *-fr-* une transcription espagnole de *-r-*, transcription assez logique, puisque *fr-* avait évolué dans certaines parties de la Romania en *χr-*, *hr-*. La graphie *cefresus* prouve donc que nos gloses sont originaires d'une partie de la péninsule où *fr-* devint *hr-*, cf. le gascon. Cf. aussi *ruceps*. *Malufrimum* est donc un \**malurimum* qui se décompose en *malum* + ἔριμος: ἔριμος signifie 'mûr' en grec (καπρός ἔριμος = 'fructus maturus' CGIL), et *malum maturum* est attesté par CGIL au sens de μηλοπέπων. \*μηλον ἔριμον, attesté par notre glose, doit d'ailleurs être l'ancêtre de *malum maturum*.
- MARYGELEON**, sans glose, est = μαργέλιον 'perle.' Pour *-e-* cf. *ecce*.
- MATA** 'alcaravea.' C. veut corriger en *menta*. Serait-ce un hasard que le 'cumin des prés' est appelé *Mattenkümmel* en allemand (Nemnich, *Polygl.-Lew.*)? Il est vrai que l'all. *matte* 'prairie humide' (où le cumin des prés croît particulièrement bien) est apparenté à l'angl. *meadow* et semble d'origine germanique (Kluge-Götze), et l'on admettra difficilement un mot germanique dans nos glossaires à moins qu'il ne soit conservé en roman (cf. *strega* 'estribera')—mais le lat. *matta* doit avoir eu un développement parallèle, à juger d'après le berbère *amtun* 'Wassertümpel,' le prov. *mato* 'bloc de gazon,' 'touffe d'algues' (REW s. v. *matta*). D'ailleurs, M. Dauzat, *Rom.* XLVIII, 411

ramène l'argotique *mate* 'ville,' 'village,' 'place (où avaient lieu les exécutions)' à l'all. *Matte* 'prairie.'

MEABOLO 'remembrar' = *μελαν ποιῶ* (Sophocles), *μελα* 'anniversary,' donc \**μνειοποιῶ*.

METARI 'voluntariosa mente.' La correction *incitate* est impossible, le mot étant inséré sous les adverbes commençant par *m*. Plutôt *μετέωρος* adv. de *μετέωρος* 'instable, changeant.' *voluntarioso* est 'volontaire, variable en ses volontés . . .' (Oudin). De même *MORA* 'non sabiamente,' sous *m*- aussi, ne peut pas être *ignoranter*; plutôt un adverbe de *μῶρος* = lat *morus*? Cf. CGIL *moro* (= *μῶρος*) 'fatue graece.' Peut-être faut-il comprendre *mora* [*mente*] 'non sabiamente' cf. *seudo* 'falso propheta.'

METAXARIUS 'almotacen' est tout simplement la reproduction d'Ugutio et Joannes de Janna (v. Du C. s. v.) 'qui fora imponit rebus, quae venduntur, metam pretii. Item etiam licitator et taxator dicitur.' On voit donc que le mot n'a rien à faire avec *metaxarius* 'sericorum negotiator,' mais est un croisement \**metarius* (de *meta* 'borne, prix') + *taxarius*.

METUM 'matalauva': Castro: " ? ". Je suppose que *matalauva* doit être l'anis (cf. E. 839 et C. p. xxvii et xxxii), voir REW<sup>s</sup>, 3957, donc *metum* sera—plutôt que le *Met* allemand—le grec *μέθν* 'Wein, jedes berauschende Getränk': c'est donc à l'anisette qu'on doit penser.

MJOULO 'toicer.' Comme Oudin a *torcedor* ' . . un tourdoir, pressoir' et Godefroy un a. fr. *esmioire* 'moulin ou machine propre à broyer, à réduire et à mettre en miettes, qui en latin est *micatorium* 'esmioire vel frazeure, et derivatus a mica' (Gloss. de 1348, cf. God. et Du C.), la glose est correcte. Un diminutif de *micare*: \**miculare* est attesté en roman par \**sub-miculare* (v. REW<sup>s</sup>, 59 s. v.).

MIRCOA 'tierra bermeja.' La correction *minera* 'mine' est impossible. *Minium ochra* (ὠχρά) 'ocre,' cf. les formes croisées p. LI, pourrait aller, mais je préfère *δμόχροια* 'la couleur unie,' v. la glose (CGIL) *δμόχρος* 'concolor'; ce dernier mot assume quelquefois le sens de 'jaune pâle.'

MOGLODULUS 'fojalde' est un dérivé latin de *μαγύς -ιδος* 'maie,' 'pâte, pain, gâteau de miel,' *μαγδάλια* 'les mies de pain dans lesquelles on s'essuyait les mains après les repas.'

MOLCA 'verengena' sera le gr. *μολόχη, μαλάχη, μολάχη* 'malva, pastinaca.' De même la MELOTEA 'verengena' sera une transcription inexacte d'une de ces formes: *t* pour *o*.

MOMENTUM 'tanto como ombre puede abril el ojo o cerrar.' Comparez, non seulement l'all. *Augenblick*, mais CGIL *momentum* 'ictum tempus' et lat. *in ictu oculi* vivant en roman (REW s. v. *ictus*) et se renouvelant dans *en un clin d'oeil, in un batter d'occhio*.

MORETECARYUS, sans glose, est un dérivé de *μυροθήκη* 'domus unguentorum' CGIL.

MUGIL 'ombre.' Je lirais *vimbire* ou *mimbire*. Comme le mot n'est pas, que je sache, attesté en esp. comme nom du poisson, je suppose une dérivation d'une glose franç. comme *mugil*—fr. (poit.) *lienme*, v. P. Barbier, RLR 1935, p. 332: "On a comparé les lignes sur les flancs des muges à une gerbe, à un paquet *lié*" (prov. *ramado* 'mugil, capito,' proprement 'paquet de branches' etc.). Les branches d'osier servent à lier.

NEFO 'mentir,' plutôt qu'une formation sur *nefas*, est le gr. *νήφω* 'sobrius sum,' *νήφων* 'sobrius vigilans.' Il faut se rappeler que *νήφων* est le contraire de *εὐκῆ λέγων* 'parlant à l'aventure' et des maximes comme



νήφε καὶ μέμνησο ἀπιστεῖν (Luc.) et τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ νήφοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης ἐστὶ τοῦ μεθύοντος.

NEFRENDICUM 'annal de ombre muerto.' Les trois derniers mots viennent sans doute d'une interprétation du mot latin sous l'influence de cet a. port. *anafragarse* 'morrei, impossibilitarse para servir' etc. que cite Pietsch, *Ztschr.* XIX, p. 16 (v. REW s. v. *naufragare*).

NERVO 'enflaquezer.' Corrigez: *enervo* 'j'affaiblis.' cf. *verriculum* = *everriculum*.

NOTIGINA 'xorquina.' Comme Castro n'a pas trouvé de grec \**νυκτιγινή* 'femme nocturne,' je propose, d'après l'analogie de *nubigena*, *spumigena*, *flammigena*, etc. un \**nocti-gena* 'créé par la nuit.'

OBATIM 'tan solamente' est un dérivé de *hypatē* (= *ὑπάτη*) 'pouce' (Forcellini): c'est une allusion au geste bien connu utilisant le pouce pour indiquer une petite quantité ('pas ça!' etc.). Pour -im cf. *sua[p]līm*.

OBLETO 'rogar todos en comun.' Je suppose un dérivé de *buleuta* 'decurio, senator' (CGIL): \**βουλευτ-ō*, christianisé au point de vue du sens (cf. le développement de *ecclesia*, et esp. *senado* 'public des autos sacramentales').

OLO 'a qual lugar, o de qual parte.' Dois-je dire que cette relatinisation d'un asturianisme (*olo?* 'où est-il?', = \**ubi illum*), qui d'ailleurs ne cadre pas avec la traduction (-lo n'étant pas représenté), ne me sourit guère? Vaille que vaille je suppose un *olli* (= *olli*, *olim* CGIL) 'illi aut cui vel tunc,' 'ibi, interdum illi vel illinc.'

OMISTUY 'de muchas maneras' est mis sous les adverbes, ne peut donc être = *omnifarius*, mais, au mieux, *omnifarium*. Mais la correction est trop violente. Je suppose un pluriel *ὀμ-εστοι* 'vivant ensemble autour d'un foyer,' (de *εστία* 'foyer') employé comme apposition au sujet de la phrase (cf. a. esp. *amidos* = [*ad*] *invitus*).

OTALEM 'de tuerto en tuerto.' C. corrige *occasionalis*. Peut-être un *taleo* a été mal écrit et fourvoyé. Ce serait alors ce *talio* 'galardon' que C. a expliqué dans un autre passage: un tort est 'récompensé' par un autre.

OUIMINO 'que maravilla,' qu'il faut probablement lire *qué maravilla!* Par conséquent, *omnino* (qui se trouve déjà dans le même paragraphe et est traduit 'de todo en todo') doit être écarté. Je suppose le cri de joie aux noces des anciens: *Hymen*] o *Hymenae*, *Ἦμέν ὦ Ἦμέναιε* (pour -o au lieu de -e cf. le contraire *opide* = *opido*).

OXINAQUE 'araqua.' Le lemme a été affublé de la fin de l'interprètement, cf. *endenia*. C. suggère avec raison le radical *ὄξυς* 'aigre' et l'adjonction d'un -que explétif comme dans lat. -que; par le -que, la glose a été fourvoyée sous les adverbes comme *plerumque*. Il s'agit sans aucun doute du grec *ὄξινος* (CGIL *oxines*, *oxinas* 'vappa') 'vin aigre.' *Araqua* est le plus ancien exemple connu du moderne *arraque* (*arraque*, *rack*), mot arabe attesté jusqu'ici à partir du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Dalgado a comme premier exemple un *orraqua* port. de 1514, Lokotsch un anc. esp. *arrequin* dont j'ignore la provenance.

PAGE 'vete en paz' ne sera pas pour *pace*, mais le gréco-lat. *apage* REW; Abavus dans le recueil de Roques IV-V, 40: *apage sis* 'soies en pes.'

PALIO 'alimpiar' sera *palliare*, cf. fr. *pallier* 'couvrir d'un déguisement, d'une excuse comme d'un manteau' (all. *bemänteln*), donc 'nettoyer, purifier d'un reproche.'

PARASONISTA 'cantor.' Au lieu de \**partitionista*, duquel Castro doute lui-même, il faut admettre *paraphonista*: Ugutio 'paraphonista cantor' (Du C.) f est condondu avec s. Cf. Abavus (Roques IV; v, 479a): *aparaphonista* 'chanteur et chanteresse'.

PATISONA 'cebada' est évidemment *ptisana* 'tisane d'orge,' sens originaire de *tisane* (cf. Bloch). V. la forme *ptysones* dans CGIL et la glose *tisana* 'agua de cebada.'

PECTEN 'peyne de cabeza . . . o *pendejo*.' C. fait dériver *pendejo* de *pendar* 'peinar,' mais semble penser à un sens 'peigne.' Je crois plutôt qu'il s'agit de *pendejo* dans le sens courant 'le penil d'un homme ou d'une femme, la motte, la partie honteuse ou croist le poil' (Oudin), qui est un dérivé de *pecten*, *pectinare* comme le fr. *penil*, le prov. *penchenill* et l'esp. *empeine* cités par REW 6328 dans le sens 'Venusberg,' qui existe dès le latin. D'ailleurs ce *pendejo* se trouve comme glose de *pubes*.

PELEX 'conbluega.' Ce mot et le port *comborgo* 'individuo amancebado, em relação a outro amante ou do marido da mesma mulher,' donc 'rival,' sera un dérivé de \**con-volitare* (cf. REW, \**volitare*) au sens de *convolutus*, 'enroulé, enchevêtré,' p. ex. *dracones in semet convoluti*.

PERICHELIDES. Je crois que l'immixtion de *χειλῆς* 'lèvre, bord' dans *περιχειλῖον* vient du verbe *περιχειλῶ* 'rings einfassen, mit einem Rand umgeben,' attesté chez Xénophon.

PESUNDO 'sopear.' Je comprendrais, plutôt que 'mojar el pan en forma de sopas,' ce qui rend nécessaire la correction de *pesundare* en *perundare*, \**so-pe-ar* 'fouler au pied,' ce qui concorderait avec la glose de *pesum* (= *pessum*) 'so los pies.' Cf. le *sopear* interprétamment de *suppedito*, que C. explique aussi par \**sub-pedare*, et Abavus IV-V, 6388 *pessundare*, 'trébucher.'

PIE-ARUM 'sobresesñales.' Comme le cat. dit *piga* 'peca' (Aguiló), 'Mal, Fleck' (REW<sup>3</sup> s. v. *pica* 'pie'), je me demande s'il ne faut pas corriger *picae*, *pictus* et ses congénères n'ayant jamais ce sens

PICRUS 'cosa negra.' La conjecture de Castro (*piorus* = *pic(u)lus* 'noir comme la poix') est très possible. Peut-être pourrait-on aussi penser à un antécédent de l'esp. *prieto*, port. *preto* 'noir' = \**appectorare* (REW<sup>3</sup>, 540), quelque chose comme \**pec[t]us*. Mais je juge que *piorus* est tout simplement le grec *πικρός* 'amer,' 'douloureux, malheureux' (p. ex. *τελευτή, ἀγῶνες*) et que *negro*, a le sens 'malheureux, infortuné.'

POCA 'maleus cinbali.' Si le mot est authentique, nous aurions là un témoignage précieux pour un thème onomatopéique que j'ai supposé pour le roum. *apuca* 'saisir,' cf. fr. *buquer* 'taper,' roum. *poont* 'klatschend schlagen,' all. *pochen*, *Pauke* (m. h. a. *pûke*) 'timbale,' cf. Dacoromia III, 646 et Meyer-Lübke, *id.* IV, 641: l'all. *pûke* semble être le plus proche de *poca* (ce que M. Castro note à la p. xxxii). \**poc-* serait un parallèle onomatopéique de \**toco-*. Mais qui sait s'il ne s'agit pas d'un battoir recouvert d'une peau d'animal pour adoucir le son et par conséquent de *πῶκος*, 'toison de laine,' cf. *ποκαί* CGIL s. v. *sterillum*?

PONPA 'procesion.' "Acepcion no en Du C." Mais c'était pourtant l'acception du lat. classique! Voir pour le développement ultérieur le bel article de Labriolle sur *pompa diaboli*, *Arch. rom.*, II, 1.

POSTOLA 'vendedera'—ne serait-ce pas \**apostola* fém. de *apostolus* 'messager'? Du Cange ne donne rien de très probant.

PRENDITE 'fermosamente.' Pas de *prendido* 'adorno,' mais = *praedita*, de *praeditus* 'doué,' CGIL 'ornatus,' 'instructus.'

PRETAXO 'dar la mano o casar.' Des textes pour *praetaware* (= gr. *προτάτω*) au sens de 'prius numerare, assignare' et *praetawatus* 'praedictus' se trouvent dans Du C. Le sens 'prius numerare' (Habel: 'vorher abschätzen') conduit à *subarrhære* 'donner des arrhes.'

PROCEDO 'salir o oyr.' Plutôt que *foyr* 'fuir' avec *f->h*, *oyr* sera pris dans le sens de *our las causas y pletos, oidor* (lat. de chancellerie *auditor*, all. *Verhor*, angl. *hearing*) et *procedere* sera un mot de la 'procédure' juridique.

PROCREA 'por las quales.' C. corrige *praeterea*, qui ne serait pas exactement traduit. Il s'agit peut-être de *προχρηλα*, mot tardif et vulgaire pour *ἀφορμή, πάροδος* 'point de départ' et traduit par *antecessus*: *προχρηλα* et *eis προχρηλα* in *antecessum* (CGIL), 'd'avance.' Notre glossateur aura compris ce mot comme se rapportant au passage précédent, de là la traduction 'por las quales.' Ce serait une mésentente dans le style de celle que suppose C. s. v. *relativus*.

PULS 'pollada' (= *poleada*). Je ne crois pas à une explication de ce mot signifiant une 'bouillie très claire pour enfants' par *puls* > \**pol*. L'anc. fr. *pous* (Gamillscheg, EWF, 7088) est un neutre en -s et ne démontre nullement un \**pou*, aussi peu que son dérivé *pouture*. D'ailleurs le -e ne serait pas expliqué. Vaille que vaille, je proposerais, en conformité avec le port. *poleada* 'volée de coups' (de *polé*, esp. *poleo* 'poulie,' qui était aussi un instrument de torture), une dénomination facétieuse (chose battue, fouettée, tirillée ça et là), cf. le fr. *ratatouille* 'ragoût,' pic. *ratatouiller* 'tourner de tous côtés,' dial. *tatin* 'coup' (le passage de sens opposé est plus fréquent: 'bouillon' > 'râclée').

QUOCEPELLA 'coloquintida' est \**cucurbitella*, REW 2367 (roum. *curcuber-  
tea*).

REDIUVNE 'albricias.' Castro: " ? " Je suppose *reduvnae* 'les restes, reliefs de table,' le réalisme du glossateur éclatant ici comme dans la glose *parsimonia* 'elemosina.'

REFULLO 'desterrar.' Comme on dit en fr. mod. *refouler* pour 'repousser, faire refluer en arrière' (une armée ennemie, des fuyards, etc., cf. a. fr. *refouler* 'rebuter, repousser'), je ne vois pas de difficulté d'explication dans cette traduction pourtant approximative.

RELATIVUS 'cosa entrecamiada.' A. prov. *entrecamiadament*, -cambiable signifient 'mutuel,' a. cat. *entrecambiadament* 'alternadament.' De 'mutuel' à 'relatif' il n'y a qu'un pas.

RETROPAFOCILLIUM 'trasfuego' — REPOFOCILLIUM 'badil' — REPOSONALIUM 'trasfuego.' M. Castro ne connaît pas d'exemple d'un \**pofocillum*. Voici un parallèle tiré d'un article de M. Jud (*Vox rom.* 1937, p. 299) qu'il ne pouvait connaître. bergam. *posfoc* 'piastra di ferro che si mette nei camini per riparare il muro dall' azione del fuoco.' On voit comme, après la disparition de *post-* comme préfixe vivant, re- *retrotrans-* (REW s. v. *focus*) en prenaient la place. Pour la formation en -ium, cf. REW, 6685, \**postcinnium* de *cena*.

RISCUS 'quebradura de pared,' 'resquicio.' Cf. dans Bartal le sens 'fenestra caeca, simulata' qui rejoint le *riscus sive cavernula* dans un texte de Du C. s. v. *riscus* 'latebra, locus secretus et occultus.'

RUCEPS, -PI 'forniquador.' *rutellus* est une correction p.-ê. trop violente. P.-ê. confusion de *forceps* (\**fruceps* avec *fr->r-*, cf. *malufrimum*) et de *fornix*, *fornicarius*.

RUSPILLO 'moscadero.' Comme le chasse-mouches est une sorte de balai, il n'y a pas de difficulté à rattacher le mot au radical *rasp-* (p.-ê. contaminé par *ruspari* 'scruter,' REW) qui exprime en port. comme en prov. sous la forme *raspalh- raspilh-* l'action de 'balayer, gratter, râcler, rafler, nettoyer' (prov. *raspalhia*, port. *raspilha*), REW 7077.

SAGANA 'goma' est *σαγάνηρον* 'der gummiartige, mit Arznei gebrauchte Saft einer Doldenpflanze, *sagapenum*, Diosc.' (Pape), cf. CGIL s. v. *sagapinus*.

SAGIO 'gritar o grunnir.' Je crois qu'il s'agit du lévrier qui relance du gibet (ce que signifie *sagire*) en poussant des cris.

SANDAPILA 'vallesta,' SANDAPILARIUS 'ballestero,' 'enterrador.' Les sens 'arbalète,' 'arbalétrier' proviennent sans aucun doute d'une confusion avec *fundibulus* 'fronde.' A remarquer les formes italiennes de ce mot qui montrent un -s- inexpliqué: vicenza. *franségolo*, a. vén. *sarandégola*, *cerendégolo* (FEW), qui pourraient perpétuer la rencontre entre les deux mots. Je ne vois pas d'ailleurs pourquoi le FEW admet que *fundibulus* a été formé d'après *fustibulus*: les deux sont également hybrides et suivent le modèle de *λιθόβολος*, *χειρόβολος* etc.

SANGUIFIXUM 'morciella.' Castro a certainement raison d'identifier le mot latin avec l'a. fr. *sang fegé* (cf. aussi Arch. rom. XI, 94)—mais ce qui est intéressant c'est que fr. *figer*, venant de *fège* ('foie'), a été identifié par étymologie populaire avec ce *figere*, duquel Littré encore dérivait le fr. *figer* 'cailler,' explication dont G. Paris a montré l'infondé.

SARDONIS 'estuero.' Castro corrige *escuerdo*. Pourrait-on rappeler ce que dit Oudin sous ce mot: 'C'est (selon aucuns) un certain animal venimeux, long d'un empan & demy, de couleur cendrée noire, & tachetée . . .' D'autre part, si l'on corrigeait *esfuerzo*, serait-ce une allusion à la chasteté (v. le bestiaire de Marbod dans Foerster-Koschwitz, Altfranz. Übungsbuch, p. 188: "Hic humilem castumque decet, vultuque pudentem"), *esfuerzo* signifiant la continence,<sup>2</sup> qui est l'alliée de la chasteté dans le missel romain (*continentia et castitas*)?

SATINIZO, -AS 'escaldar' avec la remarque: 'borroso e inseguro. Quizá sca.' Castro corrige au glossaire: *satvizo*, ce qui semble bien peu probable. En partant de *sca*, je proposerais *scaturizo* en attirant l'attention sur les articles de Du C. *scaturizare* et *excaturizare*, (et aussi Diefenbach), où on trouve le sens exact de l'esp. *escaldar* 'échauder avec de l'eau chaude.' Ce *scaturizare* peut être dérivé de *scaturrire* et influencé par *cauterizare*, qui se trouve dans Végèce.

SCREO 'escupir' ne doit pas être corrigé en *ex-screo*, le simple existant aussi en latin.

SERANDUM 'axedres' contiendra l'étymon arabe que M. Steiger, *Contribucion* etc. p. 194 transcrit *šatranš* (Alcalá: *citrangé*, a. port. *acedrenche*). Pour la latinisation du mot arabe cf. les gloses *agazalus* 'alguacil,'<sup>3</sup> *exerupum* 'axarope.'

SERPENS 'alcrevite.' Cf. dans *Deutsches Wb.* s. v. *Schwefel* 4: *mit stahl und schwefel angreifen*, "wo schwefel die feuerwaffen bedeutet."

SEUDO 'falso profeta.' La même glose se trouve dans l'Abavus (IV-V) français.

SIDERARIUS 'quintero' peut-être = \**sicerarius*, de *sicera* 'cidre' (v. le passage du Cap. de Villis dans Du C. s. v. *stoccratores*): le cidre comptait parmi les revenus du suzerain.

<sup>2</sup> *esfuerzo* est 'courage, vaillance,' mais aussi 'force stoïque de résistance,' cf. la strophe de Jorge Manrique où la Mort dit au père du poète:

vuestro corazon d'azero  
muestra su *esfuerzo* famoso  
en este trago . . .  
*esfuercese la virtud*  
para sufrir esta afrenta [= la mort]  
que vos llama.

<sup>3</sup> Je crois d'ailleurs que la glose *alaririum* 'alarde' montre le même phénomène: un lat. \**alar-erium* de *alaris* me semble assez peu conforme à l'esprit latin.

SIGUIMATUM 'saumerio.' C corrige *suffumatum*. Plutôt \**σύγ-χυμα*, cf. *σύγχυσις*, *σύγχω* et particulièrement *inquimatizare* 'faire infuser' = *ἐγχυματίζειν*, Thomas, *Bull. Du Cange*, v, 136. Pour *-ma* > *-matum* cf. *iaurismatum* = *charisma*.

SILVA 'montaña.' La traduction est explicable d'après l'esp. *monte* 'bois' (cf. *monteria* etc.).

SIMA, -TIS 'rabo de dueña.' C. propose *srina* ['sirène'], ayant plus loin dans le même glossaire le sens 'falda.' Mais la répétition serait surprenante et la déclinaison en *-tis* ne serait pas justifiée. Plutôt = *sigma*, la lettre grecque Σ, d'après la forme de la traîne. *Sigma* se trouve dans d'autres acceptions dans Du C.

SIPO 'dar papillas a pollos' est une glose qui remonte beaucoup plus haut que le *Grecismus*. V. dans Ernout-Meillet s. v. \**supo* la glose de Festus qui explique le sens de *sipare*: "insipare far in olam, inacere pullis. Unde dissipare, obsipare, ut cum rustici dicunt: *obsipa pullis escam*." Cette dernière phrase explique le 'dar papillas a pollos.'

SOBAL UANA 'vetustas.' C'est un des cas où la préoccupation exclusivement linguistique et le manque d'approfondissement philologique d'un passage a induit M. Castro en erreur: il lit *sobalvana* et pense pouvoir corriger en *olitana* 'vieillesse.' Il n'a pas remarqué (1) que le ms. écrit *sobal uana* (en deux mots), (2) que ce terme se trouve parmi des noms de pays *Mesopotamia*, *Siria* et *Edon*, qui sont tous, comme C. le dit pour les deux premiers, interprétés à la façon mystique (*sublimis interpretatio*) du moyen âge. Or, le psaume LIX, 2, énumère les mêmes pays dans le même ordre: *Mesopotamia Syriae, Sobal, Idumaea* (ce dernier à la place de *Edon*, ce qui confirme l'interprétation donnée s. v. *Edon*). C'est vraiment un 'passage' de psaume dont les noms propres sont interprétés. Il faut donc lire *Sobal* avec la vulgate (ailleurs *Soba*) et voir dans *vana* le premier mot de l'interprétation, qui est *vana vetustas* et qui est une *sublimis interpretatio*. Un cas comme celui-ci montre bien l'importance du problème des sources.

STI 'oste' sera *istim* 'de là,' Plaute: *ite istim, ecferte lora* 'allez-vous-en'; pour *-m* tombé cf. *septi* 'encerradamente.'

STIMELICUS 'hanbriento.' C. corrige en *famelious*. Mais n'y a-t-il pas concurrence (ou présence!) de *thymelici* (= *θυμηλικός*) 'iocularii, mimici' CGIL, les jongleurs étant censés être affamés (il faut se rappeler qu'ils chantaient pour avoir des vivres)?

STRABO, 'pizco,' 'visco.' La forme *pizco* à côté de *visco* m'est très agréable parce qu'elle me sert pour mon explication de ce dernier mot, qu'on continue à identifier à \**versicus* (REW\*), alors que j'ai suggéré dans *Bibl. dell' Arch. rom.* II, 2, p. 170, l'étymon onomatopéique qui est à la base du port. *piscar* 'cligner de l'œil,' ital. *pizzicare*, esp. *pizar* 'pincer' (cf. all. *kneifen*—*ein Auge zukneifen*), cf. bormio. *pisc* 'cieco, di vista appannata.' V. Jud, *Vox rom.* 1937, p. 301.

SUBLIME 'bawamente,' 'en alto.' Castro met un point d'exclamation au premier sens, évidemment parce que les expressions usuelles chez Plaute *sublimen ferre*, *rapere* veulent dire 'en alto.' Mais le sentiment étymologique n'aurait-il pas réagi vis-à-vis du *sub*- en comprenant 'dessous,' 'en bas'? D'autant plus que d'après Jacobsohn, *Glotta* xvi, 58, dans un passage comme

ducite istum: si non sequitur, rapite sublimen foras,  
facite inter terram atque caelum, ut siet, distendite

il faudrait comprendre: 'reisst ihn nach draussen, und zwar so, dass die Schwelle unter ihm bleibt,' *sublimis* étant d'après Jacobsohn = 'is sub quo limen est,' 'celui pour qui le seuil est en bas.' L'étymologiste mo-

derne explique le mot comme le lexicographe médiéval. Même si W. Baehrens, Glotta xv, 53 avait raison avec son explication *sublimen* 'sous le seuil supérieur de la porte' ('in der Richtung der oberen Fusschwelle' = 'en haut'), le *sub-* devait engager à y voir le mouvement contraire.

SUBSURO-NTS 'rebolvedor.' Plutôt que *subversor* j'admettrais le lat. *susurro*, -onis 'Flusterer, Ohrenbläser,' cf. les gloses *susuro* 'mensagero' (Castro: 'el que lleva mensajes,' 'chismes'), *susurro* 'fablar a oreja,' 'murm[ur]ar.' Le *turbo* -onis 'revolverdor' p. 307 sera formé d'après *susurro*.

SUBURA 'pedregal o arenal.' La glose citée par Castro: "Sabura ultima pars urbis est ubi primo corpora urebantur, id est locus asper et saxosus" vient dans sa première partie d'une analyse pseudo-étymologique *sub-* (cf. *suburbium*) + *urere*, mais la seconde n'est-elle pas influencée par *saburra* 'ballast, lest!' donc = 'sable'?

SUCUSARIUS 'cavallo flaco,' SUCURSARIUS 'cavallo magro,' 'trotador.' Il est peut-être utile de signaler que le mallorqu. *satsar* 'bazucar,' reconduit par moi, ainsi que le cat. *saccejar* 'ébranler,' à *succussare* (v. REW<sup>3</sup>) se dit du galop des chevaux (Lexik. aus d. Katal., p. 120).

SUSIO 'censar.' De *ὄσια* 'census, res familiaris, substantia' (CGIL), Abavus IV-V *usia* 'substance,' donc (s)usio. La conjugaison en -ire est fantaisiste, cf. *clepio*. Le s- est une faute, cf. *αἰεωολία* (ou *ἐξουσία*).

SUYLA 'estaca' = *ξύλα*, cf. CGIL *ayla* 'ligna,' *ξύλον* 'sounding-board' (Soph.).

SYNPHO 'bacin o el ruydo que faze la mujer quando mea.' Cette dernière explication donne un excellent parallèle pour le fr. *chantepieure*, qui à l'origine était un *syphon* 'entonnoir' (et aussi un bassin!) qui produit ce son 'pleureur' d'après les investigations récentes de M. Hering, ZRPh., 1937, p. 400, qui éclaircissent aussi la glose *clepsedra* 'canilla.' Cf. encore *sypho* 'pet' dans Habel et Abavus IV-V s. v. *sipho*.

TACAX 'furon.' Probablement écho de la glose de Festus (v. Ernout-Meillet): *tagax* 'furunculus a tangendo.' De sorte que *furon* doit signifier, non le 'furet,' mais le 'voleur.' -o- pour *g*, cf. *clis* = *glis*.

TANTICA 'críca.' D'abord il faut corriger ce que C. rapporte de Nebrija: 'crista, e, juvenalis' en 'crista, e, Juvenalis' (*crista* 'landie' se trouvant en effet chez le satyrique romain). Slabý-Grossmann donnent *críca* 'Ritze,' donc 'fente,' ce qui s'accorde avec une origine onomatopéique *orio*-(*crac*-), cf. *orio* 'Hebewinde' ('poulie'). Gall. *crícas* 'lloron,' *críco* 'mimo,' port. *cricalha* 'sirigaita, lambisgôia,' salam. *criquero* 'criticon, cuentero, murmurador' s'accordent avec 'geindre, grincer.' Je ne m'explique pas gall. *críca* 'cinta con que atan los pelos los campesinos' à côté de 'partes pudendas de la mujer.'

TERUMA 'aguda.' *Hydreuma* 'aquatio' chez Pline (= *ὕδρευμα*)? *βόθρευμα* 'fosse' supposerait une aphérèse; plus simple est *thermae* 'les bains de Rome,' avec -u- anaptyctique comme *coronica* etc., cf. *marygeleon* = *μαργέλλιον* plus haut.

TETERA 'cendal.' Le *cendal* étant une toile de lin très fin (Oudin), = *διθέρπα* 'membrana.'

TITINIUS 'cernicalo.' Sur l'étymologie du mot esp. cf. Schuchardt, ZRPh., xxxv, 738 et REW<sup>3</sup> s. v. *cerniculum*.

TODONUS 'gallo' = *titus*, REW 8762.

TOR-NTS 'buey.' C. corrige sans sourciller *bos*, -vis. Mais c'est en réalité *trío*-onis qu'il faut écrire: cf. CGIL *bovem* 'trionem,' lat. *trío* 'Dresch-ochse.'

- TURBENIO -ONIS** 'ranacuajo.' La solution de p. XXXII est excellente: seulement je proposerais \**turbinio*, -*onis* 'tourbillon,' vu la masse diaphane et glutineuse qui entoure les têtards nouveau-nés.
- VALVA** 'puerta de boda' est sans doute une dérivation de la glose citée par CGIL s. v. *ualuac*: "vocalem si scribant significant *θύρας λεπὸν καὶ θύρας ἱππικῶν καὶ θύρας διπύρας*;" on lit l. c. les différentes explications données par les savants modernes à ce dernier mot obscur, tandis que notre glossateur se contente tout simplement d'un à-peu-près paratymologique, d'une explication "espagnole."
- VANOVA** 'colcha.' Tout en sachant la difficulté d'une étymologie de ce mot, je risquerai l'explication suivante: M. C. Brunel a établi (Rom. LXI, 214) que les variantes du mot "nous obligent à partir d'une forme contenant le groupe -*ny*-" Je suggère donc un \**vanuus*, de *vanus*, d'après *fatuus*, *viduus*, *dividuus*, *virguus*, cf. aussi a. prov. *perdoa*, *rendoa*, cat. *crétua*, mallorqu. *menjua* (Lexikal. aus d. Katal., p. 41) = -*ua*, cf. *notuba* 'mochuelo' de *noctua* dans nos glossaires. Quant au sens, un \*[*culcita*] *vanua* signifierait soit 'couverture de parade' ('de vanité'), soit 'couverture piquée' (cf. esp. *hulvanear* 'faufiler,' 'faire la couture à longs points pour mieux faire ensuite la couture définitive.').
- VABGIA** 'specus, bodega.' Je suppose un dérivé artificiel tiré de mots comme *μεταλλουργεῖον* 'lieu où on travaille les métaux' > 'lieux où ils sont conservés,' cf. *gulibergium* et plus loin *rastri verga*, pour *va-* au lieu de -*ov-* cf. aussi *vercuus* au lieu de *urceus*.
- VATILO** 'collar.' Sans aucun doute dérivé de *vatillum*, *batillum* 'uas ad portandos carbones, turibulum' (Ernout-Meillet), *vatilla* 'pala qua aqua projicitur e navi' (Papias). C'est un verbe dérivé du substantif avec ce dernier sens qu'il faut admettre.
- VENDEPICIUM** 'pescaderia' Il faudrait relever l'ordre roman des membres du composé dans cette formation plutôt latine (cf. *avigerium*): \**vendepiscium* au lieu de \**piscivendium* (ital. *pesci-vendolo*). Je suppose plutôt une formation en -*ium* dérivée d'un \**vende-pisces*: ital. *pesci-vendolo*, donc d'une formation à impératif, type *porte-faix*.
- VERTECA** 'veruga.' Au lieu de comprendre *veruga* au sens de 'hauteur' qu'il n'a plus en roman, je propose de comprendre *verteca* = *derbita* 'dartere,' cf. la forme \**derbica* dans FEW et les formes prov. *bèrbé*, cat. *bèrbol*.
- VERTONA** 'anoria,' **VERTUNUS** 'cago' **VERTIMUS** 'eucharon.' Comme l'intervention du 'deus ex machina' *Vertumnus* dans ces engins est peut-être problématique, je suggère *ὀρθομενος* 'ce qui est levé, érigé, porté en haut' (pour *ve-* cf. *vercuus* = *urceus*). Coromines l. c. vient de rattacher la *goumène* (it. *gomena* etc.), terme nautique, à un participe substantivé *ἡγομένην*.
- VINIA** 'conchon.' Je me demande s'il ne faut pas, au lieu de corriger les deux mots, comprendre *venia* au sens de 'pardon' (v. la glose respective), c. à d. 'indulgence,' et comprendre *conchon* 'coquille [des pèlerins de Saint Jacques de Compostelle].'
- VIVARIUM** 'audria.' Ce mot signifiant 'mare' est à rapprocher du port. *wodreiro*, épithète du pourreau, *enwodarse* 'se vautrer dans la fange' (REW s. v. *sordidus*), cf. particulièrement le mot cité par Caroline de Vasconcellos dans l'article cité par le REW: *enwodreiro* 'lamaçal, ladaçal.'
- VETABRIA**, -E 'guisano que come las coles' est évidemment un dérivé ou une déformation de (CGIL) *eruca* 'modici vermes qui mandunt folia,' *uruca* 'qui caulos comedit.' Comme le mot est placé sous *u*, je préfère cette dernière forme: peut-être \**urucaria* (-*t-* pour -*o-*).

- XXCOLICA** 'almohada' sera peut-être *cholica* 'Gallenbrechdurchfall' (Habel), 'colique' et *almorrana* (s) 'hémorroïde (s)' 'caquesangue.' Pour l'initiale cf. *ixarismatum* = *charisma* (χ rendu par x et précédé d'une voyelle prothétique, le premier x est une faute). Dans Diefenbach *colica* se trouve attesté pour toutes sortes de maladies des intestins (darmgicht), de l'utérus et de la vessie (chaudepisse etc.). Nebrija énumère quatre sortes de *almorrana* (s).
- XIIIURIUS** 'camaron.' Je propose sous bénéfice d'inventaire: *silurus* 'poisson de fleuve' (cf. *camaron* = en anglais *crawfish*). Cf. la glose *aforus* 'camarones,' *aforus* étant aussi un poisson.
- ZELOTIPUS** 'cornudo,' Intéressant parallèle à ajouter à l'anc. fr. *gelous* 'cocu' que Mlle Grzywacz, *Eifersucht in den roman. Sprachen* (1937), p. 119, n'a trouvé qu'une fois dans le 'Lai du cor' de Robert Biquet (XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, donc dans un texte très ancien). L'explication d'un emprunt au provençal avec mauvaise compréhension du sens, que donne Mlle G., ne vaut évidemment pas ici: ce sera plutôt une sorte de vulgarisation de l'idéologie courtoise, nos glossaires ne montrant nul raffinement. Cf. *zelotypus* 'ehhebercher' (Habel).
- ZETO** 'dar lugar' sera (cf. *diabolus* > *zabulus* et CGIL s.v. *zeta*, *zetarius*, etc., *idioticus* > ital. *zotico*) \**dietō* (de *blaita*), cf. *dictare* 'perendinare' (Var. *zetare* Du C.); *dar lugar* signifierait donc 'ajourner.'

## APÉNDICE AL GLOSARIO DE EL ESCORIAL

- No. 6. *Sepe solent verri pravo bona pascua ferri.* Je laisserais les deux *r* de *verri* et je bifferais la virgule après *verri*: 'souvent de bons pâturages sont offerts à un mauvais verrat.' *Verres* a le sens obscène, cf. le fr. *verrou* d'après la suggestion de M. Rohlf (REW s.v. *veruculum*).
- No. 12. *Post rastru uerga, nil potest accipere merga.* Il faut comprendre \**rastru- ουργεία*, mot hybride signifiant 'le travail du *rastrum*.' cf. *μεταλλουργείον* et *gulibergium* = *βαλουργείον*. Il est très possible qu'on ait écrit les deux membres du composé à part dans les glossaires, comme cela se fait, précisément pour les composés de *-ουργ-* dans des dictionnaires modernes de grec ancien. Pour *-ve-* au lieu de *-u-* cf. *verceus* pour *urceus*.
- No. 80. *Non queras fulcrum, cum fuerit ojpita pulcra.* *Ojpita*, que C. traduit juste 'posadera,' ne peut pas être *ospita*, s'il entend un dérivé de *hospes*, mais *ὀπισθία* 'postilena' (de *ὀπισθεν* 'derrière'), cf. néogrec *πισινός* 'le derrière.' Il faut donc lire \**ospit[i]a*.
- No. 89. *De celo sepe facit femjna cepe.* "Poco claro." Probablement *cepe*, forme neutre attestée pour *cepa* 'oignon' (allusion aux formes 'égales' de la coupole du ciel et de l'oignon).
- No. 118. *Cela* (= *cella*) pour le siège de la mémoire. Cf. l'all. *er ist nicht recht in Ordnung im Oberstübchen* 'il déraille.' Cf. encore les trois *celle* abritant l'intellect, la raison et la mémoire dans Brun. Latini, *Tesoretto*, v. 749 seq., et Sedgwick "Some poetical words of the twelfth century" (*Bull. Du Cange* VII, 224) sur "*cella* of brain."
- No. 125. *Al pepinas cauas, tot habet ni quot habet gras.* L'explication de C. ne rend pas compte de la syllabe *ca*. Je comprends: *Aluas pinas tot habet quot nigras habet peca*. Ce dernier mot serait = *pica* 'pie' dont les plumes sont en effet soit noires sans blanches. *Peca* est une latinisation du port. *pega*, esp. *pegaza* (REW<sup>3</sup>, 6976).
- No. 131. *Homonem.* acc. de *homo* est attesté dans le *Waltharius* d'Ekkehard (Habel). Mais il faut peut-être lire *ambronem*, de *ambro* souvent glosé 'devorator hominum' (cf. *Arch. f. lat. Lex.* X, 366 et CGIL): le sens serait que le vautour arrive dans la solitude (et là seulement) à dévorer un être carnassier comme lui-même.



- No. 156. *Vitis pro remis tu qui mihi vitam demis, non poteris me tradere in manibus ditis.* Allusion à Caron, le nocher de l'enfer, qui ne pourrait pas faire sa besogne s'il buvait au lieu de ramer (*vitis* = 'vin').
- No. 174. *Danse los moros unos con otros, por que se dice qual tiento, tal tiempo.* Castro: "Necesitaria explicacion." Je crois que le sens est celui de l'all. *Pack schlägt sich, Pack verträge sich*: les maures [qui devraient s'entendre, vu qu'il y a vis-à-vis d'eux les armées chrétiennes] se battent l'un l'autre—[mais ce n'est pas si grave: ils se réconcilient] . . .
- No. 187. *A muger barbuda, de luenne me la saluda.* Cf. mon article sur le prov. *saludar de lonh* dans *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, LI, 291.
- No. 195. *Oatulus alatitor, nunquam bonus venator.* *Alatitor* n'a rien à faire avec *alator*, la traduction espagnole *mirador* indique un verbe signifiant 'regarder.' Il s'agit de *allectare*: *allectat* (*de ad-licere*) glosé par 'spectat' (CGIL). Peut-être y a-t-il confusion avec *allactare* 'nebenbei (!) stillen.'
- No. 227. *Qui pius est natus non diligit mori creatos.* Comprendre peut-être un jeu de mots avec *morigeratos*, cf. *morigeratus* dans le glossaire latin et *Bull. Du C.*, VII, 225.

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*Wilhelm Diltheys Gesammelte Schriften XI. Band. Vom Aufgang des geschichtlichen Bewusstseins. Jugendaufsätze und Erinnerungen.* Herausgegeben von ERICH WENIGER. xxix und 278 Seiten. 1936.

"Zeitgenossen-Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen über den Aufgang des geschichtlichen Bewusstseins im 19. Jahrhundert"—unter diesem Titel wollte Dilthey selbst eine Reihe seiner früheren Arbeiten sammeln und neu herausgeben (p. viii). Der Bearbeiter des XI. Bandes der gesammelten Schriften hat den Plan aufgegriffen und zu den Aufsätzen, die Dilthey, soweit sich das feststellen liess, aufzunehmen beabsichtigte, noch andere Arbeiten über das gleiche Thema hinzugefügt. Ausführliche Darstellungen von Hamann, Nitzsch, Johannes v. Müller, Niebuhr, Schlosser, Dahlmann, Raumer, Gustav Freytag und Scherer stehen nun zusammen mit kürzeren Charakteristiken von Ranke, Droysen, Mommsen, Treitschke; es fehlt kaum einer der grossen Namen des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Diese Essays, Nachrufe, Erinnerungen und Aufzeichnungen sind, objektiv betrachtet, vielleicht nicht allzu bedeutsam. Sie sind teilweise veraltet und, was ihr Material angeht, überholt, oder doch unvollständig, ja aphoristisch. Die starke Wirkung, die sie trotzdem ausüben, beruht darauf, dass sie Diltheys Einstellung zu den Menschen und Mächten, die sein Leben bestimmt haben, klar machen. So ist der Wert des Bandes mehr noch ein biographischer

und dokumentarischer als der, dass in ihm "eine kleine Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung im 19. Jahrhundert" enthalten ist (p. ix).

Es ist erstaunlich, wie stark von Anfang an das Bestreben Diltheys ist, den Sinn der Geschichte zu erfassen, wie er von Anfang an den Menschen als ein geschichtliches Wesen zu begreifen sucht. Frühe Tagebuchaufzeichnungen bestätigen diesen Eindruck, den man aus den Arbeiten selbst gewinnt (p. xii). Doch scheint sich mir die Art, in der das geschichtliche Problem verstanden wird, in einer für Dilthey und für das 19. Jahrhundert charakteristischen Weise zu verschieben. Ich kann nicht mit dem Herausgeber übereinstimmen, der sagt: "Es ist auch hier kein Bruch zwischen den Intentionen der Jugend und den Resultaten am Ende des Lebens" (p. ix).

Im Beginn seiner schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit urteilt Dilthey über den Historiker Johannes v. Müller so: "Überall, wo ihm Kraft, herrschender Geist begegnen, nehmen sie seine Seele gefangen. Er war unter der Macht jeder grossen Tatsache, jeder heroischen Erscheinung. Denn von dieser Macht befreit den Historiker allein die Einsicht in den Zusammenhang und die Gesetze. Und diese gerade unter allen grossen Eigenschaften des Geschichtsschreibers, freilich die grösste, war ihm versagt" (p. 90). Welcher Zusammenhang, welche Gesetze damit gemeint sind, ist nicht zweifelhaft, wenn man vergleicht, was Dilthey in einem Aufsatz über Dahlmann, etwa zur gleichen Zeit, 1866, schreibt: "Das war in der Tat die Differenz zwischen dem, was die Dahlmann historisches Urteil nannten, und dem historischen Urteil Rankes, das nunmehr auch die Gegenwart sich zu unterwerfen anschickte. Von dem eigenen Standpunkt jeder historischen Kraft aus ihre Richtung und Tätigkeit würdigen, wie das in Rankes Geschichtsschreibung überall geschieht, das heisst dem Drang der Selbsterhaltung keine anderen Grenzen setzen, als welche in der eigenen Reife und Mässigung des politischen Urteils liegen. Was aber das historische Urteil der Dahlmann wollte, das war, auch an den egoistischen Drang der einzelnen Kräfte den Masstab der politischen Pflicht, welche durch das Wohl des Ganzen sich gebunden fühlt, zu legen. Und dies Urteil hat in der Tat sein reines Mass nur in der Erkenntnis des Grades, in welchem das Gefühl dieses Ganzen in einer Zeit lebendig war; innerhalb dieser Beschränkung ist es von absoluter Geltung, und Dahlmann hatte wohl Recht, dass er, dieses sittliche Urteil hinweggedacht, mit Politik und Geschichte nichts mehr zu schaffen haben wollte" (p. 174). Das Historische ist also vom Moralischen nicht zu trennen.

Das ist Diltheys Standpunkt in seiner Jugend. In der zweiten Auflage der Arbeit über Dahlmann aber, 1873, fehlen gerade die Bemerkungen über die Berechtigung der Dahlmann'schen Haltung im Gegensatz zu der Rankes (cf. p. 275). Und in einer Nachlass-

Aufzeichnung über Johannes v. Müller ist voller Mässigung nur von dem Sich-Einleben in Deutsche Aufklärung und Französische Revolution die Rede; Friedrich und Napoleon sind Müller jetzt "gleichmässig zugänglich," während seine Stellungnahme zu ihnen, in ihrer Gegensätzlichkeit, vorher unverständlich schien und lebhaft getadelt wurde; seine Intentionen sind gross, wenn auch sein Charakter zerging (p. 273). Offenbar hat sich Diltheys Standpunkt geändert. Warum sollte er sonst so wichtige Teile seiner früheren Ausführungen streichen oder sich so verschieden über den gleichen Mann erklären?

Dilthey denkt im Alter anders über Sinn und Nutzen der Geschichte als er früher darüber gedacht hat. In seiner Jugend sagt er voll Hoffnung: "Der Gang der Wissenschaften ist überall ein anderer gewesen, als die Empiriker wähen, und vielleicht sinnt schon irgendwo der Mann über den Problemen der Geschichte, der ihr Lächeln beschämen soll—der Mann, von dem Kants vorsichtig kühner Geist geweisst hat, dass er die Geschichte, wie Kepler und Newton mit der Naturwissenschaft getan, allgemeinen Gesetzen unterwerfen werde," und der dadurch die moralische Haltung Schlossers "mit einem Schlag in ein helleres Licht stellen" werde (p. 164). Darum kann der Streit für das Recht der Geschichte, "ein nationales Bildungsmittel zu werden, wie es uns ehemals das Altertum und unsere Poesie waren," von Dilthey "in seinem Verdienst gern anerkannt" werden (p. 164). Für den alten Dilthey, für den Betrachter, als der er sich selbst bekennt (*Gesammelte Schriften* VIII, 218), ist das geschichtliche Bewusstsein gewiss grossartig, aber es vermag nichts zu lehren: "Noch sind die Folgen (der Konstituierung des geschichtlichen Bewusstseins) für die menschliche Weltanschauung nicht abzusehen. Inndem ich das behaupte, trete ich zu der herrschenden Meinung in Gegensatz über den Nutzen der Geschichte. Man kann viel über ihren einzelnen Nutzen reden. Pragmatische Geschichte Beispiel für Politik. Enthusiasmus. Kritik. Aber schliesslich historisches Bewusstsein keinen Nutzen, sondern die Anschauungsweise, die auf jedes Menschliche angewandt wird. Philosophisches Bewusstsein = Geist der Prüfung, historisches Bewusstsein = Begrenzung jeder gegebenen Erscheinung und zugleich ihre Bedeutung im universal-historischen Zusammenhang" (p. xix). So hat er selbst in der späten Vorrede zur Sammlung der im XI. Band vereinigten Aufsätze sein Ergebnis formuliert. Damit aber ist die frühere Ansicht vollkommen umgestossen.

Der Grund für Diltheys veränderte Haltung liegt offenbar in der Einsicht, dass Geschichte und Moral nicht mit einander übereinstimmen. Dilthey hat gelernt, Ranke, den objektiven Epiker, zu bejahren, während er früher Dahlmann gegen Ranke Recht gab. Er hat sich, wenn auch nach schwerem Kampf, zu Bismarcks Politik bekannt (p. 225), und Bismarck machte sich vielleicht auch durch

Ranke mit dem Gedanken der Macht vertraut, wie Dilthey erwähnt (p. 220). In der ersten Fassung des Schlosser-Aufsatzes heisst es, dass alle Historiker in dem Verstandnis von Kultur, Staat und Geschichte aus der sittlichen Aufgabe des Menschen Schlossers Schüler seien (p. 274). Für Bismarck aber ist, wie Dilthey zustimmend berichtet, der Dienst am Staat wichtiger geworden als alle Kulturaufgaben (Gesammelte Schriften VII, 289). Und er steht nicht an, 1874, allgemein zu sagen, dass "der Verlauf der politischen Ereignisse unser Raisonement schnell gereift hat" (p. 277).

So wird in der Nebeneinanderstellung der Arbeiten aus den verschiedenen Lebensjahren ganz deutlich, wie sich die Anschauungen des jungen Dilthey allmählich änderten. Zugleich sieht man dass er sich vollkommen im Klaren ist über "die Entwicklung von unendlicher Tragweite," über "die unabsehbaren Folgen für die menschliche Weltanschauung" (p. xix), die durch diese neue Einstellung zur Geschichte heraufbeschworen werden. Im gleichen Augenblick, in dem er Scherers Programm, "ein System der nationalen Ethik aufzustellen," lobt (p. 248), schreibt er: "So geht durch die Gesellschaft unserer Tage ein Gefühl, dass sie diese (sozialen, religiösen, pädagogischen) Fragen durch die Macht des wissenschaftlichen Gedankens und der darauf gegründeten praktischen Genialität lösen muss—oder sie stürzt in den Abgrund kulturfeindlicher Zerstörung. Es geht zugleich durch die Menschen unserer Tage das Gefühl, dass die Idealität des Lebens erhalten werden muss, sollen nicht die Triebfedern der hingebenden Arbeit am Staat und der Menschheit erlahmen und Privatinteresse allein übrig bleiben—ja, soll das Leben überhaupt lebenswert sein; diese Idealität des Lebens aber ist an eine gerechte Würdigung der geistigen Tatsachen gebunden, der Sittlichkeit, Religion und Kunst, die dem Einzeldasein Bedeutung geben, der nationalen Lebenseinheit, die es beherrscht" (p. 237-238). Der Grund für seine Besorgnis ist, dass mit dem Bewusstsein von der Endlichkeit jeder geschichtlichen Erscheinung, jedes menschlichen oder gesellschaftlichen Zustandes, dem Menschen die Souveränität gegeben ist, "jedem Erlebnis seinen Gehalt abzugewinnen, sich ihm ganz hinzugeben, unbefangen, als wäre kein System von Philosophie oder Glauben, das Menschen binden könnte" (Gesammelte Schriften VII, 290-91). Und 1903 spricht er seine Furcht vor dem Kommenden so aus: "Die geschichtliche Weltanschauung ist die Befreierin des menschlichen Geistes von der letzten Kette, die Naturwissenschaft und Philosophie noch nicht zerrissen haben—aber wo sind die Mittel, die Anarchie der Überzeugungen, die hereinzubrechen droht, zu überwinden? An der Auflösung der Probleme, welche an dieses sich in langer Reihe anschliessen, habe ich mein Leben lang gearbeitet. Das Ziel sehe ich. Wenn ich auf dem Wege liegen bleibe—so hoffe ich, werden ihn meine jungen

Weggenossen, meine Schüler zu Ende gehen" (Gesammelte Schriften v, 9).

Das Ziel—es ist die Erhellung und Befestigung jenes Geistes der Prüfung, jenes philosophischen Bewusstseins, das Dilthey in Gegensatz zu dem historischen Bewusstsein stellte (p. xix). Im Sinne des geschichtlichen Bewusstseins kann das Leben "nicht vor den Richterstuhl der Vernunft" gebracht werden, wie es in einer Notiz heisst (Gesammelte Schriften vii, 359). Aber für die philosophische Haltung gilt: "Wo ein Mensch in seinem Willen den Zusammenhang von Wahrnehmung, Lust, Antrieb und Genuss durchbricht, wo er nicht sich mehr will: da ist das Meta—Physische, welches sich in der dargelegten Geschichte der Metaphysik nur in unzähligen Bildern spiegelte. Denn die metaphysische Wissenschaft ist ein historisch begrenztes Phänomen, das meta—physische Bewusstsein der Person ist ewig" (Gesammelte Schriften i, 385-86). Die Gültigkeit der geistigen und sittlichen Normen kann nur durch das philosophische Bewusstsein begründet werden, nicht durch das historische. Aber gerade dadurch ist der ewige Anspruch dieser Ideen gegenüber der relativen Bedingtheit historischer Erkenntnis gesichert.

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*Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit.* Von ALBERT SOERGEL; Dritte Folge: *Dichter aus deutschem Volkstum*, Leipzig, 1934, 231 pp. M. 6.80.

The volume in question—the third of Soergel's History of Literature and dedicated to "Hanns Johst the German"—is not only in every way disappointing but brazen in its propaganda. For years the incompleteness of the first two volumes of this work has been growing more and more evident, but if the continuation had to take this form it would have been better if it had never appeared. The completion now set before us not only departs in every respect from the objective treatment of subject-matter hitherto strictly observed; it retracts all that has been said before with utterly superficial arguments and ascribes true and lasting worth only to "writers of the German spirit" (*Dichter aus deutschem Volkstum*).

In his new volume Soergel groups together essays on the writers Rudolf G. Binding, Hans Grimm, Hans Carossa, E. G. Kolbenheyer, Max Mell, Hans Franck, Will Vesper, Ina Seidel, Friedrich Schnack, Hans Blunck and Friedrich Griese. At the same time he completely loses sight of the continuity in this period of literature. In method also the resemblance of the book to the

first two volumes is purely external. Instead of simply giving facts and collecting material, Soergel not only pronounces opinions as to worth, which are in the highest degree one-sided and personal (for instance one of the most typical is to be found under the heading Will Vesper (p. 136) where we read: "He was justly elected to the Academy in 1933 after it had been purged of those against whom he had struggled"), but assumes on the whole the rôle of the rhapsodist rather than that of the scholar. It is significant that in the whole book only one single caricature is reproduced, and that, presenting three personalities, is of G. B. Shaw, G. Hauptmann and—very harmless—of Friedrich Schnack (p. 182). Soergel persists in writing for authors instead of about them. He forgets that he, as a scholar, must first of all serve learning and only thus contribute to the understanding of artistic values. He would like to say the "last word" about matters which are by no means terminated, which indeed are still so much in the course of development, as to render it impossible now to make a valid, historical survey of a writer like Hans Carossa, for instance. Moreover, a close examination proves that Soergel really has so little to say that he could have disposed of it in a few pages. And so he makes shift with a collection of flattering quotations that has nothing whatever in common with learning. A good two-thirds of the whole book consists of "specimens," quotations and examples drawn from novels, dramas and poems; these often pages in length do not enable the reader to form the slightest judgment concerning the subject itself. P. 36 affords a particularly comical and informative example. Four of Binding's poems are interpreted merely by the following valuable exclamations (complete with exclamation marks): "How thankful this poet is for love!"—"How he penetrates into the ultimate mystery of love!" and "How he blesses youth and beauty!"

It is not worth while to refute in detail the numerous misinterpretations (e. g. that of George and Paul Ernst in the introduction). The book which from beginning to end is wholly uncritical (of Binding's reply to Romain Rolland not the first but the modified and tamer version is quoted!), is *Blood and Soil* (*Blubo*) learning par excellence. Friedrich Schnack is, according to Soergel, not only part and parcel of the soil but of the very "crops of his native land" (p. 167). Soergel, who in his earlier efforts recognized his task with admirable clarity and fulfilled it by the objective assembling of material—and only in this way can a history of literature of our time serve any purpose—now devotes himself to furthering Nordic-philosophical speculations of a tediousness and insipidity that are overwhelming. After all, it is a matter of pure indifference to him about whom he talks, for in his work Binding looks like Grimm, and Blunck like Griese. And if in addition the whole were not presented with such intolerable bombast, it still might be possible to dispute with the

author about his conceptions. But this book which bears on every page the stamp of slipshod compilation, would best be passed over with the hope that further "sequels" of this sort may once and for all be left undone.

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*Geschichte der deutschen Ballade* von WOLFGANG KAYSER. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1936. Pp. x, 328.

This history of a poetic genre deals with the medieval narrative songs which are closely associated with the later "popular" ballad and at the same time with the literary ballad of the eighteenth and following centuries. Since Kayser is primarily interested in the history of the second variety, he might perhaps have more wisely confined himself to summarizing the assured results of investigations in the earlier variety. The consequence of touching on disputed matters in this earlier period is the suggestion of tasks which ought to be undertaken. His contrast of English and Scandinavian balladry (p. 6) might well be carried further, and the sources of Scandinavian balladry might be defined more fully and more accurately. Kayser surveys quickly the Germanic heroic lays belonging to a period before A.D. 1100. These are not ballads according to his definition. After 1100, they yield place to narrative verse which is carried about by minstrels and which is differentiated from the earlier form by the use of rhymes and stanzas and by the reliance upon new ethical standards. This new form constitutes the ballad as defined by Kayser. After a brief discussion of the Middle High German minstrel ballads, he passes to the Golden Age of the genre (pp. 43 ff.). Here, too, he touches controversial matters only briefly. The comparison of mythological survivals in German and Scandinavian balladry might well form the subject of further study. We can easily grant that German ballads contain little or no mythological material. In what sense are materials of this sort in Scandinavian ballads "*Reste heidnischer Vorstellungen*"? Knut Liestøl's *Norske Trollviser og norrøne sogor* (Christiania, 1915) would have been a pertinent citation at this point. No one seems to have asked whether "Tord af Havsgaard" (Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 1) is really a survival of heathendom. Kayser continues with a brief survey of later narratives in verse,—the historical song, the "*Zeitungslied*," and the like. He observes correctly (pp. 52 ff.) that the Meistersinger contributed little or nothing to traditional song and might have noted that only Meisterlieder composed before the Reformation might come into consideration as a source of tradi-

tional matter. To his remarks (p. 53) on Isabella and the pot of basil add a reference to H. M. Belden's excellent article, "Boccaccio, Hans Sachs, and 'The Bramble Briar,'" *PMLA.*, xxiii (1918), 327-95.

The essential portion of Kayser's book is a history of the literary ballad of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> His sensitive characterization of literary connections and developments is well buttressed with references and specific examples. The most valuable contribution is the chapter on Hölty (pp. 80-88). Here he proves that Hölty, not Bürger, is the founder of the serious literary ballad in Germany. This substitution of Hölty for Bürger means that henceforth V. Beyer's *Die Begründung der ersten Ballade durch G. A. Bürger* (1905)—for thirty years the bible of the Bürger-tradition—must be considered obsolete, so far as its main thesis is concerned. And this, in turn, makes necessary a revision of the pertinent paragraph in Margaret Ohlischlaeger's article "Kunstballade" in Merker and Stammeler's *Reallexikon*, iv, 51-57,—to mention only one standard work of reference.

In my opinion, the spectral ballad (*Geisterballade*) is adequately treated (pp. 100-106). In the discussion of the vocabulary of this eighteenth-century type of German balladry I miss the name of Klopstock. After all, Klopstock's example is chiefly responsible for the introduction into poetry of participles for adjectives, in an attempt to render expression consonant with feeling. To him, feeling was dynamic, implying the use of the participle and not static implying the use of an adjective; see, e. g., O. Walzel, *Deutsche Dichtung von Gottsched bis zur Gegenwart*, I, 50-52.

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*Sir Degare: A Study of the Texts and Narrative Structure.* By GEORGE PATTERSON FAUST. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1935. Pp. 99. (*Princeton Studies in English*, No. 11).

The most original part of Mr. Faust's study of the narrative structure of *Sir Degare* seems to me the most valuable,—his explanation of why *SD* and *Richars li Biaus*, differing throughout in detail, have yet many similarities in the general outline of an uncommon plot. Since both resemble, at quite different points, the legend of Gregory the Great, both, he believes, are independent reworkings of a lost French original, *S*, which combined a romanticized version of the first half of *G* with a Sohrab and Rustem

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor John G. Kunstmann for suggestions utilized in the following remarks.



plot. Differences of *RB* from *G* and *SD* as to the hero's exposure and upbringing he attributes to imitation of "some story like *Parise la Duchesse*" (p. 66); *SD*'s differences here from *G* to imitation of *Lay le Freine*; its differences from *G* and *RB* as to recovery of the hero's mother, to use of (so-called) *Oenomaus* material. A third romance, *Die Ritters Metter Mouwen*, which combines still other elements of *G* with a plot resembling in part those of *SD* and *RB*, Mr. Faust derives from a hypothetical *T*, source of *S* also, but less modified from *G* than *S* was.

These hypotheses have the virtue of economy in providing one origin for the resemblances of three romances to one another and to *G*. The first, though admittedly conjectural, is the best explanation yet proposed. The second is perhaps more ingenious than capable of proof since it involves assuming that incidents in *DRMM* are alterations of quite different ones in hypothetical *T*.

Granted this origin for *SD*, Mr. Faust seems right in attributing the supernatural in *SD* to the author and to imitation of "Breton lays." But the castle episode is hardly supernatural; the lady's plight accounts for most details; only the inmates' silence (related to their defenceless situation?) is unexplained. And though *SD* has many resemblances to "Breton lays" in method, phrasing and content, it is questionable whether the author meant it to be one since it lacks the usual opening and conclusion.

Mr. Faust has largely undermined Mr. Slover's idea that the author of *SD* was a stupid hack, clumsily fitting together borrowed plots, like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, in an incoherent tale.<sup>1</sup> Yet he is influenced by it. He believes the author has used an *Oenomaus* formula so clumsily as to leave "suspicion of incest resting upon" the innocent king (p. 86), though he finds "no definite motive assigned" in *SD* for the combat-test (p. 55) and has no specific *Oenomaus* source to offer. Of the purpose of the *Oenomaus* task—to keep the daughter unmarried—he says nothing, though this purpose (not its motive, which may vary) is essential to the type. In *SD* a very different purpose, though not stated, is implicit in the narrative. The king, unequalled in arms, his sole heir a daughter, proclaims *fer and ner* that whoever defeats him in joust shall have kingdom and daughter. That is, he wants a powerful successor. After Degare's victory, twelve lines emphasize the kingdom: the king thinks it *wel biset* if this stranger is a gentleman, as he seems, and wise as valiant. The daughter gets one line. The king's prowess, not his purpose, has kept her unmarried. And the daughter's fear of slander of her father is no careless "vestigial trace of incest" (p. 56). Such slander would inevitably arise in the circumstances provided:—the child's father a fairy and unproducible, wooers as yet excluded by the challenge, the king's devotion to his daughter known. And only such fear could motivate adequately the secrecy of Degare's birth and his

<sup>1</sup> *University of Texas Bulletin (Studies in English, No. 11).*

mother's consent to expose him. It is a carefully forged link in a logical sequence.

Though the original English text of *SD* is not extant and was itself possibly a translation, Mr. Faust assumes, like Mr. Slover, that the author must have been responsible for the confusion in the glove plot. He mistakenly attributes it to the mother's instruction that Degare *louie* only the woman the gloves fit. But this instruction is essential. It is intended to, and does, keep Degare roving, unmarried, till he meets his mother. If obeyed then, it would protect her from marrying her son in ignorance of his identity. The glove test would reveal him to her (not her to him). Their story would end happily but tamely. But because Degare, naturally enough, forgets this instruction in the excitement of an unprecedented victory, the alarming wedding takes place. Because he remembers this instruction later, we get an effectively ironical situation: Degare distracted at having married a woman the gloves may not fit; his mother swooning because he has married the one they do fit. What is wrong is the other instruction. It is incredible that the author should have ruined his ingenious plot by adding to the mother's letter, as a reason why Degare should *louie* only the woman the gloves fit, the fact that they fit only his mother (AC 215 f),—the very fact he should not and, in the later action, does not know and a reason that makes nonsense. If not originally an aside to the reader and later mistakenly regarded as ending the letter they really followed, these lines must be an interpolation. So must also the paraphrase of them (AC 309-314) which interrupts the brisk narrative of Degare's parting from the hermit. It is incompatible with the author's intention that the mother, not Degare, shall be the recognizer and with Degare's memory of the hermit's instructions (A633 ff.). A translator's misunderstanding best accounts for the eight lines which alone confuse the glove plot. Evidence on the whole seems to favor a French original for *SD*, but needs more searching examination than it has yet received.

Apart from these "vestigial traces" of the "hack writer" theory, Mr. Faust's study of the content of *SD* seems to me the most valuable yet made.

In Part I his methods and principles are sometimes questionable. For example, quotation of rhymes only sometimes distorts the evidence (p. 36). And the steps in the argument on text filiation are extremely difficult to refer to because no headings distinguish them visually and they are interwoven with description of "the *kind* of relation" among texts. But that does not affect the results. Using, for the first time, all extant evidence, Mr. Faust accepts my placing of the Black Letter group and Dr. Schleich's of MS. Rawlinson (omitted by me) and of the Percy Folio text in part.<sup>2</sup> On the evidence of *R* he puts *P* outside the

\* *Sire Degarre* (*Englische Textbibliothek*, 19), Heidelberg, 1929.

group, attributing to contamination of *P* the contradictory *PBL* common variants; this agrees with my alternative, not with my first, account of *P*.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere our three stemmas agree. Where they do not, Mr. Faust's is certainly correct.

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*Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism.* Edited by THOMAS MIDDLETON RAYSOR. London: Constable & Co. [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press], 1936. Pp. xvi + 468. \$6.00.

Mr. Raysor's compilation brings together valuable material, some of which is not easily accessible or is here for the first time printed. The text comprises: (1) the lectures of 1818, mostly from *Literary Remains*, in part corrected from original manuscript fragments, and supplemented by reports and marginalia; (2) miscellaneous marginalia, from *Literary Remains*, periodicals old and new, Anderson's *Poets of Great Britain*, and a set of Scott's novels—those from the last two printed for the first time; (3) four early reviews; (4) conversations with H. C. Robinson, newly collated; and (5) excerpts from *Table Talk*, with most of H. N. Coleridge's notes pruned away. An appendix includes an expanded version of "Wit and Humour," as an example of H. N. Coleridge's egregious editorial methods; marginalia from Rann's edition of Shakespeare, found after Coleridge's *Shakespearean Criticism* was published; and a note by Wordsworth on Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, with a long comment by Coleridge added. The new and hitherto uncollected items make up about one-fifth of the whole.

The book does not pretend to completeness, and there is some inconsistency shown in its selections. For example, notes in *Anima Poetae* (e. g., on Cowper, Modern Poetry, Richardson), comparable to many included, have been omitted without mention. Again, a letter to Allsop on Scott is given (p. 338), but one to Wordsworth (or reference to it) on *The Lady of the Lake* (Griggs, *Unpublished Letters*, II. 37) is not. This omission is strange, for in *Shakespearean Criticism* (II. 37) Mr. Raysor printed among the "Collier Records" a briefer criticism which is similar. Other omissions are accounted for by an announcement, modestly made in a footnote (p. 275), of a forthcoming collection of comments on religious writers.

Mr. Raysor is heedless of Coleridge's caution against judging "a

<sup>3</sup> *The University of Chicago Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series*, II (1923-1924), p. 372.

work meant for immediate effect on one age with the notions and feelings of another," when he speaks cavalierly of H. N. Coleridge's "garbling" of his materials in preparing *Literary Remains*. To be sure, H. N. C. was far from scientific in his editorial methods, often interpolating freely and rearranging papers as he saw fit; but, even so, he erred in seeking to meet the standards of his time by touching up what are at best hastily written notes, and should not be condemned too bitterly. Nevertheless, although the changes are often very slight, no concession to "aesthetic motives" (p. 270) is allowed. From the editor's point of view it is indeed unfortunate that so much of the faulty *Literary Remains* should have to be included in the new collection exactly as first printed. But, after all, these are relatively unimportant defects. The work offers new and uncollected materials, an authentic text as far as it is attainable, helpfully learned annotations in abundance, systematic arrangement, and an excellent index, all of which make it thoroughly useful. Very likely, devoted Coleridgeans will find here some assistance in meeting the challenge of F. L. Lucas's recent disconcerting criticism of "the greatest of English critics."

Of the new marginalia those on Scott are the most extensive (17 pages). They more often than not belie the statement, "I do not regard small improbabilities, numerous as they are in Sir Walter's novels—his genius overpowers them"; for Coleridge unsparingly bares "unnatural speech," "useless hypocrisy" which is "incredible," "the whole misconceived and mismanaged" fourth chapter of *Guy Mannering*, and the like. Generalization and analysis often consort ill. A querulous and very human Coleridge speaks in these notes.

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*The Letters of Hartley Coleridge.* Edited by GRACE EVELYN GRIGGS and EARL LESLIE GRIGGS. London [and New York]: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xv + 238. \$5.00.

Readers familiar with the biographical study of Hartley Coleridge published by Mr. Griggs in 1929 will find few new facts in the present collection of letters, as most of the material seems to have been available to him during the preparation of that work. It is true that the nine letters and thirteen supplementary documents dealing with Hartley's loss of the Oriel fellowship in 1820 do somewhat extend our knowledge, but previous judgment is little modified. Derwent's comment that the action taken, though "severe . . . could not be said to be unjust," was perhaps a paraphrase of Hartley's own remark to him (1821): "however illiberally I have

been treated, the very possibility of such treatment arose from my folly."

But if there are few new facts of importance, the ninety-six letters here collected do show more clearly than we have seen before, the charm of Hartley's personality and the pathos of his relative failure to use his talents. From 1822 until his death in 1847 he was virtually isolated from his family, and the letters are substitutes for Coleridgean conversation. He writes nonsense to "Snifterbreeches" (Derwent), or begs him to please the bishop with his sermons; comments (1826) much like his father on Wordsworth's "gasconading prefaces," and thinks (1830) that Wordsworth "seems yearly less of the Poet," but nevertheless rejoices in the spread of his influence; reverences Southey's character, but not his poetry; verbally trounces De Quincey, Cottle, and Allsop; remarks that his father never related "an anecdote or conversation twice alike"; and concludes sadly: "Neither Derwent nor I have much more than the family cleverness. . . . I cannot follow S. T. Coleridge—either to the height of his imagination—or to the depth of his philosophy." More and more Hartley dwelt in the past, and at forty-two could write with the plaintive accent of age, "Death's shafts fly thick." Partly this is temperament, but one must conclude that it is also evidence of the stuffiness of the twilight years of the Coleridge-Wordsworth circle. It is hardly accident that we find in these letters no mention of Keats, Hazlitt, Hunt, or the Brownings, and almost none of Tennyson; while the references to Byron, Shelley, Scott, and Dickens were thought too incidental to index. Hartley comments on an occasional review, takes an interest in some political and theological questions, but he never looks forward with freshness or with vigor.

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Biaggini, E. G.—The reading and writing of English; with a preface by F. R. Leavis. *New York*: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937. Pp. xxvii + 240. \$1.50.

Chew, Samuel C.—The Crescent and the Rose, Islam and England during the Renaissance. *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xviii + 583. \$5.00.

Clark, Eva Turner.—The man who was Shakespeare. *New York*: Richard R. Smith, 1937. Pp. xii + 319. \$3.50.

Hornbeak, Katherine. — Richardson's *Familiar Letters* and the domestic conduct books; Richardson's *Aesop*. *Northampton, Mass.*: Smith College, 1938. Pp. iv + 50. (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XIX, 2.)

Jones, William Powell. — Thomas Gray, scholar; the true tragedy of an eighteenth-century gentleman. *Cambridge, Mass.*: Harvard U. press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 191. \$3.50.

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# Modern Language Notes

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## HAWTHORNE AND "THE MAYPOLE OF MERRY-MOUNT"

To the student, Hawthorne's "Maypole of Merry-Mount" would seem so patently historical as to make a study of its sources unnecessary. But the matter will bear reinvestigation. J. Huber Scott, in his note to the story, quoted several phrases from Morton's *New Canaan*,<sup>1</sup> which was not available before 1838.<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Chandler hinted the origin of the story in Hawthorne's feeling for history.<sup>3</sup> Austin Warren, in his edition of selections, placed passages from Bradford and Morton in the notes with the implication that these were the direct sources.<sup>4</sup> H. Arlin Turner confessed that he was unable to trace the story to any particular source.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps such is not discoverable, but more adequate surmises than those of Scott and Warren may certainly be arrived at.

When one scrutinizes the story, its apparent factual basis becomes less certain, and one comes to the realization that Hawthorne,

<sup>1</sup> [Editor]: *Twice-Told Tales* (Boston, n. d.), 546. From Morton's *New English Canaan* he drew the phrases "idoll May Pole" and "better walking, else they would find their merry mount but a woful mount." See the Adams' edition (Boston: The Prince Society, 1883), 278.

<sup>2</sup> Only two American copies of *New Canaan* were known to exist before the new edition was brought out in 1838. "Savage in his notes to Winthrop (I, 34) said that he had then, before 1825, never heard of but one copy, 'which was owned by his Excellency John Q. Adams.' Mr. Adams purchased it while in Europe prior to the year 1801." [*Harvard University Library Bulletin*, No. 9, p. 196]. Henry Brevoort owned a second copy, received as a gift from Sir Walter Scott [see Hugh Wynne, *Private Libraries of New York* (New York, 1860), 106].

<sup>3</sup> *A Study of the Sources of the Tales written by Hawthorne before 1833* (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, VII, No. 4, 1926), 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Cincinnati, 1934), p. 360.

<sup>5</sup> *PMLA.*, LI, 552 (June, 1936).

in its composition, was stepping but lightly upon historical ground while conjuring up out of Strutt and his own imagination all the fantastic and symbolic features with which he so lavishly graced it. Like the "Grey Champion" and "Endicott and the Red Cross" it became a dramatic pageant, told with all the richness of which Hawthorne's style was capable, and brushed with his poetic touch.

But there were certain facts which, though he did not rely strongly upon them, afforded a potential basis for his fanciful tale, and of these we may seek to discover the source. Of works that chronicle the episode at Naumkeag,<sup>6</sup> Bradford was not in print, and that of Wintrop dealt only with its sequel, since his account opened in 1630, and the maypole incident supposedly took place late in 1628. Among annalists containing apposite material, the earliest was Hubbard, whose work Hawthorne read in the Massachusetts Historical Collections but who had to say of Endicott's action at Wollaston only that he "made such reformation as his wisdom and zeal led him into."<sup>7</sup> Next was Nathaniel Morton, whose *New England Memorial* was in its fifth edition in 1826,<sup>8</sup> and contained the following note:

That worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endicott, who brought over a patent under the broad seal of England, for the government of the Massachusetts, visiting these parts, caused that maypole to be cut down, and rebuked them for their profaneness, and admonished them that they walk better; so the name was again changed, and called Mount Dagon.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay* [(London, 1760), I, 8] may have been available, and certainly Holmes's *Annals* [(Cambridge, 1829), I, 194] and Belknap's *American Biography* [(Boston, 1797), II, 334], but their notice of the episode was so scant as to have been of no substantial aid. *Governor Bradford's Letter Book* adverted only to the firearm trouble [*I. Mass. His. Colls.*, III, 64]. Had Hawthorne seen Neale's *History of New England* [(London, 1747) I, 125] only the account of Morton's trading in arms and ammunition would have been disclosed, and in Morse and Parish's *Compendious History of New England* [(Charleston, 1804) I, 80] only the account of Morton's arrest for the theft of a canoe.

<sup>7</sup> *II. Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v, 103-4. Hawthorne was reading the Historical Collections in 1830 (April 12th to July 23rd) and during January, 1832.

<sup>8</sup> Two editions in 1826, one at Plymouth and one at Boston. This title was in the Salem Athenaeum in 1827.

<sup>9</sup> (Boston, 1826), 137-138.

Prince's *Annals*, reprinted in 1826,<sup>10</sup> although it contained an almost identical passage,<sup>11</sup> is of interest because of Hawthorne's employment of the sentence, "there lies the only Maypole in New England!"<sup>12</sup> This was undoubtedly suggested by a footnote in the *Annals*.<sup>13</sup>

A third variation in the description of the episode, employing much the same phraseology and adding no important details, was Baylies's *Memoir of New Plymouth*<sup>14</sup> which Hawthorne read in November, 1833. The only significant change Baylies made, though minor, was to predicate of Endicott that he "cut down the Maypole," thus suggesting, as prior historians did not, Endicott's direct agency, of which hint Hawthorne took due notice. One other annalist was familiar to Hawthorne in 1833, J. B. Felt. His *Annals of Salem*<sup>15</sup> Hawthorne withdrew from the Salem Athenaeum for three weeks late in 1833, and again in the first week of 1835,<sup>16</sup> immediately preceding his examination of Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, though for the main facts of the Maypole story it offered nothing new.

Thus the unpublished account of Bradford, through the redactions of at least four annalists, provided the central feature of Hawthorne's story: the wanton conduct of the residents at Merry-Mount, the coming of Captain Endicott, and the hewing down of the Maypole. But where did he derive the note of gaiety and pagan pleasure which he ascribed to the Merry-Mounters? The Prince-Morton-Baylies accounts substantially agree in their descrip-

<sup>10</sup> (Boston, 1826). In the references which follow I quote from the 1737 edition.

<sup>11</sup> Both Prince and Morton leaned heavily upon the unpublished Bradford manuscript.

<sup>12</sup> In a speech ascribed to John Endicott.

<sup>13</sup> I, 175.

<sup>14</sup> (Boston, 1830), 156. See also James Thacher's *History of the Town of Plymouth* (Boston, 1832), 71: "1628. This year commenced the troubles occasioned by the eccentric Thomas Morton, of famous 'Merry Mount' and 'May-Pole' memory; but as this 'Lord of Misrule' was not an inhabitant of Plymouth, and as his affairs were transacted chiefly at Mount Wollaston (Braintree), the reader is referred to the New England Memorial for particulars." Both Thacher and Baylies were in the Salem Athenaeum before 1837, and one is safe in saying that they were on the shelves in 1833.

<sup>15</sup> Boston, 1827.

<sup>16</sup> See the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXVIII, 65-87 (Jan., 1932).

tion of the rioting, while Felt says only that they "indulged themselves in dissipation."<sup>17</sup> Baylies's work, the last consulted, went into some detail:

Most of their time . . . was spent in rioting and drunkenness. They erected a May-pole, round which they would dance with Indian women, and Morton, who had some poetic talent, after writing obscene and scandalous satires, would affix them to the pole.

They fell into all kinds of licentiousness and profanity, and changed the name of their residence from Mount Wollaston to Merry Mount.<sup>18</sup>

Prince's account, though restrained, had clung more closely to Bradford:

Morton and Company at M. Wollaston . . . set up a May-Pole, got the Indian women to drink and dance about it, with worse practices; as in the Feasts of Flora, or like the mad Bachanalians; and change the name to Merry Mount, as if this jollity were to last forever."<sup>19</sup>

This last phrase, used earlier by Morton, suggests the key for Hawthorne's description of the community.<sup>20</sup> What more did he need, with the aid of Strutt, for building up his story and suggesting the community as a symbol of merriment? But that contrast between the laughing band and the sober-faced Puritans so marked in Hawthorne's handling of the theme might well have originated also in a passage from Hubbard:

This counsel was easy to be taken, as suiting well the genius of young men, to eat, drink and be merry, while the good things lasted, which was not long, by that course which was taken with them, more being slung away in some merry meetings, than, with frugality, would have maintained the whole company divers months. In fine, they improved what goods they had, by trading with the Indians awhile, and spent it as merrily about a May-pole; and, as if they had found a mine, or spring of plenty, called the place Merry-Mount. "Thus stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant"; till it be found that "the dead are there, and her guests in the depths of hell."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Page 43.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>19</sup> I, 167 (1736 edition).

<sup>20</sup> Morton, who had borrowed the same materials from Bradford as Prince, added a significant passage for the interpretation of the spirit of the Merry-Mounters: "After this they fell to great licentiousness of life, in all profaneness, and the said Morton became Lord of misrule, and maintained, as it were, a school of Atheism, and after they had got some goods in their hands . . . they spent it as vainly in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong liquors in great excess" (p. 137).

<sup>21</sup> *II. Mass. His. Colls.* III, 103-4.

The divergence in life outlook implicit in this passage, between the riotous revelers and the stern moralists, provides at least a hint of the contrast which Hawthorne presented.

But if Hubbard, Prince, Baylies and Felt provided the initial inspiration for this tale—though initial only—whence came the introduction of such a character as William Blackstone? He was referred to in Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*,<sup>22</sup> printed in the Massachusetts Historical Collections (in Johnson spelled Blaxton). Hubbard amplified somewhat Johnson's comment, but retained the reference to Blackstone's canonical coat,<sup>23</sup> of which surplice Hawthorne took careful note. The full account of Blackstone Hawthorne had doubtless encountered in his 1830 reading of the Historical Collections, in the second series of which Davis's *Memoir of Blackstone*<sup>24</sup> was printed. He had also read Snow's *History of Boston* in 1829,<sup>25</sup> and must therefore have been fully acquainted with Blackstone's career.

Hawthorne made clear by his footnote that he was employing Blackstone in an unhistorical way. It is just possible that he may have fixed on him for the rôle of English priest through the coincidental juxtaposition of Blackstone's and Endicott's names on page twenty of Alden Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, which came out in 1835. At any rate, three authors, Bradford, Cotton Mather,<sup>26</sup> and Davis<sup>27</sup> had set down various modifications of the sentence, "he left England through a dislike to the Lord-Bishops, and soon avowed himself equally 'displeased with the Lord-Brethren,'" <sup>28</sup> which afforded some warrant for Blackstone's introduction into a Merry Mount setting. For Hawthorne has Endicott say: "Thou art the man who couldst not abide the rule even of thine own corrupted church." At least this appears to be the chief and only justification for Endicott's addressing him as the Priest of Baal, though Blackstone's residence at Wessagusset for a year or two may

<sup>22</sup> *II. Mass. His. Colls.* I, 70.

<sup>23</sup> *I. Mass. His. Colls.* I, 113.

<sup>24</sup> *II. Mass. His. Colls.* x, 170-173.

<sup>25</sup> (Boston, 1825), Chap. x, pp. 50-52. See also *Christian Register* (Oct. 11, 1828). For a record of Hawthorne's reading see *The Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXVIII, 65-87 (January, 1932).

<sup>26</sup> *Magnalia Christi* (Hartford, 1853), I, 243.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, 171.

<sup>28</sup> See also: Leonard Bliss, Jr., *The History of Rehoboth* (Boston, 1836), 4; *I. Mass. His. Colls.* IX, 2 n., 4; *The Salem Gazette*, XLIII, No. 44 (June 2, 1829).

have aided in making his selection a natural one.<sup>29</sup> Of course, Hawthorne had to have an English priest for the exigencies of his plot; he could scarcely have enlisted a minister from the Pilgrim band itself. The choice had more logically to be a "non-conformist among non-conformists."<sup>30</sup> It is unfortunate that he did not select a name more sullied in the pages of history,<sup>31</sup> such as that of John Lyford, whose introduction would have violated no one's sense of justice.<sup>32</sup>

There is the natural query as to Hawthorne's omission of Thomas Morton himself. Morton was not in New England when the Maypole was hewn down, despite the Bradford account, which is confused. On this point the influence of Felt was probably brought to bear, for of the annalists familiar to Hawthorne in 1835, only Felt placed the arrest of Morton prior to the arrival at Massachusetts Bay of Endicott,<sup>33</sup> and only he spoke of "his remaining associates."<sup>34</sup>

Morton's name suggests the problem of the arrest of the major participants in the revelry. Mere reproof, as in the annals, would have afforded no very dramatic close for the tale, though Endicott's action was in itself dramatic; and, accordingly, Hawthorne gained from the well-known story of Morton's seizure by Standish the idea of terminating the story with an arrest. In actuality there was no causal connection between the hewing down of the Maypole and the Standish affair, but it took no great imaginative flight to draw together some of the incidental features of the two episodes. In ascribing to Endicott an actual arrest rather than the mere dispersion of the followers, Hawthorne definitely launched upon a

<sup>29</sup> Charles J. Adams [Editor]: *New English Canaan* (Boston, 1883), 24.

<sup>30</sup> Bliss, *op. cit.*, 4.

<sup>31</sup> The irony of the fictitious arrest of Blackstone is that Blackstone was actually assessed along with others for the cost of the expedition for arresting Morton. His amount was twelve shillings, that of Salem itself two pounds, ten shillings. See "Bradford's Letter-Book" in *I Mass. His. Colls.*, III, 63; also, J. B. Felt, *op. cit.*, I, 41.

<sup>32</sup> See Prince, *op. cit.* (1736 edition), I, 149. Lyford had removed to Cape Ann in 1625. Consult also Morton, *op. cit.*, 111, 117, 122.

<sup>33</sup> In the *Journal* the may-pole episode precedes the arrest [William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (Boston, Mass. Hist. Soc., 1912), II, 48-57], but in the *Letter-Book* the epistle to Gorges is dated June 9th, 1628—before the arrival of Endicott [*I. Mass. His. Colls.*, III, 65].

<sup>34</sup> Hawthorne read Felt's *Annals of Salem* in January, 1835.

speculative interpretation, for in order to make the arrest harmonious with the spiritual divagation upon which the tale was built, he had to advance religious reasons instead of the definitely civil ones of history.

Finally the matter of Hawthorne's indebtedness to Strutt, were it traced in detail, would be simply the prosaic articulation of what the author himself admitted. Tradition fairly well dictated Maypole festivities, but there were several items from the 1801 volume of Strutt not always found in Maypole pageantry, such as the animal disguise,<sup>35</sup> the savage man with his girdle of green leaves,<sup>36</sup> the grinning match and horses collar,<sup>37</sup> the gilded staff and the crossed scarf of the Lord of the May,<sup>38</sup> the fool's cap and appended bells,<sup>39</sup> the employment of the maypole for year round activities,<sup>40</sup> and the sunset abrogation of lordly rights. As for the rest, the mention of the King of Christmas, the Lord of Misrule, the Eve of St. John, and the dancing bear, Hawthorne spoke rightly when he said, "they were in accordance with the manners of the age." One modification should be noted. Hawthorne, in order to warrant the introduction of garden flowers and blossoms in a New England wilderness, transferred to a June wedding and Midsummer eve all the hilarious festivities usually associated with the first of May.

In conclusion, one must issue a warning against the too ready assumption, in singling out historical matter which went into Hawthorne's tale, that its sole inspiration has been found. Hawthorne's habit of making outer action the mere symbol of an attitude or point of view led him here to present the Merry-Mounters as the expression of a happy acceptance of life, and the Puritans as the sober rejection of it. This contrast was in Hawthorne, not history. The Merry-Mount of the tale is not the Merry-Mount of history, nor do its characters from the Golden Age bear much resemblance to the adventurers and irresponsible traders of the real Wollaston settlement. This earthly and self-seeking band

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London, 1801), 188, 190. Note in particular the mention in the tale of the stag and the goat.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 190; also illustration facing p. 290.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 263. Strutt quoted from the "Knight of the Burning Pestle" the line, "With Gilded staff and crossed scarf the May Lord here I stand."

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 170, 171.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 264, 265.



passed through the alembic of Hawthorne's imagination and were transmuted into figures of gaiety, with lightsome hearts, and veritable symbols of jollity. The old Puritans, on the other hand, were to him a sober lot who dourly frowned upon frivolity even when it wore a harmless face. Thus it was that in his story the Puritan band became the expression of grimness itself. That Hawthorne's fancy falsified the true conflict, for fictional purposes, no student of the times would deny. The secular Puritan held no place in his mind; in such stories as this, Hawthorne's share of responsibility for an historical misconception becomes apparent, for the fact that the practical, common, livable Puritan has been transformed into a mere symbol of conscience and sternness, and that his human traits have been hidden beneath cast-iron clothing. The reader of Hawthorne secures no hint that the Merry-Mount affair had military implications or that the conflict raged on any plane than the ethical; this restriction of action tells us more about Hawthorne than it does about history.

There was objective, however, in such handling. The imaginary holiday spirit which Hawthorne envisaged points to the allegory and to a characteristic Hawthorne theme which became the true nucleus of the tale. In the midst of such frolic and at the threshold of matrimony, can there persist the loneliness of the individual which haunts even from childhood? Hawthorne's answer is found in the pensiveness with which Edith looks deep into her lover's eyes at the very moment when sheer ecstasy should have been shining there, and by the anxious query which the May Lord directed, thus revealing his own inner fear:

"Is yon wreath of roses a garland to hang above our graves that you look so sad? . . . this is our golden time! Tarnish it not by any pensive shadow of the mind; for it may be that nothing of futurity will be brighter than the mere remembrance of what is now passing."

"That was the very thought that saddened me! How came it in your mind too?" said Edith, in a still lower tone than he, for it was high treason to be sad at Merry Mount. "Therefore do I sigh amid this festive music."

And though to this youthful pair Hawthorne ascribed a happy life, in which the memory of the maypole itself faded, one does not forget that he had suggested, even upon such a gala occasion, the sadness and the inner loneliness that is man's fate in the world.

Thus it is not merely by combination that Hawthorne achieved

his effects in this story, but by invention and by the induction, through imaginative power, of his train of strange and subtle influences. It was not a bold journey which he essayed, but he came gracefully to its close with a fancy delicately spiritualized and a story drawn from meagre annals heightened into a great dramatic conflict.

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### JONSON, STOW, AND DRUMMOND

Like many another conversation, *Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* grow less coherent as they draw to a close. The heading "Miscellanies" scarcely does justice to the discursiveness of the eighteenth section. Here, among details of the English poet's departure, the Scottish poet has swept together a few final bits of gossip and rodomontade. These are the first three sentences:

John Stow had monstrous observations in his Chronicle and was of his craft a Tailour. he and I walking alone he asked two Criples what they would have to take him to their order.

in his Sejanus he hath translated a whole oration of Tacitus.<sup>1</sup>

The second sentence is commonly taken as the description of a jest, originally made by Stow in Jonson's presence and subsequently related by Jonson to Drummond. Editors of the *Conversations* since Francis Cunningham have glossed it as such, although one of them has been at pains to point out the difference of more than forty years between the ages of the chronicler and the dramatist.<sup>2</sup> It figures in standard accounts of Stow's life as a testimonial to the cheerful poverty of his old age.<sup>3</sup>

If we accept this interpretation of the passage, we must be pre-

<sup>1</sup> The only reliable text of the *Conversations* is that of C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, printed in the first volume of their edition of Jonson, Oxford, 1925. For the passage quoted, see p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. R. F. Patterson, London, 1924, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. W. J. Thoms, 1842, p. xii; ed. C. L. Kingsford, 1908, I, xxv-xxvi. See also article by Sidney Lee in *DNB.*, and unsigned article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

pared to admit that it is a case of ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. The transcript of Jonson's monologue is written in such a clammily impersonal style that it is difficult to imagine Drummond identifying himself with the speaker even for a moment. Nowhere else are Jonson's words reported directly; on two occasions, when he is quoting himself, they appear within the framework of indirect discourse:

being at ye end of my Lord Salisburie's table with Inigo Jones & demanded by my Lord, why he was not glad My Lord said he yow promised I should dine with yow, bot I doe not, for he had none of his meate, he esteemed only yt his meate which was of his owne dish.

Jones having accused him for naming him behind his back a foole he denied it but sayes he. I said he was ane arrant knave & I avouch it.<sup>4</sup>

Otherwise, the first person invariably denotes Drummond, and the third person is used ambiguously for Jonson and for whomever he happens to be discussing. The eighteenth section is thick with examples: "He dissuaded me from Poetrie . . . if he died by the Way, he promised to send me his papers . . . I have to send him descriptions. . . ." And the nineteenth section begins thus: "he sent to me this Madrigal."<sup>5</sup>

The cryptic nature of Drummond's notes and the precarious form in which they have come down to us make it impossible to infer anything from merely mechanical criteria. Punctuation and paragraphing are in more than one place a snare and a delusion. This can be illustrated by a brilliant emendation which has been generally accepted. The passage in question is autobiographical: he had many quarrells with Marston beat him & took his Pistol from him, wrote his Poetaster on him the beginning of ym were that Marston represented him in the stage in his youth given to Venerie, he thought the use of a maide. nothing in comparison to ye wantoness of a wyfe & would never haue ane other Mistress . . .<sup>6</sup>

By placing a period after "stage," Professor J. H. Penniman solved the problem that had sent scholars seeking in vain through Marston's plays for a profligate portrait of the youthful Jonson.<sup>7</sup> We now realize that Jonson, having said all he cared to say about Marston, was turning to the more congenial topic of sex.

In the three sentences we are considering there is no need to

<sup>4</sup> Herford and Simpson, I, 141, 145.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 140.

<sup>7</sup> J. H. Penniman, *The War of the Theatres*, 1897, p. 40.

emend, but those who have interpreted them assume a smoother and more sophisticated syntax than can be found at any other point in the work. We have seen how little it means when one sentence is allowed to follow another without fresh indentation. Failure to capitalize our second sentence does not establish continuity, any more than the period at the end of our first sentence necessarily implies irrelevance. The same personal pronoun runs through all three, although the subject of the first is unequivocally Stow and the subject of the third is obviously Jonson. The sum of stylistic evidence suggests that the "he" and "I" of the second sentence were not Stow and Jonson but Jonson and Drummond, and that the interview with the two cripples occurred not at London in the vague past but at Hawthornden during Jonson's visit.

What, then, was the point of the joke? Stow, we are informed, was by royal patent a beggar,<sup>8</sup> but to equate physical and financial infirmity is to produce a jest more satisfying to the scholiast's sense of humour than to Jonson's. Would not a mountain-bellied laureate who had just journeyed on foot from London to Scotland make a more likely candidate for the company of cripples? There must have been times when Jonson felt indeed as though Tartars and Turks, Romans and Carthaginians, were fighting over his great toe. The pedestrian *motif* is constantly present in the conversations; it seems to have been looked upon by Jonson and his friends as a running river of harmless merriment. When Jonson set out on his tour, the Lord Chancellor himself had pronounced a valedictory:

at his hither comming Sr Francis Bacon said to him, he loved not to sie poesie goe on other feet yn poetical dactilus & spondaeus<sup>9</sup>

And when Jonson parted from Drummond, this was his final quip: he went from Lieth homeward the 25 of January 1619 in a pair of shoes, which he told lasted him since he came from Darnton, which he minded to take back that farr againe they were appearing like Coriats, the first two dayes he was all excoriate.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Kingsford, *op. cit.*, I, lxvii; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Herford and Simpson, I, 141.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

## MILTON AND MIRACLES

In the past decade, scholars have repeatedly sought to minimize the connection of Milton's thought with seventeenth-century Puritanism; and in the elaboration of this thesis, E. M. W. Tillyard's *Milton* is an important document. Much of this volume has considerable value; but Mr. Tillyard's remarks<sup>1</sup> on Milton's distrust of miracles seem to have been made without the careful consideration of evidence that characterizes other portions of this work. According to Mr. Tillyard, miracles were distasteful to Milton because he "profoundly disliked any supernatural alteration of the divine order of things once established." He was as silent as he dared be about them, yielding them only a grudging and superficial assent; and we can not be certain that he allowed them historical verity. For these conclusions, Mr. Tillyard offers the following arguments: (1) in the *De doctrina*, Milton restricted his discussion of miracles to one-half page; (2) in his citations from Scripture, Milton failed to mention a single one of Christ's miracles; and (3) Milton asserted that "Miracles have no inherent efficacy in producing belief, any more than simple preaching." With these conclusions, I must disagree, for a study of the *De doctrina* and other contemporary systematic theologies would seem to indicate that Mr. Tillyard's arguments are neither sound nor sufficient to support his generalizations.

First, Milton does not restrict his discussion of miracles to one-half page. In a systematic theology, there occur three logical places for a discussion of miracles: the extraordinary providence of God, faith in miracles, and signs of the visible church; and in all of these places, Milton treats the subject, devoting one-half page under providence, one-half page under faith, and one and one-half pages under signs of the visible church.<sup>2</sup> The *De doctrina*, therefore, contains two and one-half pages on miracles; and comparison with two other systematic theologies that Milton used<sup>3</sup> would seem to indicate that this amount of space is neither small nor an evi-

<sup>1</sup> P. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Prose Works of John Milton* (Bohn edition), London, 1843, iv, 212, 327, 424-6. Cited hereafter as *P. W.*

<sup>3</sup> See Sumner's note, *P. W.*, v, 66-67.

dence of heterodoxy. The *Compendium Theologiæ Christianæ* <sup>4</sup> of Johannes Wollebius contains no discussion of miracles in the chapter *De Providentia*, and the whole work has slightly over a page on the subject. The *Medulla Theologiæ* <sup>5</sup> of Guilielmus Amesius devotes only two pages to miracles. Neither of these men, however, has been suspected of heterodoxy: Wollebius was professor of Old Testament theology at Basle, and the *Compendium* long served as the basis of lectures in the Reformed universities; Amesius was accounted equally orthodox, and the Long Parliament ordered an English translation of the *Medulla*.

Second, Mr. Tillyard's statement that Milton failed to cite from Scripture a single one of Christ's miracles requires qualification. Matthew xi, 21 is Christ's rebuke to Chorazin and Bethsaida for failing to repent after witnessing the mighty works that he had done; and Matthew xvii, 16, 21 are verses occurring in the account of Christ's healing of the lunatic.<sup>6</sup> Milton, moreover, mentions specifically the miracles of Christ and of the apostles in a manner that leaves little doubt as to his belief in their historicity:

. . . these [signs] are not to be considered as tokens uniformly attending the visible church, but as testimonies which, however necessary at the time of its first establishment, when the doctrines of Christianity were to Jews and Gentiles alike, new, unheard of, and all but incredible, are less requisite at the present period, when men are educated in the apostolic faith, and begin their belief from their earliest childhood. Under these circumstances, the same end is answered by their hearing and reading of the miracles performed at the beginning by Christ and his apostles.<sup>7</sup>

Third, no heterodoxy is present in Milton's statement that "Miracles have no inherent efficacy in producing belief." As he goes on to say, belief in miracles arises only in a heart that has first been touched by the revelation of God.<sup>8</sup> This is a logical in-

<sup>4</sup> Cambridge, 1642, pp. 141-42, 168.

<sup>5</sup> Amsterdam, 1627, pp. 69, 147, 250. The similarity between *Medulla*, p. 69 and *De doct.* (P. W., iv, 212), although insufficient to argue Milton's dependence on Amesius, at least furnishes evidence for Milton's orthodox belief in miracles.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted P. W., iv, 212, 425, v, 42. Passages from Scripture, moreover, referring to miracles performed or to be performed by the apostles are cited or quoted by Milton. see for instance, Matthew x, 8; Mark xvi, 17, 18, 20 quoted P. W., iv, 212, 327, 424.

<sup>7</sup> P. W., iv, 424.

<sup>8</sup> P. W., iv, 425.

ference from the fact that many who witnessed the miracles of Christ remained unconverted, and is a view evident to Origen and to modern theologians.<sup>9</sup>

A study of Milton's sources, finally, fails to bear out Mr. Tillard's contentions. In his discussion of fasting, Milton remarks "There is also a fasting which works miracles," and then quotes Scripture to support his assertion.<sup>10</sup> Throughout this portion of his theology, Milton is following the *Compendium* of Wollebius,<sup>11</sup> often borrowing almost verbatim. This statement concerning miracles, however, has no counterpart in the *Compendium*, but constitutes a voluntary addition, which, as the *Compendium* shows, is not essentially necessary to an orthodox discussion of fasting. Milton's adding of this remark, therefore, seems hardly characteristic of a man who disliked miracles and who discussed them only because it was necessary.

Any conclusions concerning the nature of Milton's belief in miracles must take into consideration the theology of the seventeenth century. The divines of that period believed in miracles because they were recounted in the Bible, and the Bible to these men, and to Milton, was unquestionably the inspired word of God. The modern concept of undeviating natural law had not yet driven the matter of miracles into the realm of apologetics; and the theologians of Milton's time, consequently, accepted the historicity of Christ's miracles with the same assured certainty that they accepted the existence of the sun and the stars. The *De doctrina*, if one reads it carefully, clearly reflects such a point of view: Milton made no heterodox statements concerning miracles; he discussed them when there was need; and his remarks are more ample than those of two unquestionably orthodox theologians. It seems hardly reasonable, therefore, to assume that in the matter of miracles Milton differed with the Puritans of his age, or that he embraced a scepticism that is characteristic of a more recent *Weltanschauung*.

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<sup>9</sup> Johannes Wendland, *Miracles and Christianity*, London, 1911, pp. 50, 55.

<sup>10</sup> *P. W.*, v, 42.

<sup>11</sup> See "Milton's Debt to Wolleb's *Compendium Theologiæ Christianæ*," *PMLA.*, L (1935), 156-65.

## GOLDSMITH AND THE MARQUIS D'ARGENS

In the *British Magazine* for May, 1760, appeared an anonymous essay entitled "A Dream," describing the author's visit to the Fountain of Fine Sense and to the Fountain of Good Sense; it was first ascribed to Oliver Goldsmith by Thomas Wright in *Essays and Criticisms, by Dr. Goldsmith* (1798) and has since been included in collected editions of his works. This essay, it appears, is closely imitated from the "Dix-neuvième Songe" in *Songes philosophiques* by Jean Baptiste de Boyer, Marquis d'Argens.

The first paragraph of the essay from the *British Magazine* is a fairly close paraphrase of the beginning of d'Argens' paper:

I fancied myself placed at the foot of a high mountain, and saw round me several people who were preparing to climb up its steepy side. Desirous of knowing whither they were going, I mixed in the crowd, and attempted to ascend as well as the rest. Near half way to the top I perceived a fountain, of which several drank with the utmost eagerness; and not even the pump-room at Bath could be filled with a greater variety of characters. Lords, bishops, squires, tradesmen, and men without trades, strove each for a draught; and as each drank he seemed intoxicated, though but with water. The drinkers spoke frequently without understanding what they said; they decided magisterially on subjects which they did not comprehend; and judged of works they had never seen. They talked of painting without knowing the elements of the art; and decided upon music without having an ear to distinguish harmony. Nothing, in short, could be more ridiculous than their conversation. They in general aimed at being sayers of "good

J'étois au pied d'une haute montagne sur laquelle plusieurs personnes montoient: je fus curieux de voir ce qu'elles y alloient faire, & je les suivis. Lorsque je fus arrivé au milieu de la montagne, je vis que celles qui y étoient, buvoient avec avidité de l'eau d'une fontaine, auprès de laquelle il y avoit des gens de toutes les conditions. Lorsque ces personnes avoient avalé une certaine quantité d'eau, on auroit cru qu'elles étoient yvres: elles parloient très souvent sans sçavoir ce qu'elles disoient; elles décidoient avec un air d'autorité sur des matieres dont elles n'avoient aucune connoissance; elles jugeoient des Ouvrages qu'elles n'avoient jamais lûs; elles parloient de vers sans sçavoir les règles de la versification; elles prononçoient des décisions qu'elles croyoient infaillibles sur le mérite des Peintres, des Sculpteurs, des Graveurs, sans avoir la moindre idée du dessein; elles jugeoient de la Musique & n'avoient point d'oreille. Enfin rien ne parut plus ridicule que les discours de tous ces gens; cependant ils donnoient le



things," which some uttered with solemn pride, and others with petulant loquacity.<sup>1</sup>

titre de choses spirituelles aux sottises & aux impertinences qu'ils débitoient, les uns avec emphase & fort gravement, les autres avec beaucoup de pétulance.<sup>2</sup>

The next paragraph in the essay ascribed to Goldsmith, consisting of a conversation between a lady and a lord on the state of literature, seems to have been suggested by a similar conversation between a lady and a bishop in d'Argens' paper. The next two paragraphs in the English essay have no source in the French, but the passage following them is unmistakably paraphrased from d'Argens:

Disgusted with such conversation, I was upon the point of returning back; when one of the crowd, addressing me, said, "Dear Sir, won't you drink before you go? here you are got to the fountain of *fine sense*, and yet are going away without tasting!" "What!" replied I, "is this the fountain of *fine sense*?" "Yes, Sir," said he, "and as soon as you shall have drank of its waters, you will find yourself every whit as amiable and pleasing as the rest of the company." "Excuse me, Sir," says I, "if the waters are to have the same effect upon me that I see them have upon the rest of the company, I disclaim all pretensions to *fine sense*, and am much better pleased with common sense." "Ah my dear [Sir]," returned he, with a shrug, "keep your common sense for a circle of Hollanders or aldermen. Without taste, virtue, and

Les discours des gens que j'avois vû boire à la fontaine m'empêcherent de goûter de son eau: j'étois prêt à descendre au pied de la montagne, lorsqu'un homme m'aborda & me dit: "Monsieur, vous êtes à la source du bel esprit, & vous ne buvez point?" "Quoi! répondis-je, la fontaine que je vois est la fontaine le l'esprit!" "Oui, reprit-il, c'est elle-même, & dès que vous aurez bû de son eau vous serez aussi éclairé & aussi aimable que nous le sommes." Si les eaux de cette fontaine, repliquai-je, rendent les hommes tels que sont ceux que je vois ici, je me contente du bon sens, & je renonce à jamais au bel esprit. "Conservez donc, me dit en haussant les épaules l'homme qui me parloit, votre triste bon sens. Allez, Monsieur, allez, vous pourrez un jour acquérir l'estime des Vénitiens & des Hollandois. Il reste encore au bon sens

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs (London, 1884-86), iv, 477.

<sup>2</sup> *Songes philosophiques par l'Auteur des Lettres juives* (Berlin, 1746), pp. 140-141. An English translation of this work was published in 1757 under the title of *Philosophical Visions*, but it seems to me quite certain that the imitation was based on the French.

delicacy, how insipid is every society! ”

I was just upon the point of descending the mountain, when I perceived some persons at the summit; and though I knew it must cost me great pains, did what I could to join them. When with incredible labour I had gained it, I there found a second fountain, round which several persons were placed, who drank freely of its waters; and seemed at once to unite gravity, sense, and humour.<sup>3</sup>

ces deux endroits en Europe: il ose y paroître sans être orné par le bel esprit; mais ailleus, dès qu'il est seul, il est sifflé.”

Je quittai cet homme, & je songeais à descendre de la montagne, lorsque j'aperçus au sommet quelques personnes. j'avois beaucoup à monter pour les joindre; cependant je voulus contenter ma curiosité, & après avoir marché quelque tems j'arrivai au haut de la montagne. J'y trouvai une seconde fontaine, autour de laquelle étoient rangées quelques personnes qui, en buvant de son eau, s'entretenoient sur diverses matieres, & joignoient au bon sens beaucoup d'esprit.<sup>4</sup>

The accounts in the two essays of the authors who are drinking at this second fountain are not very close; indeed only two authors, Voltaire and Maffei, are mentioned in both papers. But the two essays conclude similarly; in each case the writer awakens just when he is going to drink of the water of the fountain with no other advantage from his imaginary journey than a better realization of the difference between true and false wit.

What light does this evidence of borrowing in the essay ascribed to Goldsmith throw upon the question of his authorship? Anyone familiar with Goldsmith's literary habits will recognize that the mere fact that this paper is closely imitated from the French does not argue against his authorship, for by the time it appeared in May, 1760, he had for many months been in the habit of turning to French sources whenever original inspiration failed him. The question, then, is whether or not it is probable that Goldsmith would have imitated this particular work, which he does not seem to have used as a source in his recognized writings. Now at the very period when this essay was probably written, the author from whom Goldsmith was borrowing most frequently and most directly was the Marquis d'Argens. The influence of the Frenchman's *Lettres chinoises* is to be seen from 24 January 1760 in the very

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, iv, 478-79.

<sup>4</sup> *Songes philosophiques*, pp. 143-44.

first of Goldsmith's series of Chinese Letters (later to become *The Citizen of the World*), and between then and May of the same year Goldsmith made use of the same source for no less than five letters or considerable portions of letters as well as for details in at least seven others.<sup>5</sup> Again, in his Chinese Letter for 18 March 1760 he made use of two passages in another work by d'Argens, the *Lettres juives*.<sup>6</sup> Finally, it is quite possible that Goldsmith became acquainted with the *Songes philosophiques* through his use of the *Lettres chinoises*. The edition of the *Songes philosophiques* which I have consulted, though its title-page says "A Berlin, Suivant la Copie originale. M.DCC.XLVI," and it has independent pagination and signatures, is included in the sixth volume of the *Lettres chinoises* published at La Haye in 1755; and that its inclusion in the set was intended by the publisher seems clear from the fact that the eighty-four pages which conclude the *Lettres chinoises* in this sixth volume could hardly make up a volume by themselves. Consequently, if Goldsmith used this particular edition of the *Lettres chinoises*, he may very well have come across d'Argens' philosophical visions and used one of them as the model for the paper in the *British Magazine*.

The case for Goldsmith's authorship, then, is this: the essay appeared in a periodical to which he was at the time a regular contributor, and of the small number of men who would have been writing for such a magazine it seems hardly probable that anyone except Goldsmith would have had sufficient interest in d'Argens to borrow from one of his minor pieces. Thus the fact that the essay is an imitation seems to increase the probability of Goldsmith's authorship in something the same proportion as it decreases our interest in the essay itself.

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<sup>5</sup> See R. S. Crane and H. J. Smith, "A French Influence on Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*," *MP.*, xix (1921), 83-92.

<sup>6</sup> See A. L. Sells, *Les Sources franaises de Goldsmith* (Paris, 1924), p. 105. I think that in this case Goldsmith used an English translation entitled *The Jewish Spy* (1739-40).

". . . MOORE FEELYNGE  
THAN HAD BOECE, . . ."

Two ideas concerning the Nun's Priest's Tale now seem obvious to Chaucer scholars. (1) Chaucer expanded in his characteristic fashion the tale of the cock and the fox, adding humor, philosophy, and dream lore. This idea is universally accepted. (2) The cock is flattering in his praise of the crowing of Chanticleer when he says (3293-3301):

Therwith ye han in musyk moore feelynge  
Than had Boece, or any that can synge. . . .  
Save yow, I herde nevere man so synge,  
As dide youre fader in the morwenynge;  
Certes, it was of herte, al that he song.

These passages, I think, have not been fully explained.

Miss Petersen <sup>1</sup> says:

If Chaucer meant anything more than a joke by quoting Boethius for his musical feeling in the following lines (see above) he may have known that Boethius is cited by Holkot as a defender of song: "*Carmina, id est armonia dissoluta et lasciva; contraque nota Boetium in prologo super musicam.*"

This statement, however, leaves the point of the joke open to an interpretation upon which my recent study <sup>2</sup> of Chaucer's knowledge of music throws a new light. It now appears that the point of the joke is not flattery, but irony. "Feelynge" in music such as would enable the cock to "countrefete" <sup>3</sup> his father and sing "of herte" is the last thing that anyone familiar with the history of music would ever have suspected of Boethius, as one glance at the *De Musica* shows.

Boethius is known as belonging to the school of Pythagoras (born in Samos 582 B. C.) who, according to Pratt,

laid the foundations of musical acoustics as a science, and started a school of investigators that lasted long after the Christian Era. His followers tended to regulate all musical procedure by mathematics, and the opposition long continued between them and the disciples of Aristoxenos (born about 354 B. C.), who advocated taste and instinct as normative

<sup>1</sup> *Sources of The Nonne Preestes Tale*, p. 110, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "The Meaning of *Burdoun* in Chaucer," *MP.*, xxvi, 279.

<sup>3</sup> *Cant. Tales*, vii, 3321.

principles. Through these studies, with experiments in singing and instrument-making, an extensive theoretical tone system was gradually developed.<sup>4</sup>

Aristoxenos was a follower of Aristotle, a pupil of Plato. Pratt points out that Plato's

"Timaios" is largely devoted to music, not to speak of allusions in other dialogues, . . . Aristoxenos of Tarentum (b. c. 354), whose "Harmonic Elements" is our earliest complete treatise, and of whose "Rhythmic Elements" some fragments exist. He stands at the head of a school (the Harmonici) hostile to the extreme mathematical notions of the Pythagoreans.<sup>5</sup>

Tapper and Goetschius comment as follows on Pythagoras and Aristoxenos:

Pythagoras (c. 540 B. C.) was probably the first to apply mathematics to music and to establish the basis of the first musical system. For this reason Pythagoras and his followers were known as canonists, as they thus determined all music practice and theory by "rule." Pythagoras was followed about two centuries later by Aristoxenos (b. 354 B. C.), a man of more imaginative and progressive disposition, who advanced the natural but reasonable suggestion that the *ear* (the personal judge) and not the rule, or the intellectual critic, should be the sole guide. He and his school were, therefore, known as harmonists.<sup>6</sup>

Finney speaks thus of Boethius:

Medieval musical theory was further complicated by the treatises of the last of the Roman writers on music, Boethius, who died about 524 A. D. His work, *De Musica*, was the source of erudition for well over a thousand years. Written in the fifth century, it was copied and recopied by monastics throughout the Middle Ages, and beginning about the time that Columbus discovered America was printed in edition after edition.

Boethius attached the old Greek modal names to the ecclesiastical scales, so that the scales illustrated in this chapter have been known ever since his time by Greek names. But Boethius failed miserably to understand the works from which his information came: probably Aristoxenos, Ptolemy, and the Pythagoreans. And evidently he was not enough of a practical musician to know how bad his mistakes were.<sup>7</sup>

In the eleventh century much that Boethius had said came to be widely questioned, and the period from 1150 to 1300, in which the

<sup>4</sup> W. S. Pratt, *The History of Music* (1908), p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Tapper and Percy Goetschius, *Essentials in Music History* (1917), p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> T. M. Finney, *A History of Music* (1935), p. 37.

new type of music known as *discant* was developed, came to be called the Franconian Period of Discant because Franco of Cologne laid down the rule that "the ear was the final judge as to consonance and dissonance."<sup>8</sup>

That Chaucer knew the *De Musica* we are certain. Skeat points out that "Boethius wrote a treatise *De Musica*, quoted by Chaucer in the Hous of Fame,"<sup>9</sup> and Hinckley adds that "This treatise was used as a textbook at Oxford University in the fifteenth century and at Cambridge as well."<sup>10</sup> The study of the *De Musica*, according to Williams, "was greatly pursued all through the Middle Ages" and was "the chief subject for examinations for musical degrees at Oxford and Cambridge until a comparatively recent period."<sup>11</sup> That Chaucer was more learned than nineteenth-century scholars ever dreamed of, the research of recent years has proved, notably that of Curry, of Manly, of Rickert, and of Lowes. Like Professor Lowes<sup>12</sup> we believe that "hard-earned knowledge, both of life and books, went hand in hand with the creative impulse, or the divine afflatus, or what you will, in the art of Geoffrey Chaucer."

A consideration of Chaucer's use of musical references in my earlier article,<sup>13</sup> and further unpublished evidence prove that Chaucer was acquainted with the musical knowledge of his day.<sup>14</sup> His references are altogether too definite and too appropriate to scene and to character to have been used in any casual way. What, then, is suggested by making the fox tell Chanticleer

". . . ye han in musyk moore feelynge  
Than had Boece, or any that can synge"

and say of Chanticleer's father

" Certes, it was of herte, al that he song " ?

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> *Chaucer* III, 260.

<sup>10</sup> H. B. Hinckley, *Notes on Chaucer* (1907), note, p. 147, l. 4484.

<sup>11</sup> C. F. A. Williams, *Notation, Music Story Series* (1907), p. 3, n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> J. L. Lowes, *Geoffrey Chaucer and the Development of His Genius*, p. 114.

<sup>13</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. G. A. Plimpton, *The Education of Chaucer* (1936), p. 108. This book has been issued since this article was accepted for publication, and confirms the ideas here expressed concerning Boethius and the musical education of Chaucer.

The fable of Marie de France, Reinhart Fuchs, and the Roman du Renart, with which Chaucer may possibly have been familiar, do not mention "from the heart" or "feeling," which occur in Chaucer's lines. The corresponding passage in Marie de France is typical of the pre-Chaucerian versions:

Sire, fet-il, mult te vei bel,  
Unkes ne vi si gent oisel:  
Clere voiz as sur tute rien,  
Fors tun pere que jeo vi bien;  
Unkes oisels mierz ne chanta  
Mes il fist mierz, kar il cluigna.<sup>15</sup>

Of course Chaucer added Boece as the name of the authority best known in England with which to impress Chanticleer, but did he not also intend to make a show of Chanticleer's ignorance? The cold, mathematical, treatment of music by Boethius had been questioned by many as early as the eleventh century. Much controversy had ensued between that time and the age of Chaucer. Perhaps Chaucer even saw the humor of the great English universities' clinging so long to an outmoded textbook. Certainly, with his scholarship and his keen appreciation, he planned the irony of telling poor Chanticleer that he had more feeling in music than Boethius, who had none, and then to sing, as did his father, "of herte." The musical references alone, in this new light, show again what Hinckley felt true of the spirit of the passage when he wrote "... in no other version have I yet found satire so exquisite as the *double entendre* of these lines of Chaucer."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> K. Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France* (1898), Fabel LX (p. 199).

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 147, lines 4485-4487.

## A FURTHER NOTE ON OLD AGE IN CHAUCER'S DAY

In a recent brief article in *Modern Language Notes*,<sup>1</sup> Professor Coffmann noted in lines 133-135, 150-151, and 164-165 of a fourteenth-century poem *The Parlement of Three Ages*,<sup>2</sup> a violation of the medieval literary convention according to which the years forty to sixty were represented as constituting old age.<sup>3</sup> The lines quoted by Coffmann describe youth as being thirty years old, middle age, sixty, and old age, one hundred. Further violations of the accepted medieval tradition regarding old age may be noted also in two writings contemporary with *The Parlement of Three Ages*; namely, the poem, *The Stanzaic Life of Christ*,<sup>4</sup> written some time during the fourteenth century, and the York play, *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, composed with the other York plays about 1340 or 1350.<sup>5</sup>

In *The Stanzaic Life* man's six ages are described.<sup>6</sup> The fourth of these ages, from the years twenty-eight to fifty, is called youth:

<sup>1</sup> "Old Age in Chaucer's Day," *LI*, 25-26. Coffmann notes in the lines an answer to a query posed by Professor Lowes in his article, "The Prologue to the Legend of Good Women considered in its Chronological Relations," *PMLA*, *xx* (1905), 782-785: "What, in a word, actually constituted old age in Chaucer's day?"

<sup>2</sup> I. Gollancz (ed.), *The Parlement of Three Ages* (Oxford University Press, 1915).

<sup>3</sup> Lowes, *op. cit.*, showed that such was the medieval conception of old age by citing references from Pope Innocent III's *De Contemptu Mundi*, the *Cursor Mundi*, writings of Deschamps, the *Pricke of Conscience* and other contemporary writings.

<sup>4</sup> F. Foster (ed.), *EETS* (OS), 166 (1926).

<sup>5</sup> Lucy T. Smith (ed.), *York Plays* (Oxford, 1885).

<sup>6</sup> In a long poem of approximately a century later, *Ratis Raving*, *EETS* (OS), 43 (1870), man's life is divided into seven ages. In this division the fourth age, from the fifteenth to the thirtieth year, is called youth (ll. 1272 ff.). The fifth age, from the thirtieth to the fiftieth year, is called the "perfeccioun of resone and discreccioun" (ll. 1412 ff.). The sixth age, from the fiftieth to the seventieth or even eightieth year, is the beginning of old age (ll. 2419 ff.), but senility proper is the seventh age, from four-score years until death (ll. 2520 ff.).

In a very brief fifteenth-century poem "Death and the Four Ages of Man," contained in *Songs, Carols, and Poems*, *EETS* (ES), 101 (1907), the four ages of man are described thus: youth, from twenty to forty years (ll. 13-16), maturity, from forty to sixty years (ll. 17-20), the beginnings of old age at sixty (ll. 21-24), and finally, the age called "decrepitus," for which no specific number of years is given (ll. 25-28).



The ferth elde is ȝouth calt,  
 ffrom ȝt > twenti to fifty,  
 In quich elde ȝou lif shalt  
 by wit > strength most studfastlie (ll. 121-124)

The period of life from fifty to seventy is called the "time of soburnesse," in which man, though not yet old, begins to feel some of the pains of senility:

The fift elde of our lyuyng  
 is calde time of soburnesse,  
 in quich eld mon is enclynyng  
 to fayntship > gret feblenesse  
 And this elde is enduryng  
 ffrom fifty to sixty > ten (ll. 125-130)

The period, then, from seventy until death is properly the time of senility:

The sext elde > last of all  
 is fro ȝat to his lyues ende,  
 of quich no certeinte may fall,  
 but wayte quen he shal hethen wende (ll. 133-136)

In *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, Abraham, who in the words of Isaac (ll. 221-222), is "alde and alle vnwelde," is one hundred years old:<sup>7</sup>

That ȝus fro barenhede has me broghte  
 A hundereth wynter to fulfille,  
 Thou graunte me myght so ȝat I mowght  
 Ordan my werkis aftir ȝi wille. (ll. 5-8)

Whereas Isaac, who describes himself (l. 222) as "wighte and wilde of thoght," and to whom Abraham refers throughout the play as my "sone" and "myn nawe dere childe," is thirty years old:

Isaak, ȝat I loue full wele,  
 He is of eelde, to reken right,  
 Thyrtȳ ȝere and more sum dele. (ll. 80-82)

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<sup>7</sup> The late fourteenth-century Towneley play *Abraham*, EETS (ES), 71 (1897), also describes the aged Abraham as being one hundred years old (ll. 38-40). In this play, as in the other cycle plays portraying the Bible story of Abraham and his son, excepting York, Isaac is depicted as a mere child. No specific reference is made to his age.

SOME ERRORS IN RUSSIAN IN WELL-KNOWN  
DICTIONARIES

Several dictionaries of the English language possess great prestige, and therefore it is a matter of some importance when errors occur in them. It is especially unfortunate when some of these errors perpetuate common misconceptions, such as, for instance, exist about the Cossacks.

The Cossacks do not form a distinct racial or linguistic group. They can be defined as Russian frontiersmen, who were gradually organized and settled, and who, under the tsar, gave military service in return for grants and other privileges given to them. Russian authorities speak of them as of Slavic stock.<sup>1</sup> But the *New English Dictionary* defines the Cossacks, in part, as "a warlike Turkish people now subject to Russia, occupying the parts north of the Black Sea. . . ." <sup>2</sup> Such a definition is wrong not only in the matter of race; it excludes important groups of Cossacks settled not north of the Black Sea but in the Ural region and elsewhere.

Dictionaries often define the Cossacks as a mixed race. Cossacks, like other Russians, intermarried with members of the Turkic (Tartar) race, but a mixed origin is not their distinguishing characteristic.<sup>3</sup> Yet the *New Standard Dictionary* (1935) considers the Cossacks a race, thereby only repeating the mistake in Morfill's curious definition, which it quotes: "These Cossacks were a mixed race of Malo-Russians, Poles, Tartars, Great-Russians, and other adventurers." *The Universal Dictionary* <sup>4</sup> defines the Cossacks not only as an organization but as a race "of mixed Tartar and Slavonic origin." Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1934) also speaks of a "mixed origin"; but it is not really in error, except in its cross-reference to *Russian*. According to that definition, a linguistic group is composed of "the Little Russians, of Little

<sup>1</sup> See S. F. Platonov's *History of Russia*, New York, 1928, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Oxford, 1893. There are similar definitions in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1933, and in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, Oxford, 1929. All three define "Tartar" so as to include the Cossacks.

<sup>3</sup> See Albert Niessel's *Les Cossagues, étude historique, géographique, économique et militaire*, Paris, n.d., pp. 11 ff., W. P. Cresson's *The Cossacks, Their History and Country*, New York, 1919, p. 6n., and the standard Russian encyclopaedias.

<sup>4</sup> H. C. Wyld, ed., London, 1932.

and South Russia, and including the Ruthenians and the Cossacks." Only the Ukrainian Cossacks belonged to this group, and they were abolished by Catherine the Great. The others are Great Russians in speech.

Just why such mistaken ideas about the Cossacks arose, it is not easy to say. The presence in Russia of many Turkic tribes, the peculiar organization of the Cossacks, and a lack of knowledge of Russian history abroad, are no doubt largely to blame. The existence of Turkic Kazaks complicates the question. The word *Kazak*, which originally meant *horseman* or *rover*, is in Russian the same for both; there is no doubt, however, that the Turkic people and the Russian military organizations are distinct.<sup>5</sup> The *New International* is the only dictionary, of those investigated, which recognizes the difference by using the established form *Cossack* for the Russian groups, and *Kazak* for the Turkic. This system could well be adopted.

Another persistent error is in the definition of a Grand Duke of Russia. Most dictionaries ignore the law of July 2, 1886, which defined the term as follows: "The titles Grand Duke, Grand Duchess, and Imperial Highness belong to the sons, the daughters, the brothers, the sisters, and through male descent also to all the grandchildren of Emperors."<sup>6</sup> The older definition of Grand Duke and Grand Duchess, which included all direct descendants of a tsar through the male line, is still followed by Webster's.<sup>7</sup> The more recent definition is recognized by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (fourteenth edition), but unfortunately the words *male grandchildren* are used; this distorts the meaning of the original to include the male children of a daughter of an Emperor, while excluding the female children of a son.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the *New Standard Dictionary* (1935) defines *Grand Duke* as "any son or grandson of a czar," while confining *Grand Duchess* to "any

<sup>5</sup> See *Malaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, Moscow, 1931, 10 vols., and Sir Henry Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, Part II, London, 1880, p. 949.

<sup>6</sup> *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1888. (Author's translation.)

<sup>7</sup> *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, fifth edition, Springfield, Mass., 1936, and the *New International*, 1934. (The definition of the 1930 edition was incorrect.)

<sup>8</sup> An example of the latter is Grand Duchess Marie (Pavlovna), now in New York. Her father, Paul, was a son of Alexander II.

daughter of a czar." *The Universal Dictionary* and the Oxford series incorrectly limit the terms to the sons and daughters of a tsar.

The Russian alphabet in the *New International Dictionary* (1934)<sup>9</sup> is more satisfactory than the one given in the 1930 edition. However, one must raise some objections; in the table of phonetic symbols the unvoiced as well as the voiced equivalents of the Russian voiced consonants are given (as Б: *v*, *f*); then why not Д: *d*, *t*? Why the triple transliteration for Е: *e*, *-*, *'*? Besides, the biographical section of the dictionary gives *y'* for the pronunciation of Ъ, a very misleading symbol. The best systems, such as that of the Library of Congress, content themselves with one sign, usually *'*. A separate symbol, *ye*, does not seem desirable for Ъ; it makes an unnecessary difference between the old and the new spellings. On the other hand, it would be better to differentiate between Ы and *v*. The Library of Congress uses *y* for the former, and *yj* for the latter. Footnote 10 contains two mistakes: Ә has not been partly replaced by *e*,<sup>10</sup> and Ъ may be used within words, or, as Webster's says, it can be replaced by *'*.<sup>11</sup>

Both the *Collegiate* (1936) and the *New International* (1934), give a Russian pronunciation for the form *Dukhobors*; as a plural in *s* does not exist in Russian, the Russian pronunciation should not be given after it, but only after *Dukhobortsy*, the Russian plural. Even if *Og'pu* and *Che'ka* are acceptable in English, it should perhaps be noted that the Russian accents both words on the last syllable; the Russian pronunciation is frequently given elsewhere. Also, the Russian pronunciation for *Bolsheviki*, and the transliteration of *bolshe* do not indicate that the *l* is "soft." The consistent use of *'* seems to be more accurate. And while one cannot blame Webster's dictionary for the inclusion of the much-used *bolshevist*, it is to be regretted that such a form has found favor with the public, along with the authentic *bolshevik*.

The biographical section contains other mistakes. *Diaghi'lev*, and *Scriabin'* should be accented *Dia'ghilev* (*Dia'gilev*), *Scria'bin*.

<sup>9</sup> Plate "Chief Foreign Alphabets." The same plate appears in the *Collegiate* (1936).

<sup>10</sup> "Of course, the letter Ә remains in the alphabet, for it expresses a special sound." P. N. Sakulin, *Novoe Russkoe Pravopisanie*, Moscow, 1917, p. 5. The law on the new orthography does not mention Ә.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, V. K. Müller and S. K. Boyanus's *Russko-Angliskii Slovar'*, Moscow, 1935, uses Ъ.

"Suvaroff, properly Suvarov" should read "Suvaroff, Suvarov, properly Suvorov." He was Count Rymnikski(i), not Rimnikski. Though Pavlov was a physician by education, his life work was that of the investigator in physiology. He died not in 1916 (according to the *New International*), but in 1936 (according to the *Collegiate*).

In the *Collegiate* as well as in the *New International*, the Gazetteer gives *Uz'bek*, *Berezi'na*, and *Astrakhan'* for *Uzbek'*, *Berezina'*, and *As'trakhan'*.<sup>12</sup> A "soft" sign should be indicated after *zh* in the transliteration of *Zaporozhe*, but not, in the Russian pronunciation given, after the *l* of *Ural*. It would be better, it seems, to sacrifice the town of Borisov, in the brief *Collegiate* Gazetteer, and to add instead, to the biographical section, the well-known composer Borodin.

A number of French transliterations are included in both the *Collegiate* and the *New International*. Something would be done, perhaps, towards standardizing a better usage if the main entry were made under the English transliteration, with cross-references to it. *Tchaikovsky* would then appear under *Ch*, where *Chekhov* is already, and for the same reason. But whether all these corrections are accepted or not, it is clear that on some points even our best reference works need revision. It is to be hoped that it will soon be forthcoming.

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#### ANCIEN PROVENÇAL SEC . . . SON AGRE

M. Urban T. Holmes a appuyé la correction, par Appel, du passage du bestiaire provençal (Appel, *Prov. Chrest.*, p. 204): *Del colom. Lo colom sec trop voluntier son agre per paor d'auzel de cassa, que sia leu a gandida, en set trop voluntier sobre aiga* par une remarque tirée de la vie des pigeons ("sometimes alighting on water"). Levy, dans son *Suppl.-Wb. s. v. gandida*, 3, avait dubitativement accepté la correction de Appel et proposé de lire *seç* = *sez* (de *sezer*) pour *set*, ce qui revient étymologiquement au même (= lat. *sedet*), et de comprendre *gandida* comme 'Entkommen'

<sup>12</sup> V. K. Müller and S. K. Boyanus, *op. cit.*

(= 'évasion'). D'autre part on comprend l'erreur du scribe, pour le cas où Appel-Levy-Holmes auraient raison, car *agre*, que Appel ne traduit pas dans son glossaire, a probablement eu, en outre du sens attesté par Levy, 'nid,' 'extraction,' un sens que le catalan nous a conservé: le Diccionari Aguiló nous donne (I, 44) le sens 'querencia,' 'costumbre' (*deuen servir y mantindre . . . l'agre del terror; és precis no perdre l'agre del treball*). Le Diccionari català-valencià-balear d'Alcover-Moll donne les sens suivants:

2. la disposició especial d'una terra per un conreu determinat. (*Ai devia esser per especial agre e natura de la terra, Eximenis, 1483*).
3. tros de terra molt apropiat per criars' hi una planta determinada (*agre de faves*).
4. el lloch on qualcú ès nat y s'ès criat y on té posades ses affeccions (Minorca).
- 5a. el lloch on tenen costum d'acudir certs animals. (*Ja avuy no s troben stors en lo Principat per haver fet destruir y pendre los agres de aquells, Const. Cat. [1704] . . .*
- 6a. tendència o afició a fer qualque cosa o anar a qualque lloch, per lo costum contret de ferho o d'anarhi (*tenir l'agre a la casa*).
  - b. *perdre l'agre de la casa*.
  - c. *oblidar l'agre d'enrahonar*.

Le sens s'est donc développé de 'lieu approprié à la culture d'une certaine plante' à travers 'lieu où les bêtes aiment se retrouver' vers 'habitude à un lieu,' 'habitude' (cf. *REW.*,<sup>3</sup> s. v. *ager*). Ce sens 'sentimental' se trouve au moins latent dans une poésie provençale du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'un auteur né près de Montauban:

Et lou païs, per forço à nous cal quita,  
*E soun agre tant dous*, nostre loc de naissengo . . . (Mistral).<sup>1</sup>

Pourquoi ne pas supposer un a. prov. *segre l'agre*, 'suivre son habitude innée' parallèle à *segre l'aip*, *l'us(age)* (Levy, *Prov. Suppl.-Wb.* s. v. *segre*, 9), *segre una maniera* (Appel, *Prov. Chrest., Gloss.*, s. v. *segre*)? On remarquera que, conformément à la science naturelle du moyen âge qui voit l'ontologie des êtres, les *proprietares rerum*, les différentes bêtes de notre bestiaire sont décrites en faisant appel à leur nature primordiale, qui *est telle* ou *fait faire telles choses* et dont se déduisent leurs qualités et leurs actions:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Spitzer, *Neuphil. Mitt.* xv, 159 et Rohlf's "Ager, area, atrium" (1920), pp. 11-16 (*segre son agre* dans le Cantal, Rodez, Aveyron, dit de l'instinct qui ramène sans son pays un animal 'déplacé ou vendu').

La natura del pol es que canta . . .  
 Gruas an tal natura que . . . E lur natura fa las trop dormir . . .  
 car lur natura es que dormon en pes.  
 La tortie es d'aquela natura . . .

Le scribe qui aura altéré *sez* . . . *sobr'aiga* en *sec* . . . *son agre* aura donc introduit *agre*, parce que ce mot avait le même sens que *natura* (on a vu plus haut dans *Eximinis agra e natura* joints). A la rigueur on pourrait aussi donner à *agre* les sens 4 et 5 du dictionnaire Alcover-Moll, à savoir, 'lieu favori ou habituel,' mais *sec*, 'il suit,' me semble alors moins naturel.

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# "IL GIUSTO MARDOCEO" (*PURG.*, XVII, 29)

The term which Dante uses to describe Mordecai does not appear in the Book of Esther. Toynbee<sup>1</sup> saw in it a possible clue to Dante's acquaintance with Jewish tradition, for the Second Targum on Esther frequently calls Mordecai "just" (מְרִדְכַּי צְדִיקָא). This suggestion is of particular interest, since it was intended as a contribution to the question of the Italian poet's knowledge of Hebrew, a problem which has stimulated inquiry among various scholars, especially in relation to his friendship with the Jewish poet Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome. It should be pointed out, however, that there is also a Christian tradition which might equally have provided Dante with his epithet. Rabanus Maurus, in his elaborate allegorical *Expositio* on the Book of Esther, which interprets Mordecai generally as "gentium doctores," three times makes him specifically the representative of the "justi." The first two instances deal with the deed by which Mordecai saved the life of the monarch (capp. v and ix, Migne, *P. L.*, cix, 651-652, and 657, on Esther ii, 23, and vi, 1-10). The third is far more important for the present purpose, since it sets the theme for the situation in the story which Dante has in mind, that is for Mordecai's unwillingness to do obeisance to the vainglory of his enemy

<sup>1</sup> "Did Dante Know Hebrew?" in *Dante Studies and Researches* (London, 1902), pp. 269-270.

and Haman's merited destruction in place of his intended victim. It runs in part thus:

Quid per Aman superbum, nisi fastus potentum hujus saeculi exprimitur, qui beneficiis divina pietate sibi collatis abutentes, proximos suos, quos consortes habent naturae, socios gratiae habere despiciunt. *Unde honorem ac reverentiam, quam soli Deo impendere juste debuerunt, in se nequiter transferre contendunt; eos autem qui hoc agere atque consentire nolunt, odiis insectantur, cruciatibus persequuntur, atque morti tradere conantur.* Sed supernus iudex, . . . "convertit dolorem iniquorum in caput eorum, . . . *justus de angustia sua liberabitur, et tradetur impius pro eo* (Psal. cxii)."<sup>2</sup>

Walafrid Strabo deals similarly, though more briefly, with all these passages.<sup>3</sup> And in the twelfth century Rupert, abbot of Deutz, under the heading *Quam ob causam Mardocheus Aman non adoraverit*, writes:

. . . "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam (Matth. v)." Justitia namque est, quod noluit adorare Aman, justam intuens causam. . . . "Libenter enim pro salute Israel, etiam vestigia pedum ejus deosculari paratus essem, sed timui ne honorem Dei mei transferrem ad hominem, et ne quemquam adorarem, excepto Deo meo (Esther, xii)." Justus igitur in hoc facto comprobatur legi sanctae, juste, et bone obtemperando, . . . ac proinde beatam habet memoriam, atque eximius est inter beatos, qui persecutionem patiuntur vel passi sunt propter justitiam, . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Here, in an exposition which gives a special turn to the theme of Rabanus and Walafrid,<sup>5</sup> *justitia*, the virtue displayed by the Jewish hero in refusing Haman the reverence due only to God, is singled out as Mordecai's distinctive quality. And this gains greater emphasis from the subsequent discussion, which endows

<sup>2</sup> Cap. vi, Migne, cix, 652. Italics mine.

<sup>3</sup> *Glossa ordinaria*, capp. ii, § 23, vi, § 2, and iii, Migne, *αxiii*, 743, 744.

<sup>4</sup> *De victoria verbi Dei*, viii, cap. viii, Migne, *clxxx*, 1384-1385.

<sup>5</sup> This interpretation raises the further question of the dependence of these writers themselves on the Jewish traditions. For in the apocryphal collections known as Yosippon and Jerahmeel there occurs a prayer by Mordecai which is remarkably reminiscent of the words of the Christian commentators, and in addition Rupert contains an account of a dream by Mordecai which finds its exact counterpart in the Hebrew; Gaster, *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (Oriental Translation Fund, N. S., iv), cap. lxxix, §§ 4-6 and 3, pp. 237-238; Rupert, cap. i, Migne, *clxxx*, 1379. But this is not the place to deal with the problem. Whatever its solution, it does not affect the question of Dante's *immediate* sources.



Esther with all four of the Cardinal Virtues. It is evidently from the tradition which this represents that Benvenuto da Imola drew his comment on Dante's phrase: "vere justum appellat, quia nolebat exhibere homini honorem adorationis debitum Deo, cum tam omnes hoc facerent timore et reverentia tanti regis . . ."\*

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UN DATO SOBRE LA FECHA DE *EL ANZUELO*  
*DE FENISA* DE LOPE DE VEGA

Los amores de Lope de Vega con Micaela Luján, a quien él introdujo en su teatro con el nombre poético de Lucinda, han sido en muchos casos indicaciones de valor cronológico que los críticos han sabido analizar hábilmente para descubrir la fecha de composición de gran número de sus comedias. A las largas listas de comedias suyas en que figura la influencia de estos amores debemos hoy añadir *El anzuelo de Fenisa*.

Lo único que sabemos acerca de la fecha de esta comedia es que se publicó en la Parte VIII en 1617<sup>1</sup> que un año después Lope la incluyó en la segunda lista de su *Peregrino*, y que posiblemente fué escrita después de 1598.<sup>2</sup>

Sin embargo, la comedia contiene indicaciones de una fecha más precisa. Dinarda, apuesto personaje femenino, que se viste de hombre para seguir a su amante desde España a Sicilia, trata de sentar plaza de soldado en el ejército del duque de Feria, quien aparece en la comedia como virrey de esta isla.

Acudirá a los soldados,  
acompañará al virrey.<sup>3</sup>  
Mis padres, deudos y amigos . . .  
por discreto acuerdo toman  
que me pasase a Sicilia,  
y por cartas me acomodan

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\* *Commentum*, ed. J. P. Lacaita (Florence, 1887), III, 459.

<sup>1</sup> La aprobación del licenciado Alonso de Illescas está firmada en Madrid, el 16 de junio de 1616. (*Acad. N.* VIII, xl.)

<sup>2</sup> Otto Jörder, *Die Formen des Sonetts bei Lope de Vega*, Halle, Saale, 1936, 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Acad.* XIV, 490 b.

con el de Feria, virrey  
de aquestas islas famosas.<sup>4</sup>

Si Lope se refiere aquí al virreinato del duque de Feria como a un acontecimiento contemporáneo, debemos deducir que la comedia fué escrita entre 1602 y 1606, época en que don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, segundo duque de Feria, gobernó dicha isla.<sup>5</sup> Sin embargo, debemos recordar las advertencias del Sr. S. G. Morley sobre el periodismo en Lope de Vega <sup>6</sup> antes de aceptar estas indicaciones como pruebas fehacientes. Y he aquí, que la comedia nos ofrece nuevamente el material que necesitamos.

“Que estoy celoso, y voy leyendo en ellas,”  
Acaba aquel soneto castellano,

rezan los dos primeros versos de *El anzuelo de Fenisa*, y con ellos Lope nos da una indicación sobre la fecha de la comedia. El verso citado proviene del siguiente soneto incluido por Lope en las *Rimas* que publicó en 1602.<sup>7</sup>

Así en las olas de la mar feroces,  
Betis, mil siglos tu cristal escondas,  
y otra tanta ciudad sobre tus ondas  
de mil navales edificios goces.

Así tus cuevas no interrumpen voces,  
ni quillas toquen, ni permitan sondas;  
y en tu campo tan fértil correspondas,  
que rompa el trigo las agudas hoces.

Así en tu arena el Indio margen rinda,  
y al avariento corazón descubras  
más barras, que en ti mira el cielo estrellas.

Que si pusiere en ti sus pies Lucinda,  
no por besarlos sus estampas cubras,  
*que estoy celoso, y voy leyendo en ellas.*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Acad. XIV, 501 a.

<sup>5</sup> Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones*, etc., Madrid, 1857, 137. En relación fechada en Valladolid, el 23 de marzo de 1602: “Hase publicado la provisión de visorrey . . . de Sicilia en el conde (sic) de Feria, al cual mandan partir luego.” Pág. 272: con fecha 18 de febrero de 1606: “. . . el duque de Escalona va por visorrey de Sicilia, y el de Feria pasa a Alemania.”

<sup>6</sup> S. G. Morley, *Notas sobre cronología lopesca*, en *Revista de Filología española*, XIX, 1932, 151-157.

<sup>7</sup> Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, Madrid, 1919, 147. Hay aquí una descripción completa del tomo que contiene las tres partes de las *Rimas*.

<sup>8</sup> *Colección de las obras sueltas, así en prosa, como en verso, de Frey Lope Felio de Vega Carpio*, Madrid, Imprenta de don Antonio Sancha, 1776, IV, 195.

Establecida pues la relación entre la comedia y Lucinda, que no es otra que Micaela Luján, vamos a parar a los años de 1602 (año en que se publicó el soneto) a 1608 (año en que terminaron estos amores). Si estas fechas corresponden más o menos con las del virreinato del duque de Feria, quien murió en 1607,<sup>9</sup> es razonable suponer que la alusión a éste nos pueda servir para establecer la fecha de composición de *El anzuelo de Fenisa*.

Aún más: el hecho de que ésta comedia fuera incluída en la segunda lista del *Peregrino* y no en la primera nos hace sospechar que Lope la escribió entre los años de 1604 y 1606, aunque, como el Sr. Morley ha observado también, ésta no es prueba irrefutable.<sup>10</sup> Sabido es que Lope no incluyó en su primera lista del *Peregrino* comedias que tenía escritas para el 1604; pero si él escribió *El anzuelo de Fenisa* entre 1602 y 1604 es muy dudoso que se olvidara de incluirla en su primera lista de comedias. Así que debemos suponerla escrita después de 1604, fecha de la primera lista del *Peregrino*, y antes de 1606, año en que termina el virreinato aludido.

Otro detalle: Lucindo llega de España a Sicilia. Fenisa le pregunta de donde viene.—De Valencia—responde él.—Si vinieras de Toledo tendría de qué preguntaros—añade ella.<sup>11</sup> Esta es una posible alusión a doña Juana de Guardo, o algún otro amigo o amiga de Lope, pues como se sabe él pasó parte del 1604 y casi todo el 1605 en Toledo.<sup>12</sup>

Finalmente, el análisis de la versificación de *El anzuelo de Fenisa* no contradice en nada ninguno de los argumentos expuestos, sino que indica que la comedia pudo haberse escrito entre los años 1602-1606, o como hemos precisado antes entre 1604-1606.

#### Análisis de la versificación

Red.	Quin.	Rom.	Oct.	Ter.	Suel.	Son.	Total
49%	27%	8%	4%	3%	6%	2% (4)	99%

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<sup>9</sup> Cabrera de Córdoba, *op. cit.*, 650.

<sup>10</sup> S. G. Morley, *Lope de Vega's Peregrino Lists not Termini a quo*, *MLN.*, XLIX, 1934, 11-12.

<sup>11</sup> *Acad.* XIV, 487 b.

<sup>12</sup> Rennert y Castro, *op. cit.*, 165-170.

THE VERSIFICATION OF *LA SELVA CONFUSA*

*La selva confusa* is a play first made accessible to the student of the Spanish drama by Professor G. T. Northup, in 1909.<sup>1</sup> In his edition Professor Northup, who attributes the play almost without reservation to Calderón, remarks that there may be some connection between *La selva confusa* and Lope's lost *El desdichado*,<sup>2</sup> but apparently he had no idea that they might be essentially identical. In 1929 Professor H. C. Heaton suggested<sup>3</sup> that *La selva confusa* is probably a Calderonian adaptation of *El desdichado* in which Calderón's contribution is relatively insignificant. In the edition found in the rediscovered *Parte XXVII extravagante* of Lope de Vega, much shorter than the Northup edition based on Calderón's Madrid manuscript, he believes that but little more than the last 140 lines, in *silvas*, was written by Calderón, and that the remainder represents as good an edition of *El desdichado* as can be obtained of many other plays known to us only in seventeenth century editions. Close observation of the meters employed, however, indicates that *La selva confusa* could hardly approximate *El desdichado* in its initial form. While the impressive evidence advanced by Professor Heaton shows clearly that *La selva confusa* is probably a version of *El desdichado*, it does not follow that the later form of the play holds so closely to the original as has been supposed.

Lope's *El desdichado* we know to have been written by 1604, since Lope lays claim to a play of this title in his *Peregrino* of that year. If, therefore, *La selva confusa* is a very slightly altered version of *El desdichado*, we should expect that the verse structure of the play would bear some marks of resemblance to that of other plays of Lope written prior to that date. Now the verse composition of *La selva confusa* in the Northup edition (N) is: *redondillas* 39%, *romance* 34%, *décimas* 8%, *silvas* 6%, *sestinas* 5%, *octaves* 4%, *tercets* 2%, *sonnets* 1%.<sup>4</sup> In the *Parte XXVII*

<sup>1</sup> *La selva confusa de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, in *RH.*, xxi, 168 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204, note on v. 503.

<sup>3</sup> "On *La selva confusa*, attributed to Calderón," *PMLA.*, xlii, 243 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The *quintillas* indicated by Professor Northup (*op. cit.*, p. 181) are really *décimas* (vv. 993-1091). Also one passage which he marks as *recitativo* (*silvas*) has been found to be in *sestinas* (vv. 2659-2754).

*extravagante* (P) the verse composition is: *redondillas* 41%, *romance* 36%, *décimas* 9%, *silvas* 5%, *octaves* 5%, *sestinas* 4%, *sonnets* 1.<sup>5</sup>

Statistics concerning the proportions of the various meters in the plays of Lope de Vega have been made available by Professor M. A. Buchanan.<sup>6</sup> On comparing *La selva confusa* with Lope's plays written by 1604, we observe a marked dissimilarity in the following respects: (1) *La selva confusa* contains a percentage of *romance* (N 34, P 36) far in excess of that contained in any play dated anterior to 1604 (max. 19, min. 2), (2) *La selva confusa* contains no *quintillas*, a meter which is universally present in Lope's earlier plays; (3) *La selva confusa* contains a considerable proportion of *décimas*, a meter exceedingly rare until 1610; (4) *La selva confusa* has no *suelos*, which are elsewhere omnipresent at this time. If, however, we compare the versification of *La selva confusa* with that of Lope's plays of later periods, we discover a gradual convergence. If we disregard Calderón's concluding *silvas*, complete harmony is established in the period 1620-25. In turn, this conclusion in *silvas* compares with *Amor, honor y poder*, of 1623, attributed to Calderón. As contrasted with Lope's plays written by 1604, these plays, in common with *La selva confusa*, show the following features: (1) the formerly small proportion of *romance* greatly increased; (2) the formerly numerous *quintillas* now rarely used; (3) the formerly all but non-existent *décimas* present in all plays, usually in considerable quantity; (4) the formerly much employed *suelos* extremely infrequent.

These observations appear to indicate that *La selva confusa*, before its presentation in 1623,<sup>7</sup> had been remodelled after Lope's latest style, with a conclusion showing a touch of independence on the part of Calderón.

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<sup>5</sup> This analysis is based upon Professor Heaton's notes on this edition in his above-mentioned article.

<sup>6</sup> *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays*, in University of Toronto Publications, Philological Series, no. 6, pp. 18-19.

<sup>7</sup> See Cotarelo, *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, in *BRÆ*, ix, p. 36.

DOES BRETÓN'S *MARCELA* STEM FROM *QUIJOTE*?

That the heroine of *Marcela o ¿A cuál de los tres?* (1831) by Bretón de los Herreros should be named Marcela, like the disdainful "shepherdess" in *Don Quijote*, I, xii-xiv, is noteworthy for the points of contact thereby suggested. The author, reviewing his own play in *El Correo*, explicitly states that the idea which inspired his plot was that expressed by Marcela in Act III:

¿Que no ha de poder  
ser amable una mujer  
sin que la persigan necios?<sup>1</sup>

This will at once be recognized as the basic idea of Cervantes' pastoral story. Here, with striking analogy, the heroine says:

Yo conozco, con el natural entendimiento que Dios me ha dado, que todo lo hermoso es *amable*; mas no alcanzo que por razón de ser amado esté obligado lo que es amado por hermoso a amar a quien le ama. Y más, que podría acontecer que el amador de lo hermoso fuese feo, y siendo lo feo digno de ser aborrecido, cae muy mal el decir: "Quiérote por hermosa: hasme de amar aunque sea feo."<sup>2</sup>

The Marcelas have other points in common. Both are rich and beautiful. Each explains to a gathering of suitors her refusal to marry. Although men claim that love is all-powerful, the one beloved is not obliged to return affection. To preserve her freedom, neither has encouraged suitors, but has undeceived them. Fate has spared each Marcela from love. They do not disdain those rejected, neither love nor hate anyone, but are impartial. They need not marry for money. Each lives with a kindly uncle, who suggests that she marry, but does not insist. In Cervantes he is said to have spoken to her concerning the qualities of the various suitors; in Bretón he enlarges upon the suitability of Martín. Neither uncle is interested in the money for himself, Timoteo being sufficiently wealthy and the other a good priest. Neither Marcela addresses the gathering until a promise is given to abide by her decision. The sensible discourse of neither is appreciated by

<sup>1</sup> See Narciso Alonso Cortés, "Marcela o ¿A cuál de los tres?" in *Artículos histórico-literarios*, Valladolid, 1935, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, nueva ed. crít., F. Rodríguez Marín, Madrid, 1927, I, 406-7.

all of her auditors. On the other hand, Don Quijote plans to serve the one Marcela, while Martín offers to be the slave of the other. Both Marcelas are called a scourge to mankind, and have similar epithets applied to them by angry suitors, identical ones being *cruel, desdenosa, ingrata*.

Notwithstanding its *costumbrismo*, the play has pastoral elements. There is the situation of the election of a suitor. Some of Amadeo's poetry is pastoral. He wants to court amidst myrtle and calls the others *pastores*. The immediate reaction of the audience was the same as that accorded to a *roman à clef*.<sup>3</sup>

Do not these points of contact make it seem quite possible that the sprightly widow of the nineteenth century author could have been suggested to him by the Marcela of the *Quijote*?

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#### THE GENESIS OF ZOLA'S *LA CONFESSION DE CLAUDE*

Two years before he began composing *La Confession de Claude*,<sup>1</sup> Zola wrote a letter to his friend Baille, dated July, 1860, in which he resumed the debate on realism versus idealism begun early in 1859. In this letter Zola imagined a situation to illustrate his point that "la désillusion de l'amour"<sup>2</sup> is one of the "réalités navrantes."<sup>3</sup> The situation imagined there was the germ of *La Confession de Claude*.

The theme of this parable is the Romantic one of the redemption of the prostitute by love. But Zola's handling of it is decidedly realistic and cynical. A young man may believe he can elevate a

<sup>1</sup> See Alonso Cortés, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56.

<sup>2</sup> Emile Zola, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol. 48: *Correspondance, 1858-1871* (Paris: Bernouard, 1927), p. 241: "il est fort possible que j'achève un roman commencé depuis deux ans," wrote Zola in a letter to Valabregue, April 21, 1864.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141. It is interesting to note that this conception of reality as "navrante" is in accordance with Zola's literary theory at the time, for in the same letter in which he inserted the parable in question, Zola said, "la réalité est hideuse; voilons-la donc." (*Ibid.*, p. 141.)

prostitute but events give him the lie.<sup>4</sup> Zola is reacting against the theme, often met with in the Romanticists, of a loose woman redeemed by passion. It is important to note that this tendency to lift the Romantic veil of idealism from the theme of the redemption of the prostitute is emphasized in *La Confession de Claude*. The situation imagined in the letter is the following:

Maintenant, suppose un jeune homme désirant ramener cette misérable enfant [la fille à parties]. Il l'a rencontrée dans un bal public, ivre, appartenant à tous. Quelques mots prononcés sans suite l'auront touché; il l'emmène et commence immédiatement la cure. Il lui prodigue mille caresses, lui remontre doucement combien la vie qu'elle mène est maudite, puis, passant de la théorie à la pratique, veut qu'elle change sa toilette affichante contre des vêtements plus simples, plus décents, et surtout qu'elle l'aime, s'attache à lui et oublie peu à peu ses habitudes de bal, de café. J'entends que notre jeune homme ne soit ni un sot, ni un jaloux; qu'il s'y prenne avec habileté et ne lui demande pas une vertu parfaite dès le premier jour. Mais, quel que soit son amour, quelle que soit sa finesse, je puis jurer qu'il n'arrivera qu'à se faire détester! On le nommera tyran, on le froissera de mille façons, lui parlant de tel ou tel ancien amant plus beau, plus généreux que lui, lui racontant mille et mille fredaines, plus sales les unes que les autres, ne l'entretenant que de débauches, que de sottises, que de niaiseries. Si bien que, las de frapper sur chaque fibre sans rien en tirer, las de prodiguer des trésors d'amour et de n'éveiller aucun écho, il laissera faiblir sa tendresse et ne demandera à cette femme qu'une belle peau et de beaux yeux. (*Op. cit.*, p. 143.)

A comparison of this imaginary situation with the plot of *La Confession de Claude* will show to what extent a portion of the letter of July, 1860, embodies the germ of the novel. In both instances, the general situation is the same: a young man attempts the redemption of a prostitute. The hero of the letter wants his protégée to wear simpler clothes and his counterpart in the novel wishes Laurence to stop using cosmetics. In their rôle of redeemers both young men realize that the process of redemption must be gradual. The manner in which the young people meet is different: in the letter, at a ball; in the novel, she is a neighbor

<sup>4</sup> We have no reason to believe that in 1860 Zola was recounting a personal experience. Cressot holds that even the events portrayed in *La Confession de Claude* are not autobiographical ("Zola et Michelet—Essai sur la genèse de deux romans de jeunesse: *La Confession de Claude*, *Madeleine Féral*," *RHL.*, xxxv, 385). Cf. Matthew Josephson, *Zola and his Time* (Garden City: Garden City Publishing Co., 1928), pp. 66-67, for a different view.



whom he is asked to help when she suffers a nervous attack. In the letter the young man takes the girl home with him after the ball because he pities her. In the novel she comes to him for shelter when she is refused the key to her room because she cannot pay her rent. He accepts her out of pity. At the very outset the hero of the letter loves the prostitute and desires that his affection be returned, hoping at the same time that the girl may gradually forget her café and ballroom habits; when the hero of the novel comes to love the girl he is no longer concerned about redeeming her, an attitude much closer to reality and consequently more realistic than the idealized attitude maintained by the young man in the letter. The conduct of the heroine of the novel is entirely unlike that of the heroine of the letter: instead of speaking of former lovers and debauchery, she exasperates Claude with her silence. The great difference between the young men is that the one in the letter is not jealous, whereas the one in the novel is exceedingly jealous. Nothing could be more dissimilar than the two endings. In the letter the young man tires of the girl's failure to reciprocate his love, allows his tenderness to weaken, and is content to have only her body. But the jealousy of the hero of the novel is aroused when, while visiting a friend's former mistress who is dying of consumption, he sees the shadows of fickle Laurence and his friend reflected on the opposite wall. On the night when Laurence's infidelity is proved by the embrace of the reflected shadows, the invalid dies. The cries of the old woman who has been watching over her bring the traitorous pair to the room and Claude commands Laurence to leave him.

Thus the two plots are alike in the general situation and in some minor details. This similarity, especially in the essential theme, a young man's attempt to redeem a prostitute by love, is sufficient to justify the conclusion that the situation imagined in the letter of July, 1860, is the origin of the novel begun in 1862 and published in 1865.

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“MORTEL, ANGE ET DÉMON”

I do not recall having seen any reference made to the source of the beginning of Verlaine's poem, *A Arthur Rimbaud, I*, which reads: “Mortel, ange ET démon, autant dire Rimbaud.”

The first half of this line is obviously borrowed from line 2 of Lamartine's poem *L'homme*, where Lord Byron is hailed as: “Esprit mystérieux, mortel, ange ou démon.”

Verlaine's change from *ou* to *ET*, with the added emphasis of the capital letters, is significant.

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## REVIEWS

*The Waverley Novels and Their Critics.* By JAMES T. HILLHOUSE.  
Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1936.  
Pp. xiv + 357. \$3.50.

This is an interesting and a valuable piece of work, and that not only as a history of the changes in the critical assessment of Scott's work but for the light it throws, indirectly, on such variations in the estimate of really great authors, for the very fact that there has been so continuous a process of attack and defence is itself a proof that there is something in the author not to be got over. Who troubles himself now to trace the changes that have taken place in the estimate of Young's *Night Thoughts* or of G. P. R. James or Harrison Ainsworth or Mrs. Radcliffe? But writers like Byron and Scott may be dismissed again and again as worthless and out-moded with the result of combing out the less valuable elements and correcting contemporary overestimates. They refuse to be forgotten altogether; they invite a constant reconsideration of what the more permanent element in their work is and of what it was that gave it at the time so high a value in men's eyes. Without therefore entering into a minute consideration of Mr. Hillhouse's work I will put together the thoughts that a reading of his history of Scott's reputation in his own day, during the age of Queen Victoria, and in our own more detached and critical period, has awakened in my own mind.

The first of these is the very interesting proof that the faults in Scott's novels were clearly enough seen and commented on by the

critics in his own day. That is always forgotten by the young who think they are the first discoverers. It has happened to Tennyson as well as to Scott and to Byron. It is amazing to an older man like myself to hear young readers expressing, as though it were a new discovery, their dislike of the *Idylls of the King* and certain features of Tennyson's poems of the middle period, quite unaware that these things were disliked and criticised at the time they appeared though we had too much admiration for what was great and unique in the best of Tennyson's poetry to consider that he was therefore to be dismissed as no poet. All of us felt a relief when in many of his last poems Tennyson shook off the artificialities of his style in the *Idylls*, its "too picked, too spruce, too affected" character and wrote some poems of a more sombre, more poignant quality. Scott's novels were admirably and searchingly criticised in his own day, if some of the criticism was coloured by political prejudice. One of the best sections is that in which Mr. Hillhouse describes Hazlitt's passionate dislike of Scott as a man and a Tory, and his boundless enthusiasm nevertheless for the novels: "Whatever he touches, we see the hand of a master. He has only to describe action, thoughts, scenes, and they everywhere speak, breathe, and live . . . the things are immediately there that we should see, hear and feel. He is Nature's Secretary. He neither adds to, nor takes away from her book; and that makes him what he is the most popular writer living." Hazlitt's criticism is an honour to Scott and to himself, and one needs much self-confidence to be sure that one is a better critic than Hazlitt. But Hazlitt is well aware of Scott's limitations and will not for a moment have him compared to Shakespeare.

The note of Victorian criticism was struck in Carlyle's review of Lockhart's *Life*. Scott was for Carlyle no Hero: "His life was worldly; his ambitions were worldly. There is nothing spiritual in him; all is economical, material, of the earth earthly." In the novels there is no "freight of opinions, emotions, principles, doubts, beliefs, beyond what the intelligent country gentleman can carry along with him." The present writer can remember saying something of his enjoyment of Scott at a dining table in Oxford about 1890 and being told at once that Scott had nothing to say on "the problems of our day." Had Shakespeare much to say on the "problems of his day?" The Elizabethan drama might have been (leaving Shakespeare out) a more interesting one if it had been possible to write in the critical, passionately protesting spirit in which Marlowe opened the battle, had Jonson been able to deal faithfully and in his sardonic manner not with small fry like alchemists and legacy-hunters and the despised puritans but with vice in high places. It was impossible, and no one acquiesced more entirely in the prescribed limitations than did Shakespeare. But a great poet may have little to say about the problems of his own day

and yet much to say on the permanent problems of life, and Shakespeare had much of this kind to say and Scott not a little; and there is much in common in their passing comments, the same spirit of acquiescence that is partly Stoical, partly religious,—Christian.

With 1880 Mr. Hillhouse comes to a more critical, detached period and one in which not so much the message of the novelist as his *art* is in question, his art compared with that of the French novel and his psychology with that of the Russian. Scott naturally fares rather badly for his art, his careless construction and avoidance of anything at all precious in his style, had been matter of censure from the beginning. Yet here again there is variety of judgment. Against the Leavises and Carsewells we may balance Virginia Woolf, by no means a careless artist or one wanting in subtlety. But the point of most interest to my mind raised by Mr. Hillhouse's last pages is one on which I have often meditated, what is the value of the appeal to the general reader? The appeal, if it means anything, must be to the intelligent reader who reads simply for his own interest. There are such and their chief interest is apt to be the current literature of the day, but they do read older writers. My own experience is that they do not read Scott much, excepting Scottish readers who can enjoy his dialect and characters. But what is also true is that they do not read Shakespeare. Some of them are quite emphatic about that, nor Richardson nor Fielding nor Smollet. After all, the novel is of all forms of literature that which most depends for its interest on giving the very form and pressure of the age. Of older novelists the most alive today are, I think, Sterne and Jane Austen. Not much is to be made of this appeal to the general reader. A member of the Harmsworth family, much interested in literature from the point of view of sales, told me recently that when an author was dead his sales fell off at once. Many people read not simply from interest in the book but from the wish to be in touch with the current subjects of conversation. So, I return to my first statement that the proof there is something of enduring quality in a writer is the fact that critical readers return to him again and again to praise or condemn or distinguish, and Mr. Hillhouse's book proves to the hilt that Scott is one of these authors.

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*Shakespeare's Sonnets.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by  
TUCKER BROOKE. London and New York: Oxford University  
Press, 1936. Pp. x + 346. \$5.00.

Professor Brooke's edition of the *Sonnets* immediately takes its place as one of the most important of recent contributions to

Shakespearean scholarship. It is first of all a beautiful and readable book. The text is exquisitely printed, a sonnet to a page. The sections of the Introduction on Elizabethan sonnet form, on the date of the Sonnets (assigned to the period 1592-96), on the character and activities of Shakespeare and Southampton during the time of the composition of the Sonnets are all admirable. Brooke accepts the Southampton theory, though he notes the comic failure of the Sonnets explicitly to reveal the *name* they were intended to eternize. Regarding the identity of the Dark Lady and the Rival Poet, a discreet silence may be the best policy. Still, Professor Brooke's opinions on these matters, even if he had marked them strictly personal, would have been interesting.

The commentary is a model of inclusiveness and condensation, full of felicitous paraphrases of difficult lines, many composed by the editor himself and many others happily chosen from notes by earlier scholars—for Professor Brooke never fails to render *suum cuique*. Cross references among the sonnets and parallel passages from Shakespeare's plays and poems and the works of other Elizabethans are abundant and always pertinent. Since a rearranged sequence of the sonnets, first published in Thorpe's Quarto of 1609, is an important feature of the edition, it is fitting that the first notes to about 113 of the 154 should be devoted to discussion of the connections of individual sonnets with others in close proximity.

The first sentence of Professor Brooke's Introduction reads: "This book is dedicated to the assumption . . . that Shakespeare's sonnets have been preserved in disordered sequence, and to the hope (so multifariously destructive in the past) that the real order can still be recovered." He not only expresses this hope, but proceeds to print the sonnets in what he conceives to be approximately their authentic order, the result being, in his opinion, that Sonnets 1-126 "tell a plain and steadfast story," and that Sonnets 127-152 are now in most cases in "the order of sheer poetic necessity." To be sure, he says elsewhere that the Sonnets "do not form an ordered and completely consecutive narrative." But many details in the introduction and notes are as dependent on the sequence established as if it were the major premise of a closely reasoned argument.

Any mere *précis* of Professor Brooke's methods and results will be unfair to him, for he presents the evidence in full. Compared with other rearrangements, his is by no means radical. Of the first series, 62% remain in their original positions, and of the second, 18%. A total of thirty-seven changes are made in all. Although, as is inevitable, he bases most of his individual collocations upon links of subject-matter and phrasing, he is guided in his selection of these and in the large outlines of Sonnets 1-126 by two main factors: first, a chronology founded chiefly on the work of J. A. Fort and involving a period of three years covering three absences of Shakespeare's company from London in 1594 and 1595, plus

one other personal absence; and, second, a theory evolved from certain clear sequences of five or less sonnets discoverable in the Quarto, that Thorpe's printer worked from an autograph composed of sheets containing from two to five sonnets each, just as they had been sent by the poet to his friend. After the compositor had got down to Sonnet 35 in good order, some accident occurred, disarranging the rest of the sheets so that the printers were never able to replace them in their original succession.

The chronology, however, is merely a broad outline, serviceable at crucial points in the grouping, but not definitive for particular details within the large sections. Besides, Fort employed it to support the Quarto order. And the question as to which 2, 3, 4, or 5 sonnets (LXXXI stood alone) were on which sheets depends for answer upon the same sort of interpretation of internal evidence of phrasing and content as that which has produced so many different arrangements in the past.

On the basis of the sequence worked out, Professor Brooke writes for the Introduction, under the heading, "The Story of the Sonnets," an extremely interesting and useful résumé of the contents of the nineteen groups and eight groups respectively into which he disposes the two main divisions of the series. The two stories read sequentially, but some of the paragraphs are phrased so as to trace out continuities which are not altogether self-evident when other possibilities are considered. The Sonnets are a perfect network of verbal echoes, recurrent images, and themes. Two adjacent sonnets tightly joined by one set of factors will be just as clearly related to others at considerable distance in the Quarto by another set. Hence, there are so many controls and hypotheses involved in experiments essaying a rearrangement of the Sonnets that objective demonstration seems hardly possible. This is by no means to say, however, that one arrangement is as good as another, and by the test of reading, Professor Brooke's is the most reasonable one in print.

In his treatment of the text, Professor Brooke is reassuringly conservative. This is natural since he believes that the spelling of the Quarto (discussed and illustrated with great finesse on pp. 58-64) is often very close to Shakespeare's own idiosyncrasies and to his prosodic intentions (as indicated especially by the treatment of the preterite and past participle forms of weak verbs), and that therefore Thorpe's printer must have worked from neither a copy sophisticated by successive transcriptions nor from one normalized by a competent scrivener, but from a copy belonging to either Shakespeare or his friend.

The punctuation and spelling are modernized; hence, *randon*, 150 (Qu. CXLVII).12, and *vade*, 54.14, seem antiquarian, or at least call for a note of justification. Capitalization of *muse*, 41 (xxxviii).1, and 83 (Lxxix).4, would secure consistency with

usage in other sonnets; and *Not*, in 143 (CXLV).14, being part of an interrupted quotation, should be *not*. The pointing of the text is skillful, though, of course, some readers are sure to prefer some reassignment of the more disjunctive stops. Substitution of a comma or dash after *fade*, 54.10, and omission of the comma after *and*, 151 (CXXIX).10, would make for smoother reading. Professor Brooke offers no verbal emendations of his own, and aside from the correction of obvious misprints and misreadings, only about eleven of those he accepts affect the meaning of their contexts. Of these, *nor* for *not*, 11.14, and *prove* for *proves*, 125.4, could be dispensed with, and only six are vital. His defense of readings rarely retained from the Quarto, *i. e.*, *this self*, 36 (XL). 7, *to* instead of *do*, 58.11, *ills*, 119.14, and *sickle*, *hour*, 126.2, is proof of unusual editorial restraint. The final result is a text of which Shakespeare might well say:

. . . every word doth almost tell my name,  
Showing their birth, and where they did proceed.

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*The Text of Shakespeare's Lear*. By B. A. P. VAN DAM. Pp. 110.

*Ben Jonson's Sejanus*. Edited from the Quarto of 1605 by HENRY DE VOCHT. Pp. xxxiv + 234. Materials for the Study of Old English Drama, edited by H. DE VOCHT, N. S. Vols. x and xi. Louvain: Uystpruyt, 1936.

Dr. Van Dam's study is limited to the first three hundred lines of *King Lear*, of which lines he presents an edition. His conclusions with reference to the text are that the Pide Bull Quarto (1608) was not set up from Shakespeare's foul papers, was not due to stenographic reporting, but was printed from Shakespeare's own manuscript, not expressly made to serve as a prompt-book but extensively modified by a prompter; that the Jaggard Quarto (1619) was freely reprinted, respelled, and realigned by its printer, who "corrected, miscorrected and changed, in a word, revised the copy he was setting up," notwithstanding the fact that he was printing from a copy of the Pide Bull Quarto; and that the text of the First Folio (1623), which was also a prompt-book, is "a blending, partly reprinted from the Jaggard quarto," and partly set up from the very same manuscript Butter had used in printing the Pide Bull edition.

The author arrives at his conclusions by study intended to prove his well-known hypothesis that irregularities in Shakespearean

blank verse are not due to Shakespeare but to those who adapted his verse for the stage. "If Shakespeare had lived in our age," he says, "he could have had a loose [verse] pattern in his mind, and could have used, perhaps admired, extra-syllables (trisyllabic feet) and short lines between his tenners, but in his time such a loose pattern did not exist." This opinion, which the author enforces rigidly, arises from Dr. Van Dam's researches in the works of grammarians and prosodists. Such authorities laid down rigid rules, but the question arises, "Did Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists follow them as closely as the author thinks they did?" The matter of perfect metrical regularity has always given slight concern to English ears. The formal scansion of Chaucer, formerly believed in explicitly, has given place to a plausible principle of slurring, and, to illustrate from the other extreme, it was in part a metrical irregularity in English practice against which Dryden and Pope revolted on the ground that such irregularity was, from the point of view of prosody, incorrect.

Dr. Van Dam contends that, when Shakespeare's texts were edited for stage use, they were "rendered impressive" by smoothing out abruptness, emphasizing ideas, enlivening scenes, and, especially, by elucidating the text. As Shakespeare wrote the play, according to the author, it was in regular lines of usually ten, sometimes eleven syllables, composed on the iambic principle. Before it was acted it underwent many interpolations. The author divides them into metrical excrescences from the regular "tenners," introduction of explanatory redundancies, and changes conducive to ease, naturalness, and dramatic effect in the theater. He does not admit that Shakespeare might have varied his verse, or might have revised it after it had been written, for these or for any other purposes.

Every scholar who has read with any openness of mind Dr. Van Dam's *The Text of Hamlet* (1924) and others of his works is bound to feel obligation to him for his insistence that Elizabethan poetry can be correctly scanned only by those who know how the language was pronounced by the men who wrote it and also that blank verse was more formally written than critics have known enough to admit. It has become obvious that there are words, phrases, and lines in Shakespeare which were added to the plays—possibly by prompters, possibly by Shakespeare himself—in order to make them more easily acted, to cue the actors off the stage, to break up the lines of long speeches into dialogue, and so on. But why should this principle be carried to such extremes? Why should it be applied when there is no need of its application? Dr. Van Dam emends passages in the text he edits which simply do not require amendment. For example, Dr. Van Dam would omit the word "daughter" in the line (I, i, 159), "Be this perpetuall, what says our second daughter?" He would read "Out my



sight" instead of "Out of my sight" (I, i, 159) on the ground that "out" sometimes meant "out of" in Shakespearean English. He allows no extra-metrical nouns of address, although it has been known for generations that Shakespeare treated proper names often as if they occupied one syllable. Abbott (sect. 469) cites numerous convincing cases. The author tends to exclude all short lines in spite of a short-line tradition always present in Latin prosody. What is said here must not be taken as general disagreement with Dr. Van Dam or as failure to appreciate much of his work, but as objection to the excesses to which his theories carry him.

Finally, it is interesting to note that an appendix presents us with the strangely reversed spectacle of Dr. Van Dam arguing against shorthand in reply to Dr. W. W. Greg's arguments in favor of its use. In this matter one is happily able to agree completely with Dr. Van Dam.

Volume XI of *Materials for the Study of Old English Drama* contains an edition of the 1605 quarto of Jonson's *Sejanus* and an important study of the relative textual value of that quarto and the version of the play printed in the 1616 folio edition of Jonson's *Works*, by Professor Henry de Vocht. Professor de Vocht's conclusions run directly counter to those of the Herford and Simpson edition. He thinks in short that the quarto was printed under Jonson's immediate supervision, such as it was, and that the folio version is a reprint of the quarto, with which Jonson had nothing whatever to do. The volume opens with a memorial sketch of the late Dr. W. Baum Kaup.

Professor de Vocht's study of the texts of *Sejanus* is careful, elaborate, and judicious. It takes into consideration variants, ordinary and special punctuation, capital letters, metrical form, stage directions, and possible emendations. He reprints the perfect Malone copy and collates it with the second incomplete Malone copy, the British Museum copy, and the three copies in the Dyce Collection. Although he does not see Jonson's hand in various press corrections in certain formes in the quarto usually attributed to him, he does see it in the regularity and consistency of the spelling and punctuation of the quarto as a whole, in the erudite forms of words, and in the Latin marginal notes (either omitted or roughly translated in the folio version). On the other hand, Professor de Vocht finds in the folio many instances of degeneration from the quarto and numerous mistakes in the quarto which the folio fails to correct. Jonson, the author contends, was unnecessary for such corrections as were made and would certainly, had he had anything to do with the printing of the folio version, have corrected many of the errors which have been left standing. He utterly denies the validity of the "eighty corrections" (really eighty-two) of the quarto identified by Professor Simpson as hav-

ing been made by Jonson in the republication of the play in the folio. Among the eighty-two changes of the quarto text by the folio, seventy-three refer to punctuation or to the outward appearance of the play; nine refer to the text itself. Seven of these nine merely restore better quarto readings. All changes which might be classified as corrections are relatively simple and well within the range of the ability of printers and press correctors of the 1616 folio.

Possibly the final test of Professor de Vocht's work arises in connection with his handling of the two cases of so-called corrections which have hitherto been regarded as conclusive. One of these, the half-line (slightly changed) transferred from Pomponius to Arruntius with an added half-line of protest from Lepidus (F. l. 2404), is at best an unsuccessful attempt at emendation and may perhaps be disregarded, even though it is puzzling. The other is the special case pointed out by Professor W. D. Briggs in his edition of *Sejanus* (1911), namely, that since in colloquial Latin usage only women swore by Castor the discovery and resulting correction of a slip of this kind in the quarto (Q. l. 2748, F. l. 2406) give evidence of Jonson's classical scholarship at work on the folio. Professor de Vocht argues that in several cases in the editions of the works of Plautus then current men did actually swear by Castor and that in the case in hand the quarto is really much better than the folio, since to put an oath by Castor into the mouth of Pomponius was to characterize him as effeminate. The folio correction is thus half-baked in its learned correction and really much less subtle than is the quarto.

We leave this and other points to the consideration of Jonson scholars. It seems only fair, however, to say that there is nothing inconsistent with Elizabethan printing practices in Jonson's having permitted the printers of the 1616 folio to set up and print, without interference on his part, their text from what was by and large a satisfactory quarto edition, and that Professor de Vocht presents us with an honest and meticulously careful study of his problem. The textual importance of his thesis does not need to be pointed out.

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*A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. Henry the Fourth, Part 1.* Edited by SAMUEL BURDETT HEMINGWAY. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1936. Pp. xii + 554. \$7.50.

The successive volumes of the Furness Variorum Shakespeare afford an interesting conspectus of the progress in editorial methods

since 1871 when its first volume *Romeo and Juliet* appeared (with modern spelling and punctuation), and we should naturally expect that, so far at least as the textual work is concerned, the latest volume should be, from the point of view of present-day scholarship, the best of the series. This will, I think, be found to be the case, and in one respect at least, Prof. Hemingway's volume is superior to most of its predecessors, namely in giving us a full discussion of the textual questions involved which does not merely summarize the opinions of others but is based on independent research.

This is, I believe, the first edition of *I Henry IV* which takes account of the interesting "Halliwell fragment," consisting of four leaves (sig. C) of an otherwise unknown quarto. Evidence which is very strong, indeed perhaps one might almost say conclusive, points to this fragment having been the work of the same printer, Peter Short, as the quarto of 1598 hitherto regarded as the first, and being earlier than that edition. Professor Hemingway has given a full collation of this fragment which, apart from variations in spelling, punctuation, etc., only differs in one reading of importance from the quarto of 1598, namely in II. ii. 102, the last line of the scene, where for "rogue" it has "fat rogue." There is, however, an interesting point of editorial practice in this connection. Suppose that we have two early editions of a work, which we will call A and B, and that A, claimed to be the first, is imperfect, while B, evidently printed from it, with the usual changes in spelling and, presumably, greater departures from the original MS., is perfect. Obviously if the imperfections in A were few and slight, the proper course for an editor wishing to produce a text as close as possible to the author's original would be to print from A, making good from B where necessary. What, however, should he do when A is only a fragment consisting, as in the present case, of less than a tenth of the whole? Is it logical, on the ground that only a tenth can be from the text having the best authority, to print the whole from the second-best, or should he use the best so far as it goes, printing one-tenth from this and nine-tenths from the other? Professor Hemingway has followed what he regards as the second quarto throughout, and it may well be that most students will agree that he was right, but I think that there is something to be said for the other view and that he might at least have inserted the "fat rogue," which is presumably an authentic reading, in the text.

The text, as has been stated, follows the, presumably second, quarto of 1598 which is reproduced literatim with all such peculiarities as italic letters where roman are required or vice versa, but not the occasional use of letters of a wrong size; and the punctuation has also been retained exactly as in the original. Indeed the whole is as near as possible to a type facsimile, save that the shorter type-measure (the line holds a little more than five-sixths

of a quarto line) has necessitated certain readjustments of the place of stage-directions and the redistribution of some lines in the prose. Fortunately the quarto of *I Henry IV* is remarkably free from stupid misprints and the editor has therefore by this method of exact reprinting been able to provide a text which is seldom or never *certainly* wrong. The only inconvenience of the method seems to be in fact the occasional change of speakers' names as when, in IV. i, Hotspur changes suddenly from "*Hot.*" which has been his designation previously, to "*Per.*" (Percy), and Lord John of Lancaster's first speech in V. iv is somewhat unexpectedly headed "*P. Iohn.*" (The editor does not here note that Rowe and most of the later editors call him "*Lan.*," though he notes the change of "*Per.*" to "*Hot.*" in Q2 *et seq.*) It is perhaps arguable whether there is much advantage in a text of this kind over a complete type-facsimile, which has of course advantages of its own, but the editor is in this respect only following out the principles laid down in recent volumes such as *Richard III*, which reproduced the First Folio text with all its misprints even to an inverted full stop and an illegible broken letter (IV. iii. 277, 280), even though at the same time it inserted lines from the quartos which do not appear in the folio at all.

But in a Variorum edition it is not so much the text as printed which is of importance as the record of the readings of other editions and of the notes of the commentators. In respect to the first of these there seems nothing to criticize; though one may indeed wonder at times why a particular collation is given, e. g., why in the phrase "Haue you any leauers to lift me vp againe" (II. ii. 32) we are told that Johnson and later editors spell 'levers.' There seems no logical reason for recording this particular modernization in spelling any more than, for example, that of "cuppe" to "cup" or "commes" to "comes," seeing that "leauers" cannot possibly have any other meaning than the obvious one.

When, however, we come to the Variorum notes, I confess that I have a grumble. It does seem to me that in an edition of this sort, intended for scholars of to-day, it is not sufficient simply to give a quotation from an earlier editor or commentator and to let it stand, even if it is incorrect, without comment or explanation, or without giving a reader any help in checking it if he has any doubt as to its accuracy. Thus, to give an example, in a note on I. ii. 40, "old lad of the castle," we find a quotation from Steevens in the 1778 Variorum, v, 262, of which the last few words run as follows: "In the Dedication to *Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is Up*, by T. Nashe, 1598, 'old Dick of the Castle' is mentioned." The quotation from Steevens is correctly given but the title of the work referred to is "*Have with you to Saffron-Walden*," the one given being merely the sub-title, and its date is not 1598 but 1596. The consequence is that the quotation might be uncommonly difficult to trace.

Another quoted note which needed, I think, a little tidying up is that to III. i. 146-150 "STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): In *The Mirror for Magistrates*, written by Phaer, Owen Glendower is introduced speaking of himself. . . ." The editor has corrected Steevens's '*Mirror of Magistrates*,' but has left his probably unintentional attribution of the *Mirror* as a whole to Phaer, whereas it was only the Glendower section that was his. I cannot but think that in such cases as these a brief editorial comment would have been useful, and would not have entailed any great amount of research.

But the editor does not always quote the commentators correctly. In a note on I. ii. 40 which immediately follows the one which is referred to above we read "Ibid. [i. e. Steevens, 1778 Variorum] (Malone's *Supplement*, 1780): In *Pierce's Supplication*, 1593 'And here's a lusty lad of the Castle.'" Now the passage in question occurs in Gabriel Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation* (not *Supplication*), and will be found on B2<sup>r</sup> of that book (Harvey's *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii. 44). But it is not Steevens's mistake, for in Vol. I, p. 178 of the *Supplement* referred to, the book is quite correctly named "*Pierce's Supererogation, or a New Praise of the Old Asse*, 1593."

Again in the note on II. iv. 361 King Cambises vaine: the title of the Cambyeses play is misquoted as "*concerning the Life, &c.*" Theobald, from whom the editor is quoting, has correctly "*containing the Life.*"

Professor Hemingway has no doubt been compelled to condense his notes, but the result is sometimes a little puzzling as, for example, when with reference to Turke Gregorie, V. iii. 45, he quotes a note from Theobald's edition of 1733 which apparently contains a quotation from Warburton's edition of 1747! Actually what Professor Hemingway gives us is a not unfair compound of the notes of Theobald's and Warburton's editions, but it would perhaps have been clearer to print the last part as a separate note of Warburton's, which it is. It may be remarked that here and in many other cases the notes of earlier commentators are not quoted with exactitude, the editor having to a certain extent modernized the forms of expression. He seems also generally to have modernized the spelling of quotations though at the same time he has sometimes substituted an older spelling for a modern one. Thus in the passage referred to above Theobald has the phrase "*Fox*, in his *Book of Martyrs*." This is quoted here with the spelling "*Booke*," which in view of the fact that neither "*Book*" nor "*Booke*" occurs in the title of Foxe's work seems unnecessary.

Dr. W. J. Lawrence has called my attention to a curious error in the note on V. iii. 50-52, where an article on leather drinking-vessels, which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1906 is attributed to him. The article in question was anonymous, but it was actually the work of Mr. Oliver Baker, a well-known Stratford-

upon-Avon antiquary, whose permission I have to disclose the authorship. It is difficult to see how the article came to be attributed to Dr. Lawrence, who has, I believe, never written on this subject.

Among the Appendices are sections on the text, the date of composition, the sources of the plot, the characters, and the stage history. Over the quartos in particular Professor Hemingway has taken a very great deal of pains. Of the five quartos he has collated in all 28 copies, finding, as was to be expected, a certain number of variants due to correction at press. None of these has, I think, any real textual importance, but it is well that the work should have been done. As the editor seems to be fully aware of the cause of these quarto variants it is rather surprising that in referring to errors and their corrections he should write of "two distinct textual traditions." The phrase might be appropriate in the case of a text set up from one quarto and corrected from another, but hardly in reference to what seem to be the ordinary corrections of a proof-reader. It would have been helpful also if he had grouped the results of his collations, as is usually done, by corrected and uncorrected formes, so that a reader could at once see the relationship which the corrections bear to one another.

Such trifling blemishes as I have noticed in Professor Hemingway's volume are, I suspect, due to some lack of experience in work of this kind. There can, however, be no doubt at all of the care and thoroughness with which he has executed his task as a whole, or of the claim of the latest "Variorum" to take its place with the best of its predecessors.

R. B. McKERROW

*London, England*

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*Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy.* By M. C.

BRADBROOK. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935. Pp. viii + 275. \$3.50.

A competent discussion of the conventions of Elizabethan drama would be of real value. Miss Bradbrook is wholly right in asserting that much of the criticism of the work both of Shakespeare and of the lesser playwrights has been vitiated by a failure to recognize the existence of such conventions or by a misunderstanding of them. In order to write the necessary book one would have to have an orderly mind, an unwillingness to make ill-founded assumptions, the ability to distinguish between a generally accepted convention and the mere slovenliness of a hack writer, a knowledge of the theatre and not merely of printed documents, and an acquaintance with Elizabethan drama as a whole. Of these qualifications Miss Bradbrook seems to possess only the last. She wanders from her

subject and returns to it as the spirit moves her, omitting any mention of the effect of certain conventions upon the work of the dramatists she discusses, and writing not infrequently upon matters unconnected either with theme or with convention. She assumes that the use of the convention of neutral space in short scenes "is the result of oversight rather than a deliberate device." She asserts that for a play given in the open air, "To maintain attention it would be necessary to exaggerate movement." "The delivery must have been stentorian." Not infrequently she makes generalizations which are preposterous unless qualified, as when she says of Elizabethan plays in general, "the events of the narrative are deliberately exaggerated, the action unnaturally rapid and farcical." If, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, "the sense of exact place is blurred . . . by the figures of the induction," then it is equally blurred in plays by no means Elizabethan in date or in technique. When she says of the last words of Dr. Faustus, "The last is, of course, a scream," she shows, not only a lack of theatrical imagination, but also a lack of acquaintance with *Faustus* on the stage. In fact, whenever Miss Bradbrook qualifies a statement by the phrase "of course," the chances are that the opinion expressed is either wholly unfounded or, at best, highly debatable. It is thoroughly characteristic of her work that she says, "There are innumerable monographs on different and isolated conventions," and then neither by a bibliography nor by specific reference indicates the existence of more than a very few.

If one were to consider merely the errors and weaknesses of Miss Bradbrook's work (and the few instances cited are merely suggestive of pervading qualities), it would be unnecessary to do more than dismiss the book in a sentence. What makes the book really exasperating, however, is the fact that every now and then one encounters, especially in the chapters dealing with specific dramatists, illuminating parallels and valuable critical suggestions. Despite the fact that it does not accomplish its purpose, that it is confused and confusing, naively dogmatic and at times patently absurd, the book is indubitably worth reading.

WILLARD H. DURHAM

*University of California*

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*Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England.* By LOUIS B. WRIGHT. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. xiv + 734. \$5.00.

Those who have followed Mr. Wright's work as published in various learned journals will find that they are already acquainted with portions of his present book, and will be glad to have several

valuable essays now incorporated as integral parts of his comprehensive study of middle-class life in Elizabethan England. His subject is "the important matter of the average citizen's reading and thinking, his intellectual habits and cultural tastes"; and he considers, with some justice, that this particular aspect of Elizabethan culture has been neglected in most studies of the life of the time.

Mr. E. M. Forster has recorded it as his opinion "that the character of the English is essentially middle-class," and that the middle classes are "the dominant force in our community"—are, in fact, "the heart of England." It is an opinion which should give pause to any who are inclined to think that Mr. Wright's chosen subject is rather small beer. For the social historian his study should prove of real and lasting value, as it is, very largely, pioneer work. Difficult as it is to find the precise point at which a distinctive, separate, and identifiable "middle-class" emerges, Mr. Wright, by concentrating on the period from the accession of Elizabeth to 1640, has caught his subject at what is probably the earliest moment that could provide the proper material for his purpose. "Rapid and great as were the intellectual, social and political changes taking place in England, there is a consistent and progressive development in the commercial group particularly which gives a fairly logical unity to a study of the middle-class throughout this period."

The pride taken by this class in its own "middlingness," its pursuit of culture, and its taste in literature are Mr. Wright's main themes in Part I. In Part II he surveys the whole library of Elizabethan self-help, examining the enormous number of handbooks, guides, pathways, questions, instructions, and treatises that inculcated the whole duty of the citizen. Part III is concerned with the more recreational side of citizen culture—with the romantic and realistic stories read for amusement, with the broadside ballad and the catch-penny pamphlet, with the type of play popular amongst the trades-people and artisans, and with the glorious incredibilities of natural and unnatural science and history and the wonders of the travel books that fired these homely imaginations.

To accumulate his evidence, and to arrive at an understanding of Elizabethan middle-class mentality, Mr. Wright has had "to hew a way through a wilderness of contemporary books and pamphlets" that might well have made the most indefatigable scholar shudder at their dullness. To say that, for the future, we shall most of us be content to take these productions as read—for us, by Mr. Wright—is not in any way to undervalue the very considerable contribution to knowledge that his work has made. It is, on the contrary, a tribute, not only to his clear, sensible and balanced treatment of his material, and to the infinite pains he has taken to ensure accuracy and to sweep into his net every relevant accessible book, but to his personal attitude towards his subject.



Only an enthusiast, one would say, could possibly have devoted so many years to a study of this kind. That is true: but Mr. Wright's enthusiasm is that of the good worker, who wants his job to be properly done. It has never led him into over-estimating either the literary or intrinsic interest and importance of the books and writers with which he is dealing. The didactic and ephemeral nature of much of Mr. Wright's material excludes it from editorial and reprint schemes. In consequence it is not the least of the merits of his book that it makes available, at any rate by listing and by description, a considerable number of little known and often unique copies, and acquires thereby for the ordinary student an almost documentary value.

M. ST. CLARE BYRNE

London, England

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*Sir Henry Lee, An Elizabethan Portrait.* By E. K. CHAMBERS.  
New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp.  
xii + 328. \$5.00.

Until the publication of the present work, there have been available two studies of Sir Henry Lee, a paper on *The Real Sir Henry Lee* by the late Viscount Dillon, in the *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archeological Journal* for 1906, "substantially reproduced in Miss Corbett's *History of Spelsbury* in 1931," and a study of *The Queen's Champion* by Sarah Ruth Watson in the Western Reserve University *Bulletin* xxxiv (1931), 65-89; I find no indication that Miss Watson knew of the work of Viscount Dillon. Sir Edmund Chambers makes no reference to the monograph by Miss Watson, and indeed his researches include virtually everything known to her. In one or two instances, however, a reader would like to be assured that her work is defective, if it is. For example her transcription, from a "facsimile," of a letter from Lee to Walsingham is not quite like that given by Sir Edmund on p. 62. Miss Watson has omitted an entire line and apparently made other errors, yet in one or two instances her spelling suggests the original. She also quotes from the *Yorkshire Archeological Journal* xiii, 538, a letter from Sir John Stanhope reading "Mistress Anne Vavasour," while for the same letter Sir Edmund gives only "Mrs. Vavasor" (p. 161). He has made use not only of his own marvelously detailed researches, but also of the notes collected by Viscount Dillon, who, like Sir Henry Lee, lived at Ditchley. A reader cannot but feel that little remains to be said on the facts of Sir Henry's life as they can be gleaned from records.<sup>1</sup>

A considerable amount of space is given to the genealogy of the

<sup>1</sup> On p. 135 Lee's age is by a misprint given as 47 instead of 57. On p. 211 the letter quoted is found on pp. 209-10.

Lee family; eighty-seven individuals of the name are listed in the index. To Captain Thomas Lee, son of Sir Henry's half-uncle, a number of pages are given and his portrait in the dress of an Irish soldier is the most striking thing in the volume.

Among the details are many that can be used in supporting general ideas of the period, enabling us better to understand such matters as the finances of a man of station, his litigious habits, and his standard of sexual morality. The lesser arts are also illuminated, as in the description of the elaborate tombs in the chapel, now ruined, at Quarrendon; sixteenth- and seventeenth-century funeral monuments are too little appreciated by students of the other arts of the period. Fascinating also is the list of jewels that formed Lee's new year gifts to the Queen (Appendix C). The Ditchley entertainment is "for the first time printed in its entirety" (Appendix E). There are a number of references to emblems, impresses, and allegorical pictures; since they cannot be found through the index, I list those I have noted: pp. 87, 88, 136, 139, 141, 142, 146, 148, 272, 281, 291. From the transcript of the Ditchley MS "Latin phrases suitable for devices" (p. 272) are omitted; the reviewer would gladly have spared for them a considerable amount of genealogy. Lee's interest in emblems does not militate against his authorship, not utterly rejected by Sir Edmund (p. 142), of the poem beginning: "My golden locks time hath to silver turnd." The first line of the second stanza runs: "My Helmet now shall make an hive for Bees." Precisely that is the subject of one of the woodcuts in Whitney's *Choice of Emblems* (p. 138), known to so many Elizabethan poets. Whitney's verses are in part as follows:

The helmet stronge, that did the head defende,  
Beholde, for hyue, the bees in quiet seru'd:  
And when that warres, with bloodie bloes, had ende,  
They honey wroughte, where souldiour was preseru'd.

If a source is to be sought, Whitney, or Alciati, from whom he borrowed, is an obvious one.

ALLAN H. GILBERT

Duke University

*John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century.*

By KENNETH MACLEAN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. Pp. viii + 176. \$2.50.

*Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason. A Study in the History of Thought.* By ERNEST CAMPBELL MOSSNER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xv + 271. \$2.50.

The likeness of these two books extends but little beyond the

parallelism in the titles. Mr. MacLean has undertaken the delicate and difficult task of tracing the influence of Locke, or rather of his most important work, upon his age—of showing “how the theories of the mind developed in Locke’s *Essay* were criticized, adapted, and popularized by English literature of the Eighteenth Century” (p. v); Mr. Mossner has been concerned, to a large extent at least, with the way in which Bishop Butler reflects the thought of his time—serves “as an index to the intellectual developments of his age” (p. xi).

Mr. MacLean’s procedure consists of drawing from Locke’s *Essay* a series of pronouncements concerning human understanding, and illustrating the influence of each from Eighteenth Century literature. Unfortunately, he has not succeeded in avoiding the temptation to ascribe to the influence of Locke sentiments and observations in literature for the explanation of which it is not necessary to invoke Locke’s teaching. Thus, for example, he offers as evidence of the influence of Locke’s “theory of the *tabula rasa*,” which he acknowledges to have “reappeared in one form or another all through the ages” (p. 32), the fact that “The phrase, ‘the rude uninformed mind of a girl,’ drops casually into a conversation in *Tom Jones*, while a similar expression, ‘a raw unprincipled boy,’ enters a discussion of education in Mackenzie’s *Man of Feeling*” (p. 35). Even more doubtful is the connection which Mr. MacLean seeks to establish between the *Essay* and certain literary expressions of what he regards as an “inclination to grant equal mental abilities to all men.” He begins the discussion of the point with the statement that “Locke probably did not believe that all men possess when born equal intellectual possibilities” (p. 39), supporting it with a passage from Book iv of the *Essay* in which Locke offers as an explanation of why some men fall into error, the great differences in men’s intellectual capacities. Locke dismisses as unnecessary to his purpose at the moment the problem whether these differences in men’s mental powers are due to some defect of the physical organs employed in thinking, or to their dullness from want of use, or to natural differences in men’s souls. Mr. MacLean notes that this passage contains “practically his [Locke’s] only consideration of this problem in the *Essay*”; yet he moves on to assert that because of the “heavy taxes and restrictions” which Locke lays upon all minds, restrictions involved in the denial of innate ideas, the large place given the five senses common to men, and the sharp bounds set upon the possibilities of knowledge, “Locke levels all human understandings” (p. 40). After ascribing to Dr. Johnson, to Lord Chesterfield, and to Pope (who had been earlier cited as declaring the inequality of men’s intellectual capacities) the belief that “men are born with equal mental endowments” (pp. 41-43), the implication presumably being that at this point these writers are under obligation to Locke,

he says that "one is tempted to suggest that the statement of equality which introduces our own Declaration of Independence implied an equality in mind as well as in civil rights, since the civil rights themselves are founded upon Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, whose very form and phraseology Jefferson followed in drafting the American Declaration" (p. 44). Thus upon the basis of a very dubious extension of Locke's doctrine and an equally dubious extension of the theory underlying the Declaration of Independence, Mr. MacLean suggests a line of influence from the former upon the latter. But even this does not exhaust the possibilities as he sees them, for he presses on to say that "in view of the inclination to grant equal mental abilities to all men, we are impressed with the appropriateness of the celebrations of the common man in the poems of Gray and Burns, both of whom had studied Locke" (p. 44). The book is not as unconvincing at all points as at this one. Conclusive enough, for instance, is the discussion of the indebtedness of Laurence Sterne, "the most industrious of all Locke's literary apostles in the Eighteenth Century," to the *Essay*. But so doubtful and undefined are many of the connections set forth between Locke's ideas and those of literary men who lived after him that the precise nature and extent of Locke's influence on Eighteenth Century literature never comes clearly into focus.

More satisfying is the study of Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason. Mr. Mossner manages his exposition of this relationship by presenting the complex of ideas into which Butler's work fits, by analyzing the argument of the *Analogy* and the ethical theory of the Rolls Sermons, by tracing the "Decline" and "Fall of Reason," and by recording the history of Butler's reputation. The least satisfying of these sections is the first, for Mr. Mossner has undertaken the all but impossible task of presenting in the brief compass of thirty pages an account of deism from Lord Herbert of Cherbury to Matthew Tindal sufficient for an appreciation of the *Analogy*, and he has given too little attention to the currents of ethical speculation in the work of Hobbes, Cumberland, Mandeville, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson, which are essential for a full understanding of Butler's position in the sermons. Illuminating, however, is Mr. Mossner's analysis of Butler's work "as Christian advocate" in the *Analogy*. He finds it "in some measure logically deficient" (p. 101), but points out that "in all fairness, the *Analogy* must not be represented as other than an unimpassioned plea peculiar to its generation"—"a Tract for the Times" (pp. 104, 231). He concurs in the general modern opinion that "the genuine constructive work of Butler was accomplished largely in his *Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel*" (p. 104), where the Bishop's ethical theories are set forth. The analysis of these theories would perhaps be sharper if Mr. Mossner had

distinguished carefully between two positions which Butler assigns to benevolence. In the first sermon three kinds of principles in human nature are differentiated: the passions and affections, which have particular objects; self-love and benevolence, general principles having as objects the good of the individual and the good of society respectively; and conscience, the superior, regulating faculty. Butler's purpose here is to show that self-love and benevolence have equally substantial foundations in human nature, that "there are as real and the same kind of indications in human nature, that we were made for society and to do good to our fellow creatures; as that we were intended to take care of our own life and health and private good" (I, # 5). In the eleventh sermon, Butler classifies benevolence with the particular passions and affections, distinguishing it from self-love on the ground that like the passions, and unlike self-love, it has an object outside the agent. Here his purpose is to demonstrate "that there is no peculiar rivalry or competition between self-love and benevolence" (XI, # 9), his method being to show that there is no more opposition between self-love and benevolence than there is between self-love and any other passion having an external object—covetousness, for instance. Mr. Mossner merely touches upon this second view, and seems to feel that it is inconsistent with the first (p. 118); whereas it may be regarded simply as the result of classifying human faculties on a different, although not opposed principle, in accordance with a different purpose. He does not, at any rate, take advantage of the distinction between the two views in his consideration of the relationship of self-love to benevolence (pp. 111-115), nor in attacking the difficulties that arise for him from Butler's omission of benevolence in designating self-love and conscience as "the superior principles" of human nature (p. 118).

Not the least interesting and useful sections of the book are those dealing with Butler's reputation during the two centuries which have elapsed since the publication of the *Analogy*. A useful bibliography and index have been provided.

C. H. FAUST

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*Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of his Literary Career with Historical Notes.* By WILLIAM MERRITT SALE, JR. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. Pp. xxiv + 141. \$5.00.

This is a contribution of the first importance, carefully planned and beautifully executed, calculated to appeal alike to scholar, librarian, collector, and bookseller. The arrangement is ingenious

and practical: the outer third of the page is kept clear for the numerous reduced facsimiles of title-pages, sixty in all, which accompany the elaborate bibliographical descriptions and the scrupulously documented record of Richardson's literary career. Here we have for the first time an accurate account of practically all the editions of Richardson's works published in his lifetime, and of separately published contemporary adaptations, criticisms, parodies, and other Richardsoniana, mostly connected with *Pamela*. Interesting examples of Sale's treatment of difficult problems will be found in his ingenious explanation of the relations of the second and third editions of *Pamela*, Vols. III-IV (pp. 30-31); his discussion of a cancel in *Clarissa*, Vol. VII, fourth edition (pp. 59-61); and his reconstruction of the history of the printing of the last volume of *Grandison*, in the first, third, and fourth editions (pp. 68-69, 73-76, 87-91). It is impossible to set down here all that even a student who has paid a good deal of attention to Richardson can learn from Sale's findings, but a series of jottings on certain interesting points, major and minor, will perhaps give a better idea of the quality of his work than any general statement:

P. xii. The sheet "published or printed" by Richardson on "The Duties of Wives to Husbands" is tentatively identified by Sale with the *Matrimonial Mirror* advertised in the *Daily Gazetteer*, Nov-Dec., 1742. P. 12. The interval between the sixth and seventh editions of *Pamela*, and the continued use of the sheets of Vols. III-IV in reissues suggest that we should be cautious in making sweeping statements about the continued popularity of the book. Perhaps *Pamela* lagged behind when *Clarissa* and *Grandison* were appearing, only to regain ground later. P. 16. A hitherto unrecorded piracy of *Pamela*, 1741, is briefly noted. Pp. 39-40. Convincing argument that Richardson's editing of Defoe's *Tour* begins with the third edition, 1742. P. 48. Do not the references to *Clarissa* in the correspondence of June, 1744, point to a *précis* rather than to a completed original draft? P. 49. For details of how Richardson obtained a copy of Miss Carter's "Ode to Wisdom," see Montagu Pennington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter* (London, 1808), I, 101-03. P. 50. Warburton's authorship of the Preface to *Clarissa* is beyond peradventure. P. 53. Evidence that Richardson planned to print enough copies of *Clarissa*, Vols. V-VII, to accompany both first and second editions of Vols. I-IV. This corrects the present reviewer's erroneous suggestion (*Samuel Richardson* [Chapel Hill, 1936], p. 154) that since one issue of Vols. V-VII sufficed for two editions of Vols. I-IV, demand for these later volumes may have fallen off. Pp. 91-93. Description of a pirated edition of *Grandison*, 1762. Pp. 94-95. The present reviewer has a set of the first edition of *Grandison* with a copy of the two letters concerning *Grandison* bound in at the end of Vol. VII, presumably by an early owner. Pp. 100-02. Sale has discovered that Miss Anna Meades wrote *Sir William Harrington*, and proves that Richardson had a hand in revising this novel. P. 110. Sale points out that Richardson's letter to his nephew Thomas Richardson was first printed in the *Imperial Review*, II (1804), 609-16. Pp. 115-21, 127-28. Full descriptions of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* and *The True Anti-Pamela*, as well as of the excessively rare *Pamela in High Life* and *The Life of Pamela*. P. 122. Proof that the author of *Pamela*, *A Comedy* was Henry Giffard, not James Dance, to whom it has usually been ascribed. Pp. 124-25. The two unauthorized editions of this play offer an interesting minor study in piratical printing. P. 130. To

the Tinker and Harvard copies of *Pamela, or, The Fair Impostor*, add copies in the Bodleian and at Texas (Aitken Collection). P. 132. Sale says that the *Monthly Review* attributed *Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison, Clarissa, and Pamela* to Alexander Campbell. P. 134. A close study of the abridgments of Richardson's novels would be a difficult and thankless but perhaps not unpleasant task.

ALAN D. MCKILLOP

*The Rice Institute*

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*Roman Britain and the English Settlements.* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD and J. N. L. MYRES. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford U. Press], 1936. Pp. xxvi + 515. \$5.00.

The work under review belongs to the 14-volume *Oxford History of England*, now in course of publication. It is divided into five books, of which the first four, written by Mr. Collingwood, deal with Roman Britain, while the fifth, written by Mr. Myres, deals with the English conquest and settlements of the fifth and sixth centuries. Included in the volume are ten maps (of which six belong to Book v), three appendices, a 28-page bibliography, and an index. The work is well printed and bound, and remarkably free from misprints, of which I have noted only four (on pp. 144, 149, 393 and 515).

For our knowledge of the times to which this work relates, we must rely chiefly on archæological and linguistic evidence, of course, and since research is active in both these fields the picture is constantly changing. The new and up-to-date synthesis which the authors give us was badly needed, and will serve us well for some time to come. In particular, the economic survey of Roman Britain included in Book III can only be described as masterly. On the other hand, the "re-interpretation of the Arthurian legend" with which Book IV closes must be deemed a deplorable flight of fancy, and one cannot agree with the publishers in reckoning it among the "important new features" of the volume. In general, the authors show themselves less at home in linguistics than in the other disciplines that they draw on for evidence. The chapter on religion at the end of Book III lacks the masterly touch so evident in the other chapters of that book. Other weak spots will be pointed out below. But as a whole the volume lives up to the best traditions of English historical scholarship. In the following paragraphs I will comment briefly on various matters of detail.

P. 19: it would be interesting to have the author's authority for the statement that "the Q-variety [of Celtic speech] arose in Ireland . . . by a change of *p* into *q*." Peate's paper in *Antiquity*, to which the author does refer in this connexion, makes no mention of this startling theory. P. 29: when the author speaks of the

British Belgae as "Germanic rather than Celtic in nature," he gets on dangerous ground; such sweeping pseudo-racial generalizations are out of place in sober scientific writing. Pp. 31 and 282: here again one would like to know the author's authority when he tells us that the name *Pict* "seems to be simply the Latin equivalent or translation of the Celtic name Priteni, which means painted or tattooed." The meaning of the Latin name is obvious, but what is the evidence that the "Celtic" name meant 'painted' or 'tattooed'? Unless I am mistaken, the etymology of *Priteni* is still to seek. P. 168: *Viroconium* is better spelt *Vroconium*, according to Stenton; see H. C. Darby, *Hist. Geog. England* (1936), p. 58 footnote. P. 264: the identification of Nuada (better Nuadu; Welsh Nudd) with Lear is hardly sound. P. 268: the spellings of *Vitiris* with initial *hv* or *vh* may have some significance if they reflect a tendency towards the voiceless spirant *f*, a tendency which triumphed in Ireland and may have existed in British speech too in the early days. P. 320: if the author is right in saying that "the *Historia Brittonum*, in its oldest stratum, which was used by Bede . . . , tells us" of Arthur and his battles, then Bede must have rejected the Arthurian material which he found in his source, and his failure to mention Arthur is a strong argument against Arthur's historicity. It seems more plausible, however, to presume that Bede used a source in which Arthur was not mentioned; in other words, the Arthurian material did not appear in the oldest stratum of the *Historia Brittonum*. Alternatively, we may presume that the author of the stratum used Bede, and that Bede made no use of any stratum of the *Historia Brittonum*. As regards the siege of Mons Badonicus, Mr Collingwood might have considered the hypothesis that Ambrosius Aurelianus was in command of the Britons at that siege (cf. p. 314, and the chronological discussion, pp. 352 ff.). The historicity of Ambrosius, unlike that of Arthur, is evident, and Gildas names him, and him alone, as the British leader in the warfare which culminated at Mons Badonicus. P. 321: in spite of the author's statement that the historicity of Arthur "can hardly be called in question," I am sceptical of the existence of a fifth-century hero of the name, though there is good evidence that an Arthur lived in the second or third century; see my paper in *M. P.*, xxii (1925), 367 ff. This historical Arthur was no king, but a *dux bellorum* (to use the words of Nemnius), a Roman general who, among the Britons, as the centuries rolled on, became a hero of legend and usurped the laurels that properly belonged to Ambrosius Aurelianus. If, as Oman conjectures (*England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 211), the Roman Artorius "left numerous relatives or freedmen in Britain," his praises would first have been sounded among these.

P. 338 and p. 345: the Eudoses of Tacitus cannot properly be identified with the Euts; see my paper in *Namn och Bygd* xxii



(1934), 26 ff. P. 346: the *Anschis* of the Geographer of Ravenna is Oisc, not Hengest; see M. Redin, *Studies*, p. 33 (Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift, 1919). P. 359 (map): *Suth Rige* is an unhappy way of dividing the OE form of the name *Surrey*; the *r* belongs to *suth*! P. 362, n. 2: add here a reference to E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1936). P. 366, n. 2: Stevenson's paper is linguistically and textually unsound; see my note in *Beiblatt zur Anglia* XLVII (1936), 219 f. P. 376: *Vange* means not 'fen folk' but 'fen district.' P. 383 (map): the name *Sweordora* (gen. pl.) of the Tribal Hidage should be given in the nom. pl., as *Sweordoras*; likewise, *Wixan* for *Wixna* and *Spaldas* for *Spalda*. On the face of it, *Sweordoras* means 'settlers at the *dor* or mouth of the Sweor river (note the *Fifeldor* 'mouth of the Eider' of *Widsith* 43), and I should be inclined to locate them accordingly, in spite of Goodall's identification of Sweordor with Sword Point in Huntingdonshire (see *English Place-Name Society* III, xix and 190). Ekwall *River-Names* 386 f. lists two rivers whose names might fit the case, although he suggests for them an etymology inconsistent with the *sweor* of the Tribal Hidage; note also Swarbruck in Northamptonshire, and see *Namn och Bygd* XXII (1934), 59. P. 427, line 10 from bottom: for *Saxon* read *English* or *Old English*.

KEMP MALONE

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*The Tradition of Boethius; a Study of His Importance in Medieval Culture.* By HOWARD ROLLIN PATCH, Ph. D., Litt. D. New York: Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp. xiv + 220. \$2.75.

Here are 123 pages of text proper; the rest is apparatus. Mr. Patch, who does not confine his study to the Middle Ages, has done a useful book on a subject that needed treatment. His references are full or adequate, and his Index is ample. His style is not as interesting as his theme or his factual information, or his seven pictures, a frontispiece and six plates from the twelfth (one plate) and (all but one) fifteenth centuries. Of superlative interest are the quoted translations of Boethius' *Metra*, but I had forgotten that the rendering of Queen Elizabeth was so poor. A very helpful section of the book is the clear account of the manuscripts and editions of the translation from Boethius by King Alfred; or so a graduate student in Ithaca has just reported.

The most notable omission is the want of reference to Guy Bayley Dolson, who in 1926 finished a Cornell doctoral dissertation of 658 typewritten pages, *The Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius in English Literature*; this work was duly noted at the proper time

(as complete) in the Bulletin (No. 5, p. 48) of the late Professor Willard, and a copy of it once took a trip from Ithaca to Harvard College Library. It is therefore not utterly unknown. Further, Mr. Dolson's published articles on Boethius, for example in the *American Journal of Philology* for 1922 and 1926, are quite ignored by Mr. Patch, who has indeed found a good many marks of the influence of Boethius that Mr. Dolson did not know of; but Mr. Dolson has materials that should have been of use to Mr. Patch.

As for what is offered in the present book, one should be more sympathetic than its author seems to be (p. 4, yet see p. 88 as well) with the fertile suggestion ('the idea of Usener and others') that the *Consolation* is related to the satire of Varro; the concept will link this dialogue with the *New Life* of Dante. And we may add that there is still much left to do in tracing out the influence of Boethius upon Dante; the subject has not been properly explored by Mr. Patch, and the neglect must mean a serious blemish in a volume purporting to deal with the significance of Boethius in the Middle Ages. Like others, again, Mr. Patch has failed to see the relation of Boethius to tragedy; in the *Consolation* the reference to Euripides, and a view of the *Metra* as choral interludes, are worth remarking.

This volume naturally invites comparison with the well-known Essay (1891) of H. F. Stewart. Mr. Patch, of course, can be abreast of recent scholarly opinion about Boethius. Even the 're-printed' edition by Stewart and Rand is now over ten years old, though, by the way, they did not fail to pay respect to Mr. Dolson. Apart from scholarly opinion, however, Patch shows a distinct inferiority to Stewart in his treatment of Boethius in relation to Scholasticism, and, above all else, in the organization of his thought and the resulting style.

The style of this book is not of the merit we have a right to expect from a teacher of 'English.' Sometimes dull, in other parts, not all, it is pretentious, and there are in the writing far too many infelicities of usage: (P. 1) 'What name . . . has suffered such wane?' Does Boethius here suffer wax? (P. 32) 'the sympathy of the Middle Ages was primarily in that direction.' Read 'lay' perhaps for 'was'; but 'in that direction' we banish to the limbo where sit other semi-mathematical and wholly fumbling tags not used by Mr. Patch—'along those lines' and 'from this angle' (suffering from strabismus). 'Factor' he uses. And (p. 82) thither banish also 'case' in the use deplored by Quiller-Couch. (P. 79) Elizabeth's rendering, 'O frammar of starry circle,' says the professor of English, 'sounds hurried, something of a stunt.' On p. 81 see how an age 'took its Boethius.' Delete the Gallic and provincial 'its'; and away with all similar misappropriations to the limbo mentioned above but situate below. For the 'motifs' which the 'artists' take (p. 122) from the *Consolatio*, say

'themes.' These locutions are mentioned less on account of Mr. Patch, and more for the general good. The kind of sentence our English cousins say the American scholars write is this (p. 119): 'The famous definition of personality which Boethius gave to the philosophers shows his evaluation of the importance of that factor.'

A few miscellaneous notes follow. For something more important than the relation of Thomas Usk to *Pearl* (p. 106), see Schofield in *PMLA*. 19 (1904). 175-9 on the likeness of the speakers in *Pearl*, dreamer and maiden, to the speakers in Boethius' dialogue. (P. 3) 'He completed a translation of the *De Interpretatione*.' Omit 'the' or say 'the treatise *De*.' On p. 4 the work of Boethius is rightly called *Consolatio*, but also *De Consolatione*, a use which is not preferred, since the substance of the book is the comfort given by the Lady Wisdom; as a Platonic writing the dialogue might have a subtitle 'On Fortune,' 'On Free Will,' or the like. The best tradition favors *Consolatio*, and so as a rule does Patch. On p. 17 for 'earier' read 'easier,' and print *gentillesse* on p. 66 in italic letters. More use might have been made by Patch of Laistner's fine book, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900*, which is mentioned on p. 181. And A. J. MacDonald's Hulsean Lectures, *Authority and Reason in the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1933, should be noted. (P. 135) 'the *Beowulf*,' Why 'the'? Are we to say 'the *Julius Caesar*'? (P. 170) Gröber's *Grundriss* 2 2 (1897). 104; the author of the article, Alfred Morel-Fatio, should be named. The Cooper mentioned on p. 175 as 'W.F.' is W. V. And just before that entry should there not be one for a Concordance of Boethius that was made by somebody in Ithaca, New York?

Milton's name does not anywhere appear, nor Ben Jonson's. A dozen years ago Mr. Dolson and I kept asking ourselves whether Milton must not certainly have read the *Consolation of Philosophy*. My cautious pupil would draw no conclusion for which he lacked external evidence. As for me, I seemed to catch the flavor of Boethius in the lines (*Paradise Lost* 2.557-69) where some of the demons, having leisure on their hands while Satan is gone upon his exploration, retire to a convenient hill and discuss the problem of free will and fate:

Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate,  
Fixt Fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.

The episode is in Milton's best vein of irony.

Let us not end on a note of censure. What Mr. Patch has brought together is of great value. His work displays the care and pains and hard research for which some of our friends across the water occasionally upbraid us, with injustice. These qualities are good, nay indispensable, and serve as a ground for higher achievement, as the higher virtues generally thrive in a soil composed of the humbler.

LANE COOPER

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*Die Welt des Barock.* By HEINRICH SCHALLER. München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1936. Pp. 77.

The Baroque movement is not to be limited to any one nation or race, nor to any one period or particular manifestation of a period. It is rather a European phenomenon affecting all phases of human endeavor which had its beginnings already in the Renaissance of the sixteenth century, reached its zenith around 1700 and endured well into the middle of the eighteenth century. An exhaustive study of such a broad panorama would require portly tomes rather than the present slender volume. Schaller, however, succeeds in some seventy richly annotated pages in presenting in bold relief the essential manifestations and forces at work in a period characterized by him as "eine der glänzendsten schöpferischen Epochen, die unser Erdteil gesehen hat."

In spite of profound differences within the period Schaller discerns a unifying undercurrent which justifies him in grouping the heterogeneous efforts of more than a century under the heading of Baroque. This unifying undercurrent which stamps the Baroque as such, and which, more than anything else, distinguishes it from the Renaissance and Rationalism, consists in an intensity of expression, a marked restlessness of the spirit and a strong predilection for the theatrical:

Überall wo eine Ausdruckssteigerung über das normale und natürliche Mass der Renaissance hinaus stattfindet, wo sich die Kräfte ballen zu einer fast muskulösen gedrunghenen Körperlichkeit, wo ein gespanntes Blockgefühl an die Stelle des harmonischen und individualistischen Verhältnisses des Natürlichen tritt, . . . beginnt der Barock.

Baroque is the magnificent, gloomy world of Shakespeare, as well as the intense theatrical light effects of Rembrandt, the moving chorales and Passions of Bach, the tortuous illusionary effects of the German architecture of the time, the wild exaggerations of poetic forms.

A loose definition such as this, which admits within its confines a variety of phenomena, is obviously inadequate. Schaller, however, realizes the secondary importance of a generalized Baroque definition and emphasizes the primary significance of the particular and often essentially opposed forces which exerted their influence within the broad framework of the Baroque. The fundamental difference thus to be recognized in the Baroque is that of north and south. Because of differences in topography, climatic conditions and temperament the products of northern and southern Europe show significant differences which can not be explained away by conveniently subordinating them to any one generalization. But this, the author insists, is true not only of the Baroque, but of every other period:

Man wird jedoch nicht eher Klarheit in unsre Stilbegriffe bringen bis man sich nicht gewöhnt, von nordischer und südlicher Renaissance und von nordischem und südlichem Mittelalter, Barock usw. zu sprechen.

In the light of this fundamental geographic distinction Schaller proceeds to the discussion of the other manifestations of the period. The major portion of the work is devoted to an exposition of the essentially religious character of the Baroque as exemplified on the one hand by the Counterreformation with its attendant pomp and the reconciliation of the spiritual and the temporal, on the other hand by the mysticism and simple religiosity of the north. The worldly and courtly *Weltanschauung*, which developed side by side with the religious attitude, evidences another phase of the Baroque, one which finally showed the way to a transition into the period of enlightenment. The last pages of the book discuss the contributions made in this period; the progress of the sciences and scientific attitudes and the advancement of the modern, if not contemporary, ideal of spiritual tolerance.

The work as a whole suffers from a certain lack of balance, a fault which is perhaps inherent in any ambitious attempt to encompass a vast subject like this within so brief a space. Schaller discourses quite extensively on the Spanish Baroque as represented by Lope de Vega, but he pays scarce attention to the strictly literary efforts of Germany; Opitz is not mentioned and Gryphius and Grimmelshausen merit only a passing glance. Shakespeare is described as a poet typical of the period, but he, too, is given only brief mention. But in spite of these omissions in the treatment of particulars, Schaller's work is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the Baroque as an artistic and spiritual movement. Critics are tempted either to interpret this period in terms of subjective definitions, discarding everything that does not fit into their narrowly preconceived categories, or to ignore the Baroque as such altogether and use the term as a mere *terminus technicus* for a heterogeneous period of transition between the Renaissance and Rationalism. In giving the Baroque a broad interpretation which admits of essential variations within the period, but which at the same time establishes a certain unity in a multiplicity of phenomena, Schaller succeeds in striking a happy medium between the two extremes and in bringing us nearer to an appreciation of a much discussed period.

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*The Evolution of Liberal Theory and Practice in the French Theatre 1680-1757.* By E. B. O. BORGERHOFF. Diss. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936. Pp. vi + 117.

*L'Évolution d'un genre: le livret d'opéra en France de Gluck à la Révolution (1774-1793).* Par RENÉ GUIET. Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XVIII, 1-4, Oct., 1936-July, 1937. Pp. 199.

*Le Développement du proverbe dramatique en France et sa vogue au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec un proverbe inédit de Carmontelle.* Par CLARENCE D. BRENNER. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, xx, 1, pp. 1-56.

*Beaumarchais and His Opponents. New Documents on His Law-suits.* By MARGARET LEAK JOHNSON. Columbia diss. (1936). Pp. xvi + 278.

*French Opinion of Molière (1800-1850).* By OTIS E. FELLOWS. Diss. Providence: Brown University, 1937. Pp. 141. Brown University Studies, III.

Dr. Borgerhoff sets out to prove that there was much life in the French theater between 1680 and 1757 by pointing out various departures in theory and practice during that period from seventeenth-century usage. According to him dramatists sought to make a greater appeal to the emotions, showed less respect for the separation of *genres* and other rules, employed more interesting costumes, and made a greater effort to preach morality than they had done during the seventeenth century. Apparently he annexes the last twenty-one years of the seventeenth century to the eighteenth and lops off the earlier part of the seventeenth, so that he means by the seventeenth century the forty years from 1640 to 1679. Even here he limits himself to Corneille from *Horace* on, to d'Aubignac, Molière, and Racine minus *Esther* and *Athalie*.

Now is it true that the scene in Nadal's *Saul* mentioned with approbation on p. 9 makes more appeal to the emotions than the scene in Du Ryer's *Saul* which Nadal imitates? Is La Motte's "tender element" (p. 13) tenderer than Quinault's? Are La Motte's divisions of tragedy into the Sublime, the Heroic, the Pathetic, and the Simple, cited on p. 18 in contrast with d'Aubignac, more liberal than the latter's remark (*Pratique*, Martino ed., p. 67) that the plot of a tragedy may be noted for its intrigue, its passion, or its spectacle? "*Athalie* had introduced children onto the stage" (p. 33). So had the *le Malade Imaginaire*. That Regnard's violation of the unity of place "was regarded as a departure from the norm is shown by the fact that Parfaict [*sic*] will excuse the author" (p. 35). Very true. Then the norm in

1748 was still to keep the rule. This was also the norm of the 1660's, yet Molière violated the unity of place in *Don Juan* and *le Médecin malgré lui*. Corneille and Molière, as well as Saint-Evremond and later authors, put pleasure above rules. In the first version of *Mariamne* Voltaire had the heroine "drink from a poisoned goblet and die on the stage" (p. 72). Even if he had kept this daring situation, he would not have done very differently from Corneille in *Rodogune*. Indeed, Voltaire's reforms in regard to the spectacular were timid in comparison with "machine" tragedies of the 1660's, while his violation of the proprieties was no bolder than the scene in *Attila* that shows blood flowing from the hero's nose. "*Adélaïde du Guesclin* had a happy ending" (p. 81). So did *Cinna* and *Alexandre*. La Place admired the "varying rhythms" (p. 85) of the English. They had been employed in *Agésilas*, *Amphitryon*, and *Psyché*. Attacks on declamation (p. 88) had been made by Molière.

B. is interested in the exception, not in the rule. If he would compare the departures from rule of 1680-1757 with those of 1640-79, I doubt if he would find the former so numerous or considerable as the latter, unless he confined his attention to the moralizing tendency. The fact is that there was no such fixed usage in 1640-79 as B. supposes. What he has shown is not that 1680-1757 was a daring period—certainly the changes that then took place were slight in comparison with those of the 78 years that preceded 1680 or those that followed 1757,—but that in these years, as in the forty preceding them, there were rebellious sparks which, fanned by Diderot and others, burst during the Romantic period into flames.

After tracing the history of the libretto while French opera was under the influence of Quinault and Lulli, M. Guiet devotes the bulk of his study to the reaction produced by the admirers of Gluck, who, long before Wagner, insisted on the importance of the libretto. He discusses the quarrel between Gluckistes and Piccinnistes and the solutions proposed. He shows that the opera was influenced by various interests of the period, "retour à l'antique, italianisme, ossianisme, médiévalisme," and that it echoed *sensibilité* as well as the political and social ideas of the *philosophes*. He refers also to the introduction of the comic and the general mingling of *genres* in Beaumarchais's *Tartare*, in which he finds a forerunner of the *Préface de Cromwell*. M. G. has his subject well in hand and presents his large amount of material in an interesting manner. I wonder, however, if he should not have gone more thoroughly into the music of the opera, for surely the libretto must have been influenced by the kind of music employed and by the talent of Lulli, Gluck, Piccinni, etc., as well as by their theories. Despite this omission, the work makes a valuable contribution to the history of eighteenth-century literature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I note only a few errors of statement: it is an exaggeration to say that after Hardy and up to the *Cid* (p. 15), that is, in 1632-6, *tragédie* usually

Dr. Brenner finds that the first *proverbes dramatiques* were those of Mme Durand, published in 1699, unless they were preceded by those of Mme de Maintenon, which are not dated and were not published before the nineteenth century. A new edition of Mme Durand's work in 1734 suggested to Collé the revival of the *genre*, which was developed especially by Carmontelle and flourished under various forms between 1765 and the Revolution. Some were written by Catherine II; others, to instruct children. Alfred de Musset's subsequent interest in them is familiar. In discussing the origin of the *genre* B. dismisses Spanish influence, refers to Regnard's *Attendez-moi sous l'orme* as the first French play to have a proverbial title, though he does not consider this comedy as belonging to the *genre*, and holds that the *proverbe dramatique* was the outgrowth of games with proverbs played in salons. To confirm two of these opinions he might have pointed out that, though a number of Calderon's plays have proverbs for titles, the French dramatists who made adaptations of them always substituted titles that were not proverbial; also that other parlor games were dramatized in *Job et Uranie* (1653), *les Boutz-rimés* (1682), and *le Mercure galant* (1683). B. notes that some *proverbes* were merely comedies or farces with the title in the form of a proverb, whereas the genuine *proverbe* was a slighter production, a series of little scenes connected by a microscopic intrigue and illustrating a well-known maxim. The *proverbe* that he publishes for the first time turns on the misunderstanding of the phrase, "elle est au tombeau," meant to refer to one of the ornaments of an English garden and understood as having a more somber significance. Although this playlet is by Carmontelle and is called by him a *proverbe*, no maxim appears either in the title or the text. Obviously the *genre* was loosely defined. A *proverbe* could exist without a maxim and a maxim in the title does not necessarily make a *proverbe*. Perhaps B. intends to elucidate this problem in a future study. What he has already given is interesting and suggestive.

Miss Johnson sets forth in detail Beaumarchais's law-suits with La Blache and Goëzman, his negotiations with the Chevalier—or Chevalière—d'Eon, the Kornman case, in which he was involved, his part and Mirabeau's in the affair of public drinking-water, and his efforts to get the French government guns that were stored in Holland. She has collected a great deal of material and commented

indicates an irregular play in which the interest lies chiefly "dans le spectacle et dans le décor"; nor should one say (p. 28) that the subjects of tragi-comedies were never historical, for Scudéry's *Arminius* and Mlle Desjardin's *Manlius* were both tragi-comedies; La Grange Chancel's *Oreste et Pylade* was first acted in 1697, not in 1709 (p. 81). There are a good many misprints: *désirs* and omission of *ne* (p. 67, ll. 3 and 15), *dûes* (p. 94), *faissaient* (p. 100), so for *sa* (p. 140), *celà* (p. 150), *régnera* (p. 154), *aménant* (p. 160), *européane* (p. 176), *événement* (a dozen times), etc. The index is remarkably incomplete.



upon it intelligently. "New Documents" seems to refer, not to material that she has discovered, but to the large number of pamphlets not hitherto studied in such detail. Dr. J. writes in a lively, somewhat journalistic style that will doubtless interest a larger public than that concerned with Beaumarchais's place in French dramatic literature.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Fellows, who has studied chiefly periodicals and works of men of letters, cites various opinions in regard to Molière, in whom some found an artist, others a moralist, others an author of tragedy (!). He finds that Molière suffered little at the hands of the Romanticists, but holds that the attitude of the general public was unfavorable at the beginning of the century, though it soon changed to warm appreciation. His collection of material will interest all students of the French drama, but, if he had used Joannidès for 1800-14 as he did for later periods, he would have found little lack of appreciation even early in the century. Certainly the difference between 1188 performances of Molière's plays at the Comédie Française in 1800-14 and 1279 in 1815-29 is not great enough to be significant. Moreover, F. pays no attention to performances at other theaters. I should like to see further investigation of the idea that Molière had a tragic side. It was held by Goethe and has the mark of being made in Germany. Though it has been dying out, it still persists among those who find a certain melancholy in the master of comedy. It is a great misfortune that Molière could not have written a *Critique de George Dandin*, for instance, in which he might have satirized his Romantic admirers. Nor have I much more sympathy for those who hold that Molière was a moralist, as does F. (p. 76). It is, however, one evidence of Molière's greatness that he wins such devotion from his readers that they attribute to him qualities they think he ought to have had, whether they be those of a tragic poet or those of a preacher.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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*Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française.* Par GEOFFROY ATKINSON. Paris, E. Droz, 1935. Pp. xix, 502.

Il n'est que juste de rendre tout d'abord hommage à l'honnêteté et à la bonne foi entière de ce travail. En 1927, M. Atkinson nous donnait un précieux *Répertoire bibliographique de la Littérature géographique de la Renaissance* qui ne comprenait pas moins de 524 titres. Il s'agissait là de toute autre chose que d'une simple compilation faite à l'aide de catalogues et de renseignements de

<sup>2</sup> The only slip I note that may be misleading is the substitution of *France* for *Holland*, on p. 261, l. 10.

seconde main, puisque l'auteur avait eu à cœur de rechercher les ouvrages cités, de les décrire sur place, d'en indiquer les différentes éditions et ainsi de nous mettre à même de les retrouver et de les consulter par nous-mêmes. Il entreprend aujourd'hui de nous faire profiter de la substantifique moëlle qu'il a su extraire de tant d'ouvrages souvent démesurément longs, presque toujours fastidieux, où les idées sont rares et d'où l'élément personnel est presque régulièrement absent. La première partie de ce travail qui traite essentiellement de la "littérature géographique," constitue donc une sorte d'histoire documentaire des idées contenues dans les récits de voyage imprimés entre 1480 et 1600. Des recherches supplémentaires ont permis à l'auteur d'apporter quelques corrections et d'ajouter trente nouveaux titres à son catalogue primitif. Les citations nombreuses qu'il a faites dispenseront en bien des cas de recourir aux originaux presque inaccessibles et dispersés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Amérique. A ce titre seul, ce nouvel ouvrage mériterait d'avoir une place à part parmi les répertoires indispensables aux historiens de la littérature et aux historiens des idées.

L'auteur a eu cependant l'ambition de présenter aux travailleurs autre chose qu'un simple répertoire. Il a voulu, dans la mesure où son sujet le permettait, reconstituer le milieu intellectuel des hommes de la Renaissance, analyser les conceptions qu'ils se faisaient des peuples étrangers et des pays lointains. Pour ce faire, il lui a fallu adopter un ordre nécessairement arbitraire dont il a lui-même reconnu les inconvénients. Le premier de tous est de faire un sort à des idées exprimées en passant et noyées dans un contexte sans intérêt, et de leur donner un relief exagéré en les classant sous des titres comme "idées politiques," "mer libre," "idées morales," "idéel chrétien," "humanisme" etc. Il est à noter par contre que l'auteur ne s'est point attaché à collectionner les raretés et les curiosités géographiques et qu'il a eu le soin de ne détacher ses citations que d'ouvrages ayant eu plusieurs réimpressions et dont la diffusion nous est attestée par ailleurs. Parfois, il a même poussé se scrupule trop loin. Après nous avoir alléchés en nous décrivant "un livre remarquable à bien des points de vue," il ne nous donne que trois courtes citations de l'ouvrage de Lusinge, *De la naissance, durée et chute des états*, car il voit en lui un ouvrage unique plutôt qu'un "ouvrage type" (p. 184). On pourrait se demander également si la distinction marquée entre la "littérature géographique" et la "littérature française" proprement dite n'est pas bien artificielle, et si Chauveton (p. 208), Jean Macer, philosophe chrétien (p. 239), Guillaume Postel, érudit assez confus (p. 245), La Popelinière (p. 263) sont bien à leur place parmi les géographes et les voyageurs?

Par contre, cette analyse a permis à M. Atkinson d'arriver à des conclusions qu'il convient de noter. Une des plus curieuses et des

plus frappantes est que les grands voyages et les pays nouvellement découverts n'ont pas excité l'intérêt et la curiosité que l'on aurait pu croire. Pendant tout le seizième siècle encore, les yeux des lecteurs continuent à se porter vers l'Orient plus que vers l'Amérique; les idées nouvelles ne se répandent que bien lentement; les faits qui auraient dû sembler les plus déconcertants sont notés sans commentaires par les voyageurs et reproduits par les compilateurs sans que personne paraisse se douter qu'ils viennent renverser des conceptions que l'on croyait solidement établies. Les découvertes géographiques qui se sont multipliées en quelques décades n'ont apporté aucun trouble dans les esprits qui avaient trouvé leur équilibre et qui refusaient de s'enflammer. La Renaissance n'a été marquée par aucune révolution intellectuelle soudaine; il y a eu infiltration lente et non pas explosion. Sur le mécanisme de la diffusion des idées M. Atkinson a apporté des précisions de première importance que les historiens de la Renaissance ne sauraient négliger. Dans cette étude si riche et si consciencieuse, il me sera permis cependant de relever quelques lacunes. L'élan certain donné à l'histoire naturelle par les découvertes géographiques n'est point noté; à peine peut-on le dégager de deux citations dans le chapitre consacré aux "curiosités apportées d'outre-mer" (p. 112). Le chapitre consacré aux monstres (p. 278-280) aurait dû être contrebalancé par un autre où l'on aurait pu étudier les descriptions plus exactes de plantes ou d'animaux rencontrées chez les voyageurs du seizième siècle et même chez ce pauvre Thévet à l'égard de qui M. Atkinson est bien trop sévère (p. 290 et 429). On aurait aimé également trouver dans cette première partie un chapitre spécial sur les gravures qui illustrent les livres géographiques et qui ont contribué pour une bonne part à fixer et à propager bien des étranges idées sur les pays lointains. Enfin les trente lignes consacrées aux "nouveaux mots" paraissent bien insuffisantes. Ici encore, cependant, il convient de noter que l'auteur n'a point prétendu épuiser les sujets qu'il indique. La moisson qu'il a recueillie est suffisamment riche pour qu'on lui pardonne d'avoir laissé quelques épis à glaner.

La seconde partie de l'ouvrage est consacrée à "l'influence des nouvelles connaissances géographiques sur la littérature française." Cette influence peu importante dans la "haute littérature," négligeable dans les ouvrages théologiques, se manifeste dans les livres "traitant de morale, de politique et de philosophie." Reprenant la classification par idées et non par auteurs adoptée dans la première partie, M. Atkinson a recherché les échos de la littérature géographique chez un certain nombre d'auteurs. Il les a retrouvés surtout chez Jean Bodin, chez Montaigne, ce que l'on soupçonnait déjà, et chez ce curieux Louis Le Roy dont le traité *De la Vicissitude ou variété des choses*, imprimé en 1575, contient un fort intéressant essai de synthèse historique sur le développement de

l'humanité. Bien que M. Atkinson se soit rigoureusement interdit de renvoyer le lecteur à aucun ouvrage moderne et qu'il s'en tienne à ses textes, il est trop informé pour attribuer à une influence unique l'extraordinaire floraison d'idées hardies qu'il a pu rencontrer au cours de ses lectures. En fait, les découvertes des pays nouveaux n'ont fait que compléter et corroborer les découvertes faites dans le passé fiévreusement exploré par les humanistes: les connaissances humaines se sont accrues alors en profondeur autant qu'en étendue. A ces chapitres riches d'information et sobres de commentaires, l'auteur aurait pu donner pour titre celui qu'avait choisi M. Henri Hauser il y a quelques années pour une série de conférences faites à l'Université de Londres: *La Modernité du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1930). Sur bien des points on pourrait compléter les rapprochements indiqués par M. Atkinson, ajouter à sa liste des auteurs secondaires, des précurseurs et des isolés. Il n'a point rempli tous les cadres, mais il a le très grand mérite de les avoir tracés. Dès maintenant la démonstration est suffisante et la conclusion s'impose: les idées essentielles de la philosophie du dix-huitième siècle avaient déjà été pressenties et parfois exprimées sous une forme définitive dans la seconde moitié du seizième siècle. Pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux doctrines des "philosophes" et qui entreprendront de retracer leur histoire, l'ouvrage de M. Atkinson constituera un instrument de travail des plus précieux et ce "livre fait avec des livres" ne pourra manquer de jeter un jour nouveau sur bien des problèmes d'origine et de filiation. On n'en saurait faire de plus bel éloge.

GILBERT CHINARD

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*The Dissemination of the Liturgical Drama in France.* By EDITH A. WRIGHT. Bryn Mawr: 1936. Pp. vii + 201.

Professor Karl Young in his Preface to *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (1, xii-xiii) called attention to the inadequacy of our knowledge of the background from which the religious plays emerged and suggested the possibility of investigating such cultural interrelationships. Dr. Wright's study is the result of this suggestion. Though it recognizes that the medieval church drama was international, unofficial, and "the gradual and irregular achievement of various separate communities," it assumes that such investigation can be isolated to one country. Accordingly, it suggests the dissemination of the liturgical drama in France through its ecclesiastical provinces. As to procedure, Miss Wright passes from the cultural history of the individual center to the means of communication, ecclesiastical and cultural interchanges between

centers, literary interrelationships, and specific literary influences. In brief, the principal relations considered are those officially between dioceses and provinces; friendly, monastic, fraternal agreements; play borrowings through individuals; interchanges through students, pilgrims, and other travelers; and relations among important and scattered cultural centers. For each province, the cathedrals and monasteries come under review as individual units, and as local, national, or even international, centers.

Since the effect of a connected reading of the whole on the reviewer was that produced by a specialized manual of cultural history, I shall attempt to estimate the work only through selected centers well known to all students of medieval drama. For this purpose, I choose the monastery of St. Martial (Limoges), the cathedrals of Rouen, Laon, and Beauvais, and the famous monastery of Fleury, St.-Benoît-sur-Loire. It is well to recall here that the liturgical drama is indebted almost exclusively to churches and to the Benedictine monasteries. Miss Wright's closely packed summaries of the cultural background of each center and of its relationships show a wide, discriminating, and profitable reading of original documents. And there is a high degree of correlation between the periods of cultural activity and those of the production of plays, notably for Limoges, Rouen, Beauvais, and Fleury. Likely names of important individuals here are Abbot Adémar (ca. 1064-1114) of Limoges and Archbishop Maurille (1055-1067) of Rouen; and the Loire valley is famous for its literary tradition. Despite these facts, no clear record of a patron, or transmitter of interchanges, for drama emerges. Progress has been made; but even so, we must rest content with such conclusions as the one that Archbishop Hugues (1130-1164) of Rouen may have modified the plays or added new ones, or that, when Archbishop Eudes Rigaud in 1255 on Christmas day received St. Louis and his mother in the cathedral, "we should like to imagine that he had performed for them one of the Christmas plays that survive from this time." In the last analysis, one still has humbly "to record one's ignorance" which made possible, for example, the *Daniel of Beauvais* and the Fleury play-book. Students of medieval drama have long known of the international relationships of Fleury in drama, reaching from Freising to Ghent, Winchester, and Dublin. Miss Wright conveniently summarizes all of this and adds much evidence for France and foreign countries (pp. 137-148).

But the crux of this problem of dissemination resides in literary relationships and influences. Here one encounters in the study two difficulties. First, in her discussion, Miss Wright does not always distinguish between dissemination of drama and that of dramatic tropes (e. g., the *Quem quaeritis* tropes of Limoges, pp. 28-29). Then in the matter of actual plays, to go beyond what scholars have already done, one cannot omit careful and even de-

tailed consideration of the texts themselves. Two illustrations must suffice. After a summary concerning the *Ordo Stellae* (Limoges), she adds "some other church, perhaps that of Fleury, apparently took the idea for the ceremony, creating the kernel of the text which is found in all the other plays." This, I fear, is too easy a generalization after the studies of Meyer, Anz, and Young. Then, she regards as indubitable the influence of the Limoges *Ordo Prophetarum* on that of Laon (p. 85), though Young with more detailed evidence limits himself to regarding close kinship of the Laon play to the Limoges as obvious. As compared with this unconvincing approach, her treatments of the *Daniel* and the Fleury plays, with several pages of textual comparisons, are commendably satisfactory. Here one finds textual parallels with summaries and estimates of the views of scholars, and cogent judgments. The whole discussion of Fleury (pp. 137-165) is the best part of the entire study, and the best summary to my knowledge on this particular matter. In fact, I wonder if the most satisfactory approach to this problem of dissemination of liturgical drama may not be through the study of a particular play in its entire relationships: e. g., the Dublin *Visitatio*.

In this study, Dr. Wright has presented for all the provinces new evidence for the high development of liturgical drama in certain periods and centers, and has given logical reasons for dissemination through interrelationships. But she has not been so successful in her attempt to trace this development as literary sources or influences from one community to another. A better title for the monograph, I believe, would be *Evidences as to Cultural Relationships between Centers for Liturgical Drama and Dramatic Tropes in France and Theories as to Dissemination of this Drama*.

The study closes with a useful alphabetical list of French liturgical plays (Appendix A), a convincing discussion of the Norman provenience of the *Ludus Paschalis* of Tours, and an unpublished text of an *Elevatio* and a *Visitatio* (Appendix C) of the convent of Origny-Ste-Benoîte.

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## BRIEF MENTION

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*The Growth of Literature*. By H. M. and N. K. CHADWICK. Vol. II. Cambridge (Macmillan), 1936. Pp. xvii + 783. \$9.00. The first volume of this far-flung study came out in 1932; it bore the sub-title "The Ancient Literatures of Europe." The second volume, now before us, is without a sub-title. It falls into four

parts: the first, "Russian Oral Literature;" the second, "Yugoslav Oral Poetry;" the third, "Early Indian Literature;" and the fourth, "Early Hebrew Literature." In the Preface (p. xi) the authors tell us that "the next—and final—volume will be occupied with an examination of certain modern oral literatures from Asia, Africa and the Pacific, and with a summary of the results of the whole survey." A review of Vol. I appeared in *MLN*. XLIX 348 f. To this review the reader is referred for an account of the methods and purposes of the authors. Here it will be enough to say that the study is proceeding according to the plan laid down in the first volume. Until the appearance of the third volume, one can hardly come to grips with the chief question, namely, whether the authors have proved, or made plausible, their thesis. In any case, however, the value of the work as a systematic survey of "speaking" (that is, oral literature) will remain, and this value must be set high.

Let me conclude with a few very small points. I have noted misprints on pp. 491, 505, 509 and 736. The first ballad in the Child collection is a much better parallel than any of those cited in connexion with the Russian folk-song quoted on p. 212. The spelling *Oude* on p. 471 and elsewhere is surely unusual; I am familiar only with *Oudh* as the name of the modern Indian province. For parallels to the story of the Ganges goddess (p. 475), see *RR*. xx (1929), 340 f. That the story of Ruth is traditional (p. 683), however late the extant version, would seem to follow from her alien origin—a trait hard to reconcile with the Jewish nationalistic exclusiveness of later times. Ruth's widowed state also strikes one as a feature not altogether suitable in a romance. If the biblical etymology of *Jerubbaal* is right (p. 689), the name belongs to the so-called imperative type, a type familiar enough in the West; but see *Neophilologische Mitteilungen* xxv (1924), 133 f.

KEMP MALONE

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*The Manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song, with a Critical Text of the Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedæ.* By ELLIOTT VAN KIRK DOBBIE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. xii + 129. This excellent study gives us an up-to-date MS history of the two OE poems named in the title; all other studies on these matters are definitely superseded by Mr. Dobbie's monograph. More important, however, is the author's critical text of Cuthbert's famous letter, since, oddly enough, nobody else has ever tried to establish such a text. Much has been written about Cædmon's *Hymn* and Bede's *Death Song*, of course. The author makes full use of the work of his predecessors, and

gives credit wherever it is due. He writes with urbanity and in an English style well suited to his task. He presents the evidence so clearly that it is a pleasure to read his exposition, despite the complexity of the matter. To the discussion of *scepen* (pp. 13 ff.) might have been added a reference to *Anglia* LIII, 335 f.; note also the *healden* of *Judith* 290. The proper name of the *w*-rune (p. 20) is *wyn*, not *wen*. The words *worth* and *while* are linked by a hyphen on pp. 33 and 50, for no reason that I can detect. For consistency's sake the term *Anglo-Saxon* rather than *English* should have been used on p. 97. I have noted a misprint on p. 114. But these are blemishes so minor that I hesitate to record them. Author and publishers alike are to be congratulated on this book.

K. M.

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*Allegory in the French Heroic Poem of the Seventeenth Century.* By ARCHIMEDE MARNI. Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati, 1936. This neat volume studies the extent to which the authors of seventeenth-century French epics used "real allegory" in their poems, whether their theories on the subject were set forth in good faith (some modern critics have denied this) and actually applied in their works. After an examination of the epic doctrines of the period and consideration of the influence of Tasso, their chief source, Dr. Marni analyzes the principal heroic poems of the time and concludes that Saint-Amant, Scudéry, Chapelain, and Coras meant to give a twofold meaning to their works, that implied or partial allegorization is to be found in Laudun, Frénicle, Lesfargues, and Le Cordier, and that Le Moyne, Desmarets, Le Laboureur, and several others, although evidently writing for edification, did not choose to clothe their didacticism in deliberately allegorical form. In a note (p. 60) the author announces his intention to treat in a later volume the whole question of allegory in all seventeenth-century genres. The present study promises well for the future work; however, it seems to the reviewer that to obtain significant results in a broader field covering everything from a simple apologue or a *carte de Tendre* to a complex epic or a *roman à clef*, a narrower definition of allegory must be used than "anything from a single sentence to an extended narrative to which the author has consciously given two meanings, one literal and the other figurative" (p. 11).

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## CORRESPONDENCE

A CORRECTION. May I call attention to a very disturbing lapsus calami on the part of Ferdinand Holthausen in the second edition (1921) of his *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch*? In § 480, Anm. 3 (p. 171) Holthausen says: "Das den Gen. part. regierende wort kann fehlen, z. B. *warth thar gisamnod seokoro manno* Hel. 2222," But Hel. 2222 reads: *sō warth thar all gisamnod seokoro manno*. The partitive genitive *seokoro manno* may be dependent upon *all*.<sup>1</sup> Holthausen's omission of the word *all* was most probably due not to an oversight but to the fact that he construed *all* as adverbial (*all gisamnod* = 'gänzlich versammelt'), which construction may also be correct.<sup>2</sup> But even then the phrase *sō hwat sō thar hwerigin was* of the next line would supply the needed element for the partitive construction (cf. *sō hwat sō thar seokoro manno was*). Whichever way we interpret the passage (*all* = subst. or adv.) the word<sup>4</sup> governing the partitive genitive *seokoro manno* is not lacking, unless we divorce<sup>5</sup> this genitive from the following phrase *sō hwat sō*-, which is probably what Holthausen has done. Unfortunately this footnote (§ 480, Anm. 3) was added to his first edition (1900). The next footnote has likewise been designated as Anm. 3 instead of Anm. 4, having been carried over from his first edition. In this footnote the reference *warð brōdes te lēru* (H. 2868) covers the point which Holthausen wished to make in Anm. 3.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

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REVENGE FOR HONOUR. My article (*MLN.*, Feb., 1938) on the date of this play was accepted for publication on Feb. 27, 1937. I regret that it was already in press when I learned that my conclusions had been anticipated by Mr. J. H. Walter (*RES.*, Oct., 1937).

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<sup>1</sup> Holthausen himself quotes this phrase *all siokoro manno* as an example of the partitive genitive (§ 480, 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *al gihworben, al te huldī* Hel. 282, 335, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *manages hwat* 'vielerlei.'

<sup>4</sup> Either *all* or *hwat*.

<sup>5</sup> Which is obviously impossible.

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# Modern Language Notes

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## THE EARLIEST CAROLS AND THE FRANCISCANS

The development of the carol and its connections with the Franciscans have been definitively established by Dr. Greene;<sup>1</sup> but there is still some additional evidence which amplifies his statements. In this paper I shall cite material in support of the following three stages of growth: By the end of the XIII century there were in existence popular secular songs to be sung (and danced to) by the people together. The Franciscan friars took over the form and the music of these songs and substituted religious subject-matter for the secular, at first in Latin, and later, before the middle of the XIV century, in the vernacular. By the XV century, and to an increasing extent throughout that century, these religious adaptations had become so popular with the non-literate laity that their original intention of religious propaganda was lost sight of, and they became as natively popular as the first secular songs which they had been intended to replace. These popular songs are what we know as "carols."

The first link in the chain of evidence is supplied by the *Red Book of Ossory*<sup>2</sup> which was written by the Franciscan Bishop of Ossory, Richard de Ledrede, from 1316, and continued by his successors, in parts until the XVI century. The contents mainly concern themselves with the Acts of the Synods of Dublin and Ossory from the XIV to the XVI century, and diocesan transactions and ordinances of the government of Ireland in the XIV and XV centuries. On fifteen double-columned pages of the MS. are about

<sup>1</sup> R. L. Greene, *The Early English Carols* (Oxford, 1935).

<sup>2</sup> See: Sir J. T. Gilbert in *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report*, x, App. v, pp. 242; *Notes and Queries*, First Series, II, 385 (James Graves, "English and Norman Songs of the Fourteenth Century"). Also reference in foot-note 4.

60 Latin songs, among which appear a few scraps of vernacular verse—nine English and two French. Now what are these Latin songs of the beginning of the XIV century doing here in this archive book of Ossory in Ireland? Fortunately there is a rubric which supplies the answer: (f. 70a)

NOTA: Attende, lector, quod Episcopus Ossoriensis fecit istas Cantilenas pro vicariis ecclesie Cathedralis, sacerdotibus et clericis suis, ad cantandum in magnis festis et solatiis ne guttura eorum et ora deo sanctificata polluantur cantilenis teatralibus turpibus et secularibus; et cum sint cantatores, provideant sibi de notis convenientibus secundum quod dictamina requirunt.

The Bishop of Ossory, then, seeing that his clergy had picked up from contact with the folk various "cantilene teatrales turpes" thought that it would be too much to ask them to renounce completely what they enjoyed singing. He therefore wrote pious words to fit the music of these vernacular songs, and in consequence reproduced in Latin the original form of the secular pieces now unremembered. So that his clergy would recognize the tune for the new Latin verses, Ledrede wrote at the head of some of his parodies the outstanding lines of the vernacular song concerned. These outstanding lines, the ones which would remain longest in the memory, happen to be the "refrains"; just as it was a "refrain," "Swete lamman dhin are," and not a particular line from among the stanzas, that remained longest in the mind of the absent-minded mass-priest.<sup>3</sup> In many cases where English is given the Latin lines following have quite a different metrical scheme; and so we see that the English is a burden and not the first line(s) of the original poem, and that the tune was set by this burden. By an inspection of these Latin songs, we can ascertain what was the form of their popular prototypes. Of the four songs which have been reproduced in facsimile, the basic form in each case is the same. I reproduce the first, a "Cantilena de Nativitate Domini" with the lines re-arranged to emphasize its essential carol form:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Carleton Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932), p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> J. T. Gilbert, *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland*, Part IV, Vol. II, Appendix, Plate xxiii (London, 1884).

## CANTILENA DE NATIVITATE DOMINI

Verbum caro factum est De Virgine Maria	Verbum caro factum est De Virgine Maria
Cujus nomen est qui est Verbum caro factum est Ab eterne natus est De patrio vsia	Docet fides quod ita est Verbum caro factum est Redemptor mundi natus est Hec est salutis via
Verbum caro factum est De Virgine Maria	Verbum caro factum est De Virgine Maria
Cujus mater virgo est Verbum caro factum est Deus humanatus est Felix genealogia	Cunctis creatis qui preest Verbum caro factum est Laus ejus nobis adest Hebemur mente pia
Verbum caro factum est De Virgine Maria	Verbum caro factum est De Virgine Maria
Salvator noster ipse est Verbum caro factum est Et Judex qui venturus est Non sit controversia	Amen

The other Latin examples do not invariably follow this typical stanzaic arrangement; but in all there is a fixed stanza form, and a burden connected with the last line of each stanza by rime, and repeated throughout, but outside the regular metrical scheme of the stanzas.

One of the nine fragments which are the burdens of the original English secular songs has a few extra lines which allow us to quote it not merely as a burden but as the first English song in stanza form with a burden—that is, as the first English carol. I alter the arrangement of the lines to show the form more clearly: <sup>5</sup>

Alas hou shold Y syng  
Y-loren is my playng  
Hou shold Y with that olde man  
.....  
To leven and . . . my leman  
Swettist of al thinge  
[Alas hou shold Y syng  
Y-loren is my playng]

<sup>5</sup> Gilbert in *HMCR*, *op. cit.*, p. 244.



A line may possibly have been omitted in the MS. here, but in any event there is a stanza and a rime-connected burden, which, on the analogy of the Latin texts, would be repeated after each stanza.

The implication that love was the typical theme of these songs is held out by the French burden for item 18:

Harrow ieo su trahy  
Par fol amour de mal amy

Another forsaken maiden's lament might have been contained in this plaint:

Gayneth me no garlond of greene  
But hit ben of wythoues ywroght

Certainly it is so in the French burden

Heu alas pur amour  
Q moy myst en taunt dolour

It is probable, since Ledrede declaims against secular songs, and since the English burdens are all from non-religious poems, that up to this time there had been no popular religious carols. If there had been such vernacular poems, why did the Bishop need to compose afresh Latin songs?

From these Latin imitations and the scanty English fragments we may establish a type of song—the carol—distinguished by three features: (a) It is a song to be sung together by a group of people; it tended more and more to become a song of religious joy to be sung at some important festival of the Church. (b) It has a fixed stanza form, often of four lines. (c) It has a burden which, while it may rime with one of the stanza lines, is outside the metrical form of the stanza, and is repeated after each verse. The date of these songs is the very early XIV century and possibly the late XIII century.

It requires no great stretching of the imagination to believe that if these Latin songs modelled on popular forms proved favourites with the Cathedral clergy, that the good Franciscans turned their Latin into similar songs in the vernacular or made such anew for the use at festivals by the common people in place of their profane “songes of fowle rebawdry and of unclennes.” It is rather a coincidence after the poems of Bishop Richard de Ledrede written in Ireland and the early allusion to “the holy londe of Irlandre” in

that exquisite waif of a carol,<sup>6</sup> that the Kildare MS. written by an Irish Franciscan<sup>7</sup> should have a poem in the form we have been discussing, at f. 32a, "Lollai, lollai, litil child, whi wepistou so sore."<sup>8</sup> This carol, and I believe it is a carol even though it has no regular burden (for that may have been lost), is extremely valuable; it is the only instance where a Franciscan made a Latin carol for the literate, and at the same time a vernacular on the same subject for the lewd; for at f. 62a of this MS. is the Latin form of this English song.

In the first half of the XIV century there is also another Franciscan MS. used for preaching purposes, Bodleian MS. 1871. Towards the end of the MS. is "Honnd by honnd we schulle ous take" which was<sup>9</sup>

one of the earliest English carols and the earliest 'Christmas carol' extant, (and) was probably used by a friar in connexion with his preaching.

But Dr. Greene did not notice that there is still another carol, admittedly fragmentary, embodied in the Latin homily "Audi filia et vide" in this same MS. It has a burden which is repeated several times in the text:<sup>10</sup>

My do3ter, my darlynnge,  
Herkne my lore, y-se my thechyng.

At f. 193b there is a complete stanza with burden:<sup>11</sup>

How mankende furst bygan,  
In what manschepe now ys man,  
What wykednesse man hat y-do,  
What ioye and blisse man ys y-bro3t

My do3ter, my derlyng,  
Herkne my lore, y-se my thechyng.

In the MS. the burden is bracketed at the side of the page to the quatrain. Grimestone's commonplace Book, although dated about

<sup>6</sup> E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics* (London, 1911), p. 279.

<sup>7</sup> Kildare MS. is Harley MS. 913. See Carleton Brown, *A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse* (Oxford, 1920), Vol. II, No. 2071 (st. 15).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1527.

<sup>9</sup> Greene, *op. cit.*, p. cxxv.

<sup>10</sup> Brown, *Register*, No. 1382.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 780.

1372, contains material of the first half of the xiv century. This too is a Franciscan MS. Dr. Greene extracts three carols;<sup>12</sup> but there is a fourth which he has not noted. It is in typical form of aaax with a burden of two lines:<sup>13</sup>

Womman, Ion I take to þe  
Instede of me þi sone to be.

Allas! wo sal myn herte slaken?  
To Ion I am towarde taken;  
Mi blisful Sone me hat forsaken,  
And I haue no mo.

[Womman, Ion I take to þe  
Instede of me þi sone to be.]

Wel may I mone and murning maken,  
And wepen til myn eyne aken,  
For wane of wele my wo is waken,  
Was neuere wif so wo!

[Womman, Ion I take to þe  
Instede of me þi sone to be.]

These seven complete poems, the earliest of the religious carols, all are found in Franciscan MSS. and were without doubt written for preaching purposes by the friars; and because they were based on a popular and well-known form of song they would instantly be appreciated by the congregation. Here then is unmistakable evidence that the Franciscans initiated the English religious popular carol. The tradition of carol writing was continued among the Franciscans and at the end of the xv century Ryman was still using this form; his output is about one-third of the total number of known carols. Ryman would be in touch with the traditional manner of writing of the friars, and it is noteworthy that many of his carols are in this early form of aaab with a refrain BB.

The religious carol became extremely popular, and in the xv century the minstrels encouraged it, so that it is the main feature of their MSS.—Sloane 2593, Bodleian 29734, and 259 at S. John's College, Cambridge. The internal evidence of the addresses to an audience seems to stamp these MSS. as intended for minstrel rather than religious use. The music, which does not appear in

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 229, 1255, 2383; Greene, *op. cit.*, Nos. 149a, 155a, 271.

<sup>13</sup> Brown, *Register*, No. 100.

any of the early preachers' books or in the special minstrel collections on account of lack of space, is nevertheless shown to be an essential part of the type by the three carol collections, all of which possess musical settings.<sup>14</sup> The especial value of the minstrel MSS. is that they give the key to the popular taste in the xv century, as opposed to the courtly type. These songs were just those which appealed to the mass of the people who would listen and join in on village green or in the tavern, as well as in the hall of the nobles. The great preponderance of religious songs, particularly Christmas carols, is remarkable, when we remember that there was no necessity to preserve the religious songs, but that if secular and coarse songs had been popular they too would have been written down. In the Bodleian MS. 29734 for every secular poem there are two religious. We are forced to conclude that the popular taste of the xv century demanded religious carols. But by this time, of course, all connection with the notion of religious propaganda had died out, and the carol had become fixed as a popular form both for religious and secular songs.

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## LIBRI IMPRESSI CUM NOTIS MANUSCRIPTIS

### PART I

In the field of early printed books, there are few bibliographical problems left to be solved. These books have been so thoroughly examined from a textual and typographical point of view that few great discoveries can be expected to be made in the future. To this general rule, there is, however, one outstanding exception and that concerns the manuscript entries frequently met with in the earlier books. It is true, of course, that these are mostly only of bibliographical interest, but every now and again small jottings that have some literary value come to light in the margins or on the blank pages of these books. These are usually dismissed with a few words or entirely omitted in the various descriptive catalogues

<sup>14</sup> MSS. Bodleian, 3340; Trinity College, Cambridge, 1230; Cambridge University Library, Additional 5943.

of the books, but they have as much claim as any other piece of literature to some form of permanent record. It is proposed, therefore, to publish from time to time, under the present title, such manuscript entries as may be presumed to have any literary interest. The books in which these entries are found are preserved, unless specially noted to the contrary, in The Pierpont Morgan Library, and for the convenience of those wishing to examine or confirm these for themselves the accession numbers of the books are given together with the symbol *PML*.

## I

The first book to be so noticed is the English translation of the *De consolatione philosophiae* printed by William Caxton about the year 1478 (*PML*., 775). On the last printed page there are two short entries, written by the same hand and probably in the first half of the sixteenth century. The first reads:

Love þat is powre it is with pyne  
 Love that is riche it is ethe for to tyne  
 Love that is hot it can no skyl  
 Love that is cold it waxys some ill  
 Love that is changeable þat is ryght nawght  
 Love dangerowse þat is dere bowght  
 Love that is false it will a-way  
 Love that is trwe it lastythe aye.

This stanza is not included in Carleton Brown's *A Register of Middle English Religious & Didactic Verse* (Bibliographical Society, 1916-20), and I do not recall off hand that it forms part of any longer work. The lines are obviously of no great poetic merit. Cf. Carleton Brown, *Eng. Lyrics of 13th Cy.*, No. 53.

The second piece, which is incomplete at the end but is of some interest because of the reference to Lydgate, reads as follows:

## OUT OF A SERMON PRECHID AT POWLS CROSSE

Ther was a vertuous monke of Bury called Lydgate, whiche wrot many notable historis & made many vertuous ballettes to þe encrease of vertwe & oppressyon of vyce. And amonge other he made a treatyse called Galand & all þe kyndred of Galand he discryved ther-in. I suppose yf galantes vnderstonde þe progeny, they wolte refuse to be of that felowshyp & kyndrede. The occasion of makynge this boke was whan Englysshe men were set out & loste Fraunce, Gascoyne, Gyone, & Normandy & came home

dysgwysed<sup>1</sup> in theyr garmentes in every parte of theyr bodyes, whiche Engleshe men sawe never before, and many folowed the lewde & abhomynable garments in so moche þat all good men [? were wroth with] them, and this good monke in detestacion of theyr synne & wretchidnes made þe sayd boke in balad wyse. And þe repete of every balet was this: Englonde may wayle that ever galand came here.<sup>2</sup> And in short<sup>3</sup> season after were grete surrections & murdre of lords & other, as I doubte not many that lyvethe can remember it. I praye God they maye amend them, that we be not punysshed for them & wayle theyr wretchidnesse, for because we suffre the sub- . . .

The ballad here referred to is apparently the one printed in Sir Egerton Brydges' *Censura Literaria* (second edition, London, 1815, Vol. I, pp. 62-66). The poem is also found in a manuscript of the third quarter of the fifteenth century and was subsequently printed by Wynkyn de Worde. This ballad is now no longer believed to have been written by Lydgate. Professor MacCracken says of it:

Bishop John Alcock (d. 1500), in a sermon preached in his old age, attributed this poem to Lydgate, saying that he remembered it in his youth. Alcock was about 19 years old when Lydgate died. It is of course not absolutely certain that the Ballade we possess is in the original form, or precisely the one Alcock had in mind, though the refrain he quotes is that of our poem.<sup>4</sup>

The sermon here printed is probably the same one noted by MacCracken, although it is not, in this entry, directly ascribed to Bishop Alcock, and is consequently not an independent authority for ascribing such a poem to Lydgate. We may note, however, that the refrain differs slightly from that printed by Brydges, where it reads:

Englonde may wayle that ever it came here.

This is clearly insufficient evidence for assuming that a different (and earlier) version of the poem existed in addition to the one that has come down to us, but it does not preclude the fact that there may have been some such version.

<sup>1</sup> After dysgwysed MS. reads: in theyr garmandye & came home dysgwysed. This obvious copyist's error was subsequently cancelled.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. originally read: Englonde may wayle that every balet was this galand came here. Another scribal error, later corrected.

<sup>3</sup> After short, the scribe wrote space which he then cancelled.

<sup>4</sup> The *Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, E. E. T. S., E. S., CVII, p. xxxii.

## II

On the blank fly-leaves of Henry Bull's *Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations* (London, H. Middleton, 1570-PML., 7768), there are several interesting entries written in an artificial "writing master" style. At the end of the last entry is written, apparently with the same ink and at the same time, the name: T. Heneage. The signature is that of Sir Thomas Heneage,<sup>5</sup> a favorite of Queen Elizabeth's and vice-chamberlain of her court, and this gives fair reason for believing that the verses printed below were actually composed by Queen Elizabeth. On the first fly-leaf is written:

## GENUS INFOELIX VITAE

Multum vigilaui, laboraui, presto multis fui,  
Stultitiam multorum perpessa sum,  
Arrogantiam pertuli, Difficultates exorbui,  
Vixi ad aliorum arbitrium, non ad meum.

A haples kynde of lyfe is this I weare;  
Moch watche I dure, and weary toilinge daies;  
I serue the route, and all their follies beare;  
I suffer pryde, and suppe full harde assaies;  
To others wyll, my life is all address;  
And no ware so, as might content me best.

This aboue was written in a booke by the Queenes Matie.

On the second fly-leaf are the following lines by Sir Thomas to an unidentified "noble Lady":

Madam, but marke the labours of our lyfe,  
And therewithall, what errours we be in;  
We sue and seeke, with praiers, sturre and stryfe,  
Vppon this earthe a happie state to win.

And whilst with cares, we trauell to content vs  
In vaine desires, and sette no certaine scope,  
We reape but things whereof we oft repent vs,  
And feede our wylles with moch beguilinge hope.

We praie for honours, lapt in daungers handes;  
We striue for riches, which we streight forgoe;  
We seeke delyte, that all in poison standes;  
And sette with paines, but seedes of synne and woe.

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<sup>5</sup> I am obliged to Dr. Robin Flower of the British Museum for confirming my belief that the signature was that of Sir Thomas Heneage.

Then noble lady, need we not to praie  
 The lord of all, for better state and staie.  
 Your La: moch bound  
 T. Heneage.

Although perhaps not comparable to the finest Elizabethan verse, the lines are not without a certain charm. Sir Thomas was on intimate terms with many of the literary lights of the period (including Sir Philip Sidney, Sir William Fleetwood, John Foxe, and others) and it is pleasant to note that he was also able to turn out quite tolerable verse.

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## BEDE'S STORY OF CÆDMON AGAIN

The recent note (*MLN.*, LII, 412 f.) on the heavenly visitor's reply to Cædmon calls up anew two interesting questions, namely, what is the meaning of *attamen mihi cantare habes?* and, how did the Old English translator understand that sentence? According to Mr. John M. McBryde, 'nevertheless you can sing for me'<sup>1</sup> is the proper rendering both of the Latin and of the Old English text. Can this be substantiated?

Latin *habere* with infinitive, = 'to be in a position, to be able,' occurs (generally with an object, it seems) in expressions like *quid habes de causa dicere?*, *de republica nihil habeo ad te scribere*, but is rarely found outside of Cicero's works (Draeger, *Historische Syntax der lateinischen Sprache*, § 413). Doubtless, the type *haec habui dicere* is rather different from 'you have the ability to sing.' On the other hand, *habere* with infinitive as a synonym of *debere*, is very common especially in the writings of ecclesiastics, e. g. Tertullianus (some 30 examples), Lactantius, Cyprianus, Ambrosius (Draeger, § 414). In Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* another clear instance, apart from the passage under discussion, has been noticed by me, I, c. 7: *quaecumque illi debebantur supplicia, tu solvere habes*, OE. version, 36.7: *þu scealt ðam ylcan wite onfon, ðe he*

<sup>1</sup> With special emphasis on *mihi*, *mē*. Cf. Charles G. Osgood, *The Voice of England* (1935), p. 2: 'Nay, but for me you have a song.'



*geearnode*. Besides, a similar case, approximating the future tense (as in the Romanic languages), occurs in our very chapter, IV, 22 (24): *neque enim mori adhuc habes*, freely rendered, 348.3: *ne þinre forþfore swa neah is*.

Moreover, leaving aside purely linguistic considerations, a plain contradiction: (I can not sing—) you can sing, seems less likely than a categorical command: you have to sing (no matter what you tell me). This, of course, is a matter of opinion.

The readings of our passage in the Old English MSS. may now be recalled. T (which is nearest to the archetype): *hwæðre þu meaht singan*; O and Ca: *hwæðere þu meaht me singan*; B: *hwæðere þu me miht singan*. That the pronoun *me*, which seems to be wanting in T, is merely hidden away in our editions, was suggested by me thirty-six years ago. In *JGPh.*, III, 497-500 I proposed as the original reading: *þū mē aht singan* (you have to sing to me), which is the closest possible rendering of the Latin text. That subsequent scribes misapprehended *me aht* as *meaht* is very natural indeed. For further details of the argumentation the reader is referred to the paper mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

It should be added that Max Förster (*Altengl. Lesebuch*, p. 18), with scholarly caution, called attention to the fact that *mihi* does not occur in the Latin text, Tiberius C. II (of the C. group of MSS., to which the Old English translation is to be referred, cf. Plummer, I, p. cxxix). Still, granting the proposition that the particular MS. used by the translator did not contain the pronoun, the addition of *me* (which actually appears in O, Ca, B) would not be more remarkable in this place than in the following line, where all the MSS. read *sing me frumsceaft*, as over against the Latin *canta principium creaturarum*. This could easily have been suggested by the foregoing *canta mihi aliquid*.

I venture to close with a quotation from my old paper: "The chance of *magan* having been chosen as the English equivalent of *habere* is infinitesimal."

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. OHG. *Weissenburger Catechismus*: *ei thes cumfti alle man ei arstandanne eigun*, = *resurgere habent* (future tense); also Gothic *haban* (see Streitberg's Glossary).

## THE PARSON'S TALE AND THE MARRIAGE GROUP

In the Parson's Tale occurs a passage over which many readers have very likely paused with interest and curiosity. It is that in which the whole argument of the Marriage Group<sup>1</sup> is summarized and an unequivocal decision given as to whether the husband or wife should exercise lordship. The Parson says:<sup>2</sup>

Now comth how that a man sholde bere hym with his wif, and namely in two thynges, that is to seyn, in suffraunce and reverence, as shewed Crist whan he made first womman. For he ne made hire nat of the heved of Adam, for she sholde nat clayme to greet lordshipe. For ther as the womman hath the maistrie, she maketh to muche desray. Ther nedene none ensamples of this; the experience of day by day oghte suffice. Also, certes, God ne made nat womman of the foot of Adam, for she ne sholde nat been holden to lowe; for she kan nat paciently suffre. But God made womman of the ryb of Adam, for womman sholde be felawe unto man.

The question, of course, which is fundamental and which every Chaucerian would like to have answered is whether this is Chaucer's own composition or whether he is merely translating. If it is his own we must include the passage in any discussion of the Marriage Group. We must think of the Parson as answering the Wife of Bath, to fit whose argument God must have made Eve of the head of Adam; as answering the Clerk, to fit whose argument Eve must have been created from the foot of Adam. We must think of him, moreover, as stamping with ecclesiastical approval the views of the Franklyn, who in the introduction to his tale says much about a union of perfect friendship in which neither the husband or the wife exercises headship.

But was it Chaucer's own composition? We know that for the most part the Parson's Tale is a translation, though the immediate source has not been found. Until further discovery, however, Miss Petersen's conclusions remain the last word on the sources of the Parson's Tale.<sup>3</sup> The passage under discussion occurs in the treatise

<sup>1</sup> In the article which first called attention to the Marriage Group, *MP.*, ix (1912), 435-67, Kittredge interprets the *Canterbury Tales* as a Human Comedy in which the tales are speeches put into the mouths of the *dramatis personae*.

<sup>2</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1934), p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> This is true in spite of H. G. Pfander's recent attempt to identify the Parson's Tale as a manual of religion rather than a sermon. *Of* H. G. Pfander, *MP.*, xxxv (1936), 243-58.

on the Deadly Sins, that portion of the Parson's Tale which, as Miss Petersen demonstrates, follows in many passages the *Summa seu Tractatus de Viciis* of Guilielmus Perardus. But this passage is not paralleled in Perardus.<sup>4</sup> Hence, until further discovery concerning Chaucer's immediate source, we have no proof that it was not Chaucer's addition to the sermon he was translating.

But it was not Chaucer's invention. It was a commonplace in medieval religious literature.

Its first use in point of time occurs in a sermon by Saint Martin of Leon,<sup>5</sup> probably delivered late in the twelfth century, and included by Migne in his *Patrologia*:<sup>6</sup>

Mulier non de qualibet parte corporis viri, sed de latere ejus formata est, ut ostenderetur quia in consortium creabatur dilectionis; ne forte si de capite fuisset, viro ad dominationem videretur praeferenda, aut si de pedibus, ad servitutem subjicienda. Quia igitur jure nec domina, nec ancilla probatur, sed socia; nec de capite, nec pedibus, sed de latere fuerat producenda, ut juxta se ponendam cognoscerat, quam de suo latere simptam didicisset.

The next parallel is a sermon by Robert de Sorbon (13th century) entitled *de Matrimonio*:<sup>7</sup>

Item, mulier facta fuit de costa viri, non de inferiori parte vel de superiori, sed de media, ut per hoc significaretur quod mulier debet esse equalis viro suo.

Here are two analogues, then, before Chaucer's time. Apparently the idea was afloat. Yet Dr. Owst, in *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, presents evidence that women were held in dishonor in pulpit oratory. In fact, he holds that Chaucer could easily have found his pattern for the Wife of Bath in the denunciations of women commonly shouted from the pulpits of medieval

<sup>4</sup> Kate Petersen, *The Sources of the Parson's Tale* (Boston, 1901).

<sup>5</sup> St. Martin of Leon, a priest and canon regular of the Augustinians. Born in Leon in Spain before 1150; died there in 1203. The Church has not officially included Martin in the list of saints. His complete works were published first by Espinosa (Seville, 1782); and again by Migne in *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1855).

<sup>6</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cccviii, 583.

<sup>7</sup> B. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits de quelques Mss. latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1890), i, 189.

England.<sup>8</sup> It would seem, then, that the view of woman as an equal of man would be unusual in the pulpit.

In order to discover to what extent unpublished medieval sermons make use of this analogy I wrote to Owst. He gave generous help and procured the aid of B. F. C. Atkinson, Keeper of the Western MSS. at the Cambridge University Library. Atkinson discovered a very close analogue in an unpublished MS. which Owst has described as a "typical marriage-sermon of the day."<sup>9</sup> It contains the following passage:<sup>10</sup>

Allmȳtzy god fformyd womā not off the hȳest pty off man yat is ffor to seye off the hede ner' off the lawest pty off yat is the ffoot bat off a rybbe off the sydi not ffer ffrom manȳs hert in yat womān vuld not usurpe to have dñacōn ne pmynece above man ne man vulde not sett woma. . .

Atkinson noted that "the hand is a thick one with certain letters strangely formed, notably *v*. The dialect is north country or lowland Scotch."

As to the date of this manuscript Owst noted that "it is xv century. But it may, of course, well be a typical copy or free version of a much earlier composition."

I am not at all interested in proposing the point that this sermon may be as early as Chaucer's day. To me it is significant that we have an analogue for the twelfth century, one for the thirteenth, Chaucer's for the fourteenth, and this from an unpublished MS. for the fifteenth century. This is undoubtedly far from a complete list, yet sufficient to indicate that the story was in fairly general use.

Nor does the appearance of this same analogy cease in our own day. It has been found in the folk songs of our southern states, as is demonstrated by the following excerpt from Lomax's *White Spirituals of the Southern Uplands*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> G. R. Owst, *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England* (New York, 1933), p. 385.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> MS. Camb. Univ. Libr. Gg. vl. 16, fol. 29b.

<sup>11</sup> John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax, *American Ballads and Songs*, p. 567. The editors reprint the song from George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals of the Southern Uplands*.

## WEDLOCK

When Adam was created,  
He dwelt in Eden's shade  
As Moses has related,  
Before a bride was made;  
Ten thousand times ten thousand  
Things wheeled all around,  
Before a bride was formed,  
Or yet a mate was found.

He had no consolation,  
But seemed as one alone,  
Till, to his admiration,  
He found he'd lost a bone;  
This woman was not taken  
From Adam's head, we know;  
And she must not rule o'er him,  
It's evidently so.

This woman she was taken  
From near to Adam's heart,  
By which we are directed  
That they should never part.  
The book that's called the Bible,  
Be sure you don't neglect;  
For in every sense of duty,  
It will you both direct.

This woman is commanded  
To do her husband's will,  
In everything that's lawful,  
Her duty to fulfill.  
Great was his exultation  
To see her by his side;  
Great was his elevation,  
To have a loving bride.

This woman she was taken  
From under Adam's arm;  
And she must be protected  
From injury and harm.  
This woman was not taken  
From Adam's feet we see,  
And she must not be abused  
The meaning seems to be.

The husband is commanded  
To love his loving bride  
And live as does a Christian,  
And for his house provide.

The woman is commanded  
 Her husband to obey  
 In everything that's lawful  
 Until her dying day.

Avoiding all offenses,  
 Not sow the seeds of strife—  
 These are the solemn duties  
 Of every man and wife.

And when we find that Lincoln composed verses for his sister's wedding which include the following stanzas, our guess is that he did not invent the idea, but that it was "in the air," either in the folk songs he heard (he may very well have known the ballad just quoted), or in the sermons.<sup>12</sup>

The woman was not taken  
 From Adam's feet we see  
 So he must not abuse her,  
 The meaning seems to be.

The woman was not taken  
 From Adam's head, we know,  
 To show she must not rule him—  
 'Tis evidently so.

The woman she was taken  
 From under Adam's arm,  
 So she must be protected  
 From injuries and harm.

Evidently the foot, the head, and the rib of Adam have had a long history—at least eight centuries; for between our own day and the fifteenth century the legend must have been perpetuated at least by word of mouth.

What then must we conclude about Chaucer's use of it? Did he perhaps, because it expressed his own views with peculiar point and freshness, add it to his redaction when that appropriate moment occurred? Or was it a part of the untraced version of *Peraldu*s from which he was translating? A comparison of Chaucer's account of the creation of Eve with the parallels quoted in this paper reveals a significant difference. All of the versions, except Chaucer's, deal with the story, as it were in skeleton. But in the Parson's Tale there is something entirely different. There is

<sup>12</sup> Nicolay and Hay, *Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 1, 288.

speculation as to what would happen if the various arrangements were tried out.

Let us look at them. Chaucer says that God did not make Eve of the head of Adam, for she should not claim too great lordship. So far, so good; that was what they all said. But Chaucer adds something that looks like practical common sense. What would happen if you tried it out?<sup>13</sup>

For ther as the womman hath the maistrie  
she maketh to much desray.

We cannot be certain, of course, that this is Chaucer's contribution, but it is the sort of thing that Chaucer would have added had he been working over the skeletal story as found in the other analogues. It has the real Chaucerian flavor. And it is tempting to visualize the knowing glance that the Parson might at this point have cast upon the Wife of Bath—had Chaucer thought of him as of the other pilgrims, one of the *dramatis personae*. Or must we still think of him as hermetically sealed away from the debate that the Wife had launched? At any rate Chaucer lets him add a broad hint that perhaps an arch example of what he means is close at hand, for he adds:<sup>14</sup>

Ther neden none ensamples of this; the  
experience of day by day oghte suffice.

As we go on with Chaucer's text we find him making the same kind of practical speculation as to the second arrangement. Woman cannot be placed too low "for she kan nat paciently suffre."<sup>15</sup> There is nothing like it in the analogues. Is it Chaucer speaking? Is he, perhaps, trying to say that Griselda may do very well in a story, but we all know that women are not like that?

These interpolations are, indeed, not a proof that Chaucer was working over a commonplace in his own way. But they indicate such a possibility. Perhaps in any study of the Marriage Group they ought not to be entirely overlooked.

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<sup>13</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, p. 307.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

CHAUCER AND *THE DECAMERON*

It has long been known that Chaucer's *Mannes Tale of Lawe* is derived from Nicholas Trivet's version of the Constance saga as set down in the *Anglo-Norman Chronicle*. There is a Boccaccio-Chaucer link, however, that I believe has never been pointed out. In the *Decameron*, Fifth Day, Second Tale, a story is related that evidently bears heavily upon the old legend for its materials. In fact, the name of the heroine, Gostanza, looks in that direction; and the familiar *motifs* in the plot practically clinch the matter:

- (1) Gostanza is a patient, long-suffering, Christian heroine.
- (2) She is cast adrift at sea in a ship ready furnished with victuals.
- (3) The boat is stranded and the heroine is befriended by a woman.
- (4) She makes herself beloved of all by her domestic diligence.
- (5) She is reunited with a lover who thought her dead.
- (6) The couple return to their native country.

But a Constance in the *Decameron* opens an old argument; for scholars are uniformly agreed that Chaucer did not know that work of Boccaccio's. Miss Hammond sees in those stories of Chaucer's that lean in plot toward tales in the *Decameron* only "a common folklore origin known to both authors";<sup>1</sup> and Professor Cummings entirely agrees with Miss Hammond's opinion.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, neither of these authorities on Chaucer have included the *Mannes Tale of Lawe* in their lists of stories from the *Canterbury Tales* that have kindred narratives in the *Decameron*; and one device employed by Chaucer and Boccaccio alone, stands out as suggestive. It is a strange coincidence that both Custance and Gostanza speak Latin when rescued from their ships; whereas the Constance of Trivet speaks "Saxon."<sup>3</sup>

*Trivet*: Et Elda decendi a la pucele en sa neef, & lui demanda de son

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<sup>1</sup> E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual*, New York, 1908, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> H. M. Cummings, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio*, University of Cincinnati Studies, x (Part 2), 176, 1916.

<sup>3</sup> The Constance of the version of the saga in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* merely speaks, without explanation of what language she used. See G. C. Macaulay, *Complete Works of John Gower*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1901, II, 483.



estre. E ele lui respoundi en sessoneys, *que* fu la langage Elda, come celui *que* estoit apris en diuerses langagez, come auant est dit.<sup>4</sup>

*Boccaccio*: . . . e pensando che in quella i pescatori dormissono, andò alla barca e niuna altra persona che questa giovane vi vide, la quale essa lei, che forte dormiva, chiamò molte volte, ed alla fine fattala risentire ed all'abito conosciutala che cristiana era, parlando latino la domandò come fosse che ella quivi in quella barca così soletta fosse arrivata. . . . La Gostanza appresso domandò chi fosse la buona femina che così latin parlava.<sup>5</sup>

*Chaucer*:  
A maner Latyn corrupt was hir speche,  
But algates therby was she understonde.<sup>6</sup>

Editors of Chaucer have conscientiously made note of this variation from the Trivet text. Professor Robinson even deals in interesting speculation:

According to Trivet she spoke to Elda in Saxon ('en sessoneys'). Chaucer's *maner Latyn corrupt* has a curiously precise air, as if he were consciously characterizing late popular Latin. Indeed the whole account of Roman Britain in the tale conforms to historic fact to a degree unusual in mediaeval stories.<sup>7</sup>

It is hard to agree with such a statement. This new Constance in evidence rather points to the possibility that Chaucer purposely wove into the *Mannes Tale of Lawe* an incident from the *Decameron*, or from one of its sources.

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## THE NORTHERN HOMILY CYCLE, AND MISSIONARIES TO THE SARACENS

In the homily for Septuagesima Sunday there occurs a passage that seems to furnish important basis for assigning a more definite date than has yet been arrived at for the Northern Homily Cycle.

<sup>4</sup> *Originals and Analogues of Some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, London, Chaucer Society, 1875, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Il Decameron*, Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1877, II, 15.

<sup>6</sup> F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933, p. 81, l. 519.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 798, note on l. 519.

The homilist, in expounding the parable of the laborers in the vineyard, speaks of the lord of the vineyard who found idle workmen,

And askid whi þai stode tome all daie  
 And þai saide na man walde vs laye  
 Als who saye no man come vs to  
 To saye vs what þ<sup>t</sup> we suld do  
 For nouþer prechure ne prophete  
 Kende vs oure synnes for to lete  
 Right so may now þir sarzines saie  
 For na man techis þaim þe waie  
 How þai sall wende to heuen blisse  
 Forthi me think þe pape duse misse  
 þ<sup>t</sup> will noȝt send prechours þaim to  
 To fande if þaire worde might oght do.<sup>1</sup>

Now, the interest of the Orders of Friars in missionary enterprise, and their actual missionary activity almost from the date of their founding, are matters of common knowledge. The interest which leads our author to force an interpretation of the parable, identifying the Saracens with the idle workmen, and to criticise the Pope for obstructing missionary activity would seem to be a strong suggestion of Friar authorship for the Northern Homily Cycle, a suggestion lent further color by the address of the Papal communication cited below.<sup>2</sup> The criticism of the Pope further implies that, although Friars are known to have been in the mission field from an early date, there was at the time the homily was written Papal prohibition against missionary expeditions to the Saracens. If, then, this prohibition could be shown to have existed, and to have been terminated, it would seem that the termination date would mark the time before which the Northern Cycle must have been written. Fortunately, the document exists in which the obstruction is removed and the obstructionist named.

Over the subscription "*Datum Pictaviis X Kalend. Augusti Pontificatus nostri anno II,*" Pope Clement V issued a communication quoted in full in Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, and summarized in the marginal notation, "Clemens V Amplissimum con-

<sup>1</sup>I quote from Bodley MS. Ashmole 42, fol. 50<sup>a</sup> f.; the Septuagesima homily has never been printed. For *incipit* and MSS. in which it occurs, see Carleton Brown, *Register*, II, No. 1189.

<sup>2</sup>This and other evidence for Friar authorship I shall discuss at some length in my edition of the Northern Homily Cycle now in hand.

cedit privilegium Minoritis ad terras Infidelium proficiscentibus."<sup>3</sup> This message is addressed "Dilectis filiis Fratribus de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, in terras Sarracenorum, Paganorum, . . . aliarumque non credentium Nationum Orientis, et Aquilonis, seu quarumcumque aliarum partium proficiscentibus." Clement begins his letter with a justification of missionary work, supported by Biblical authority. He points out how splendid will be the service of him who works for Christianity "in terris quae adhuc Sedis Apostolicae magisterio non intendunt." He offers special indulgence to those who work in the Holy Land. Having called attention to the difficulties, real and official, he removes all official obstruction. This he does "Non obstante prohibitionem fel. rec. Bonifacii Papae VIII praedecessoris nostri," which he hereafter declares void (*inane*).

Clement V was elected to the Papacy on June 5, 1305. July of the second year of his Pontificate would, therefore, be July 1306. It is difficult to see how the passage quoted from the Northern Homily Cycle could have been written after Clement's decree. Further than that, it would not appear to be assuming too much to suppose that the Pope criticized by our homilist as "þe papa [þ<sup>r</sup>] duse misse" was Boniface VIII, whose prohibition Clement removes. Pope Boniface was elected December 24, 1294, and crowned in January, 1295. It seems reasonably certain, then, that the Northern Homily Cycle was written between January of 1295 and July of 1306; and it seems more than likely that it was written before October 1303, when Boniface died.

The consensus of current opinion as to the date of the Northern Homily Cycle is adequately summed up by Professor Wells when he says "the work was done at the beginning of the fourteenth century. . . ."<sup>4</sup> The evidence here presented does not make necessary any very radical change in that opinion. It does, however,

<sup>3</sup> *Additio Patris Lucae Waddingi, Tomus VI* (3rd ed., 1931), pp. 110 ff.

<sup>4</sup> J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in M.E.*, p. 288. Cf. also C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, n. F. (Heilbronn, 1881), p. lvii; J. S. Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England* (N. Y., Columbia University Press, 1911), p. 94; J. A. Herbert, *Cat. of Romances in the Brit. Mus.*, III, 321 note; Frances A. Foster, *The Northern Passion* (E. E. T. S., 1916), p. 3; Gordon H. Gerould, *Saints' Legends* (Boston, 1916), p. 171.

supply a factual basis hitherto entirely lacking for dating the Cycle. It provides a date within the probable limits of a decade; and it definitely establishes the *terminus ad quem*. And, more than that, it supplies a strong hint that the author belonged to one of the Mendicant Orders.

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### SPENSER'S RHETORIC AND THE "DOLEFUL LAY"

Despite the evidence<sup>1</sup> adduced by Professors Long and Osgood some years back to show that Spenser wrote the "Doleful Lay of Clorinda," Professor Renwick adheres to the traditional view that it is the work of the Countess of Pembroke, and omits it from his edition of *Astrophel*.<sup>2</sup> The problem of authorship thus seems to require further examination, and this I propose to give it by an analysis of the rhetorical figures in the poem.

It is necessary first to note certain structural characteristics of the Spenserian elegy, such as are to be observed in the November eclogue, *The Ruines of Time*, and *Daphnaida*. The elegy is made up of a framework, a narration of facts, and a "complaint." This last element, the emotional outcry of the one bereft, is naturally the heart of the poem; it is the part in which Spenser indulges his love of rhetorical artifice to the full in an attempt to develop emotion to the highest pitch. An elegy without a complaint would be an anomaly in Spenser, and yet if we read *Astrophel* as printed in Professor Renwick's edition, we encounter just that. In *Astrophel*, after a brief introduction, Spenser describes at length the person and character of his subject in a figure of amplification known to one of his schooling as *prosographia*, and then proceeds with an allegorical narration, culminating in the death of Astrophel and his metamorphosis into a flower. While the grief of his friends is mentioned, it is not presented as a complaint; that most essential division of the elegy is supplied in the verses known to post-Spen-

<sup>1</sup> P. W. Long, "Spenseriana: *The Lay of Clorinda*," *MLN.*, xxxi (1916), 79-82. C. G. Osgood, "The 'Doleful lay of Clorinda,'" *MLN.*, xxxv (1920), 90-96.

<sup>2</sup> Spenser, *Daphnaida and Other Poems*, ed. W. L. Renwick, London, 1929.

serian scholars as the "Doleful Lay of Clorinda." Now it is hardly likely that Spenser would consider his task as elegist of Sidney at an end when he had written only such a fragment of an elegy as *Astrophel* is by itself. And if he did write the complaint, his attribution of it to "Clorinda" would be quite in accord with his practice at this period of his career: in *The Ruins of Time* the wretched woman who represents "Verlame" utters the plaint; in *Daphnaida*, Alcyon.

From a rhetorical point of view, the "Lay" would delight the heart of any Renaissance schoolmaster. Every one of its sixteen stanzas contributes to the development of one of the larger tropes or schemes of thought and amplification. The first stanza skillfully combines *dubitatio* (doubt or hesitation) with *expeditio* ("when many reasons being reckoned, by which something may eyther be done or not done, one reason is lefte, which wee stand vnto, and conclude upon, and the other are taken awaye.")<sup>8</sup> This latter figure is then developed through the next three stanzas. There is a more concise example of it in the forty-third poem in the *Amoretti*:

Shall I then silent be or shall I speake?  
And if I speake, her wrath renew I shall:  
and if I silent be, my hart will breake,  
or choked be with ouerflowing gall.

. . . . .  
Yet I my hart with silence secretly  
will teach to speak, and my just cause to plead, etc.

It is to be observed that the same suggestion of *dubitatio* appears at the beginning of each of these examples of *expeditio*, and that *anaphora* is employed to introduce the two rejected "reasons" in each.

Stanzas 5-7 develop the *allegoria* of *Astrophel* as a flower. Whoever wrote them was well acquainted with the metamorphosis in *Astrophel* and put it to good use here. Stanzas 7-8 and 9-10 are examples of the *apostrophe* almost invariably found in a Spenserian complaint; they are addressed respectively to the "shepherds lasses" and to Death. This second apostrophe, of course, involves another figure—*prosopopoeia* (personification). In stanzas 10 and 11 there is the figure *interrogatio*, which prepares the way

<sup>8</sup> Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*, London, 1577, sig. T4r.

for one of the basic figures in stanzas 12-15, *subiectio* ("when we aunswere to our own demaund").<sup>4</sup> These three stanzas also constitute an instance of *expolitio* ("when we abide still in one place, and yet seeme to speake diuers things, many times repeating one sentence, but yet with other wordes, sentences, exornations and fygures").<sup>5</sup> The last stanza of the "Lay" is another apostrophe, this time to the departed Astrophel.

This technique of developing the material of a poem through a series of rhetorical figures is one of the most notable characteristics of Spenser's art. From a thoroughgoing discipline at school in the handling of these figures, as is shown in my forthcoming study of his rhetoric, Spenser had at his fingertips literally scores of tropes and schemes, and was as adept at weaving out of them lines and stanzas as is a modern poet in the production of an occasional simile or metaphor. Artificial as such a practice may appear from our point of view, it nevertheless was the expression of an important doctrine in Spenser's theory of poetry and that of his generation.

There are no very close parallels to the "Lay" among the three elegies mentioned above so far as the actual rhetorical working out of the lament, figure by figure, is concerned. In *The Ruins of Time* and *Daphnaida*, which are the most profusely rhetorical of Spenser's poems, a good deal of the narration of fact is interspersed throughout the complaint, and they are of course much longer than the "Lay." The November eclogue, very closely related to the "Lay" in content, shows likewise more detailed resemblances in its rhetorical pattern. Four of its fifteen stanzas consist in whole or part of apostrophes; there are in addition extended examples of *interrogatio*, *comparatio*, and description of the desolate state of nature after the death of Dido.

But for a really clear-cut parallel to the complaint for Astrophel, we must turn to the fourth canto of Book III of *The Faerie Queene*. Here, with a slight rearrangement of material, we find an almost exact replica of the elegy: description of the hero Marinell, the story of his fatal encounter with Britomart, the mourning of the nymphs, and the complaint for his death, appropriately given to his mother Cymoent, as it was given to the sister of Astrophel in the other poem. The complaint of Cymoent occupies four stanzas (36-39). The first is an apostrophe to Marinell, and con-

<sup>4</sup> Peacham, *op. cit.*, sig. L4r.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. P4r.

tains also the figure *subiectio*. Next there is an apostrophe to Proteus, in the third stanza another case of *subiectio*, and at the end of the fourth a final apostrophe to Marinell. Allowing for differences occasioned by the particular circumstances of each complaint, it is clear that the same poetic technique, the same manner of developing a theme is operative in each. The complaint of Britomart earlier in the canto (stanzas 8-10), if not elegiac, at least akin to these in other ways, manifests once more this rhetorical habit of dealing with material. Its three stanzas are one continued apostrophe to Neptune, and the grief of Britomart is expressed throughout under the veil of an allegory.

To apply this rhetorical test of authorship in another way, we may compare the figures of verbal repetition which appear in *Astrophel* and the "Lay." Since the former is roughly twice the length of the latter, we should expect it to contain, assuming Spenser's authorship of both pieces, approximately double the number of these lesser schemes found in the "Lay." Naturally this test may not be applied mechanically; it is not supposed that Spenser inserted into his poems, at mathematically regular intervals, cases of *anaphora* or *polyptoton*. But in view of his extreme fondness for such rhetorical adornment, it is not amiss to assume that in pieces dealing with similar themes and composed at one time these figures will appear with something like the same frequency. The numbers of the more prominent are as follows: *anaphora*—*Astrophel* 12, "Lay" 6; *ploce* (simple word repetition)—12, 11; *polyptoton* (repetition of same word with different termination)—13, 8; *parison* (balance)—6, 2; *paranomasia* (repetition of words partly alike in sound)—7, 2; *anadiplosis* (repetition of word that ends one element at beginning of next)—4, 1. These, with a few other miscellaneous schemes, bring the respective totals to 57 and 31.

In addition to this numerical likeness, there is an unmistakable similarity in the way these figures of repetition are handled in the "Lay" and elsewhere in Spenser's poems. To anyone accustomed to observing Spenser's own peculiar treatment of the schemes, this point needs no elaboration; the effect he produces with them is not precisely the same as what we find, for instance, in the highly rhetorical lyrics of Nicholas Breton. Compare these two passages from *Astrophel* and the "Lay":

Tho (as he wild) vnto his loued lasse,  
 His dearest loue him *dolefully* did beare.  
 The *dolefulst* beare that euer man did see,  
 Was Astrophel, but dearest vnto mee.

147-150

And all the fields do waile their widow state  
 Sith death their *fairest flowre* did late deface.  
 The *fairest flowre* in field that ever grew,  
 Was Astrophel; that *was* we all may rew.

27-30

The special kind of cumulative effect produced by the repetition here is eminently characteristic of Spenser; another of his favorite devices is the practice of commenting on a word, e. g., the word "was" in the last of the verses quoted from the "Lay." Thus also in the November eclogue: "She while she *was*, (that *was*, a woful word to sayne)" (93).

While there are several other figures, such as *correctio*, *periphrasis*, and *synonymia* common to the "Lay" and *Astrophel*, it is hardly necessary to develop this comparison further. One important bit of evidence may be added: the paucity in the "Lay" of such tropes as metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche finds a parallel not only in *Astrophel* but in Spenser's other poems as well.

In order to claim the "Lay" for the Countess of Pembroke, we must assume a most remarkable coincidence: that she had had a rhetorical training similar to Spenser's and much practice in the use of figures, to say nothing of the ability to weave them into a successful imitation of the Spenserian cadence. That she was acquainted with the figures there is no doubt; for she retained a number of them in her translation of Garnier's *Antonius*. That she was able to put them to such use as Spenser in her original work there is very little evidence; her admittedly genuine poem, "A Dialogue between two Shepherds, Thenot and Piers, in praise of Astrea," does not reveal a rhetorical habit of composition at all comparable with Spenser's. Nor should this be surprising, for despite her very considerable attainments in literature, it is hardly likely that she had undergone the special discipline prerequisite to the handling of such a variety of figures with such apparent ease as we observe in the "Doleful Lay of Clorinda."

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THE DATE OF *A MIDSOMMER NIGHTS DREAM*

Francis Meres' reference to *A Midsummer Nights Dreame* in 1598 fixes the latest possible date for the play; and its place in Shakespeare's stylistic evolution, as determined by the computations of Fleay, König, and Ingram,<sup>1</sup> points to 1594-95. Of the nine other items of evidence cited in the variorum edition, only two have withstood the attacks of Wright and of Furness: most scholars agree that the play was probably written to celebrate a noble marriage at which Queen Elizabeth was apparently expected to be present; but, as critics do not agree as to whose marriage was thus celebrated, the matter of date still remains open. Titania's summary of the bad weather for the preceding year seemingly alludes to the period from the spring of 1594 to that of 1595; for Churchyard, Strype, Stowe, and Forman<sup>2</sup> testify to the unseasonable rains and ruined crops; and Professor Rickert, though she connects the play with the Elvetham festival of 1591, seems to give weight to this evidence.<sup>3</sup> Professor McCloskey, moreover, taking Bottom's song, "The Woosel cocke, so black of hew" as a parody of a poem that came out in 1594, suggests for Shakespeare's play the date of 1595.<sup>4</sup>

The present writer might add further evidence for 1595. After the night of misadventures in the woodland, Demetrius, just before dawn, refers to "yonder Venus in her glimmering sphere";<sup>5</sup> and again, later in the scene, Puck declares, "yonder shines Auroras harbinger," apparently a second reference to Venus as morning star. A computation based on the transit of Venus across the sun on December 7, 1631 N. S., shows that the planet was in superior conjunction on March 1, 1595, and remained west of the sun until inferior conjunction on December 18. Its greatest western elongation—i. e., its greatest angular distance from the sun and therefore

<sup>1</sup> See Neilson and Thorndike, *Facts about Shakespeare*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>2</sup> *Midsummer Nights Dreame*, ed. Furness var., pp. 250 *et seq.* See also Stowe, *Annales* [London, 1605], pp. 1279 and 1281.

<sup>3</sup> E. Rickert, "Political Propaganda and Satire in *A Midsummer Nights Dreame*," *MP.*, xxi, 53 *et seq.*, and 133 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> F. H. McCloskey, "The Date of *A Midsummer Nights Dream*," *MLN.*, xli, 389.

<sup>5</sup> *Dreame*, III, ii, 64.

greatest prominence in the sky—was May 12 N. S., which would be May 2 according to the Julian calendar then used in England. Thus in 1595, it was a bright and very obvious morning star from the latter part of April into June; and further computation shows that this is the only year between 1592 and 1598 in which Venus was clearly visible at this season as a morning star.<sup>6</sup> The movements of the heavenly bodies were commonplaces in the almanacks of the day; Venus would furnish an especially apt allusion in a nuptial comedy; and Shakespeare would hardly have introduced two needless references to it unless they fitted the occasion.

The year having thus been fixed as 1595, it remains to ascertain more closely, if possible, the month and day. Titania's speech about the weather and the reference to Venus as morning star point to late spring or early summer; and several other details in the play agree: Theseus remarks that the day of "Saint Valentine is past";<sup>7</sup> and Puck in the Epilogue says that the ploughman's task is done. The summer flowers that attend on Titania are hardly significant; for she remarks that summer is always with her.<sup>8</sup> The title suggests mid-summer, i. e., July 6; but that is rather late for several of the foregoing allusions; and it conflicts with the suggestion of Theseus that the lovers whom he finds in the forest "rose vp early, to obserue The right of May,"<sup>9</sup> i. e., for the customary celebrations of May Day morning.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, neither July 6 nor astronomical mid-summer, which would take place June 11 according to the Julian calendar,<sup>11</sup> would fit the new moon referred to in the play.<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, the play is full of lunar reference, much of it perhaps merely metaphoric; but some of it clearly astronomical. The Duke's wedding is to take place when the new moon is "a silver bow";<sup>13</sup> and the courtly lovers, who plan to elope the night before, hope for at least some moonlight to help them on their way.<sup>14</sup> Moreover,

<sup>6</sup> For assistance in the astronomical computations of this paper, the present writer takes pleasure in thanking his colleague, Professor C. N. Reynolds.

<sup>7</sup> *Dream*, IV, i, 156.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, III, i, 161.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, i, 146-147.

<sup>10</sup> Sir J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, London, 1919, II, 65, 272-3; IX, 359.

<sup>11</sup> The Gregorian calendar was not accepted in England until 1751.

<sup>12</sup> There was a moon on June 27 O. S.; but this would be too late for June 11 and too early for July 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Dream*, I, i, 2 et seq., and 92.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, i, 174 and 222.

as Oberon remarks, there actually is some "Moone-light";<sup>15</sup> and Quince's almanack announces that the moon "doth shine" on the evening following,<sup>16</sup> but apparently so faintly that the part of Moonlight had to be personally represented by an actor. Clearly, the last two nights of Shakespeare's comedy are supposed to be graced by a new moon. Taking 708.75 hours as the average lunation, one can readily calculate from the known dates of solar eclipses and other new moons the time of an astronomical new moon in April 1595; and a new moon apparent to the popular eye would occur two or three days later. Harvey mentions an eclipse of the sun on June 20, 1582, O. S. just after five A. M.;<sup>17</sup> Wright notes a new moon on May Day, 1592, O. S.;<sup>18</sup> and von Oppolzer's monumental work records a solar eclipse on Oct. 12, 1605 N. S., i. e. Oct. 2, O. S.;<sup>19</sup> all these dates agree in showing an astronomical new moon on April 29, 1595 O. S.; and the thin crescent might be dimly visible on the following evening and more clearly on May first. On the years immediately preceding and following, moreover, no new moon fell near to May Day. This date, furthermore, would show Venus as a morning star at its greatest brilliance. The present astronomical calculations, therefore, would agree with the earlier evidence that has generally been accepted and even more definitely fix the date on May Day, 1595 O. S.

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#### "FULL OF HIS ROPERIPE" AND "ROPERIPE TERMS"

There seems to be little support for the reading *roperie* in the Nurse's question concerning Mercutio (*R&J*, II, iv, 154), "What saucie merchant was this, that was so full of his roperie?" Only two cases of the use of the word earlier than *Romeo and Juliet* are recorded, and upon examination both prove to be false. The *NED*. cites the fragment of a Prodigal Son play, c. 1530; but the photo-

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 63.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, III, i, 55.

<sup>17</sup> R. Harvey, *Astrological Discourse*, London, 1583, p. 56.

<sup>18</sup> *Dreame*, Furness var. ed., p. 297.

<sup>19</sup> T. von Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse*, Vienna, 1887, p. 268 and plate 134.

graphic reproduction by the Malone Society plainly reads *ropperype termes*.<sup>1</sup> S. W. Singer in his edition of Shakespeare (1826) misquoted R. W.'s *The Three Ladies of London* (1584) as reading *roperye*,<sup>2</sup> and later editors have followed. But a photostat of the Huntington Library copy (sig. B i) clearly shows *roperipe*. The word is a noun, and the phrase almost that of the Nurse: "Thou art very pleasant and full of thy roperipe." The word roperipe is well known, and when it is remembered that the first quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* also reads "so full of his roperipe," the case for *roperie* becomes weak. The only other contemporary use of *roperie* occurs in Fletcher's *The Chances*, III, i, 78; and Emil Koepfel, cited by E. K. Chambers,<sup>3</sup> pointed out that Fletcher had modeled Gillian, who speaks of ropery, partly upon Juliet's nurse.

*Roperie* (the only spelling in Shakespeare and Fletcher texts), first appears in the second quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, and may be explained as a misprint for roperipe by the omission of the second "p." *Roperie* was retained in the later quartos and the first three folios, but the editors of both Shakespeare and Fletcher abandoned it before the seventeenth century was out, substituting *roguery* in the fourth Shakespeare and the second Beaumont and Fletcher folios. There were, of course, half a dozen words or phrases all deriving from the hangman's rope, so that Shakespeare might easily have coined the word *roperie*. But I suppose it to be a principle of textual criticism that a coinage should not be accepted without good reason, where the alternative is a well established word. In favor of *roperie* it may be said that Fletcher should have known what the word was, and that it appears in Q2, which is believed to be a revision by Shakespeare of the basic text of Q1.<sup>4</sup> But such considerations can hardly outweigh the facts that *roperie* is unknown; that it is easily explained as a misprint; that Fletcher may have adopted it either as a real word or as an attractive coinage; that *roperipe* is the reading of Q1, which was more carefully printed than Q2; and that the same expression was used earlier than *Romeo*

<sup>1</sup> *Collections*, I, 1 (1907), 27, 29.

<sup>2</sup> X, 64.

<sup>3</sup> *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher* (Variorum edn., 1912), IV, 442, 489.

<sup>4</sup> J. Dover Wilson and A. W. Pollard, "The 'stolne and surreptitious' Shakespearian texts. *Romeo and Juliet* (1597)," *TLS.*, Aug. 14, 1919, p. 434.

and Juliet in *The Three Ladies of London*. No doubt the *roperipe* of the first quarto has been ignored because it seemed to be an adjective. Two other examples of its use as a noun can be adduced, although without the words "full of." Thomas Tusser, in his advice concerning "The Good Motherlie Nurserie" (1573), says,

Give childe that is fitly, give babie the big,  
Give hardnes to youth and to roperipe a twig.<sup>5</sup>

And in the play *Captain Thomas Stukeley* (1605) occurs the dialogue:

*Old Stukeley.* your maister is an ordinary Student,  
*Page.* indeed Sir he studies very extraordinarily,  
*Old Stuk.* and you the rope-ripe ordinarily.<sup>6</sup>

Supposing Shakespeare's phrase to have been "full of his rope-ripe," there remains the question whether his hearers understood an allusion to rhetoric as well as to roguery. *The Three Ladies of London* reads as follows:

*Dissimulation:* Faire Lady, al the Gods of good fellowship kisse the  
(I would say blisse the [ ].]  
*Lucar:* Thou art very pleasant & ful of thy roperipe (I would say Retorick).  
*Dissim:* Ladie you tooke me at the worste, I beseeche you therefore  
To pardon my bouldnesse, offending no more.

Lady Lucar's words suggest that *roperipe* was regarded as a funny blunder for *rhetoric*. There was certainly some connection between *roperipe* and *rhetoric*, especially in the expression *roperipe terms*, a phrase which can be more specifically glossed than as "terms which deserve the rope." If "full of thy roperipe" would say "full of thy rhetoric," *roperipe terms* should be *rhetoric terms*. The latter expression is used by Andrew Boorde, whose *Dyetary of Helth* (1542) was not "ornated and florysshed . . . with rethorycke

<sup>5</sup> *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, ed. W. Payne and S. J. Hertridge (English Dialect Soc., 1878), p. 183. (On reviewing this note, I fear that the citation from Tusser may not be pertinent. I read the second line as though it meant "Give severity to youth and to roguery the rod." If *roperipe* here means only a criminal in the nursery stage, it does not illustrate "full of his roperipe.")

<sup>6</sup> Ed. by John S. Farmer (Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1911), sig. B. Also in Richard Simpson, *The School of Shakspeare* (1878), I, 166.

termes."<sup>7</sup> Examples will show that not all faults of language which might be thought to "deserve the rope" were called roperipe, but bombastic rhetoric only. The *NED.* quotes Thomas Wilson: "If we firste expresse our mynde in plaine wordes, and not seeke these ropertype termes which betraie rather a foole than commende a wyse man." To Wilson, roperipe terms were ignorant attempts at pompous eloquence; the opposite of plain words. Elsewhere in his *Rhetorique* Wilson gives an illustration of what he calls "roperipe chiding," which is Dogberryism. "Thou yngrame and vacation knave, if I take thee any more within the Circumcision of my dampnation," etc.<sup>8</sup> But the element of ignorance is not always present in the examples, the common feature being affected, high-flown expression. The language in Chapman's *May-Day* (c. 1609), for instance, is clever.

*Lodovico*: Go to, you spirit of a feather, be not so softhearted, leave your nicety, or by this hemp, I'll so hamper thy affections in the halter of thy lover's absence, making it up in a Gordian knot of forgetfulness, that no Alexander of thy allurements, with all the swords of thy sweet words, shall ever cut it in pieces.

*Emilia*: Lord, how you roll in your rope-ripe terms.<sup>9</sup>

J. O. Halliwell quoted "rowle in their rope-ripe terms" also from Bullein's *Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence* (1564), and he found a parallel expression in Bernard's *Terence* (1614), "he can roll in his rhetorique."<sup>10</sup> The suggestion that "rope-tricks" in *The Taming of the Shrew* I, ii, 112 ("he'll rail in his rope-tricks") is a blunder for "rhet'rics" goes back to Sir Thomas Hanmer.<sup>11</sup> Beside "rope-tricks" we have Wither's "rope-ripe tricks," the tricks of a roperipe or rogue, having no connection with rhetoric.<sup>12</sup> Roperipe terms are not the terms of a roperipe, but are themselves reprehensible as language. There is no reflection upon the moral character of the speaker, beyond affectation. Rhetoric is again definitely connected with rope in Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron*

<sup>7</sup> Ed. F. J. Furnivall (*EETS.*, 1870), p. 228.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. G. H. Mair (1909), p. 164.

<sup>9</sup> *III*, iii, 33-39.

<sup>10</sup> *The Works of William Shakespeare* (1853-65), VI, 362.

<sup>11</sup> The same explanation is favored by C. T. Onions, *A Shakespeare Glossary* (1919).

<sup>12</sup> Quoted by Halliwell, *loc. cit.*

*Walden* (1596), wherein the barber is not proficient in "the Doctor's Paracelsian rope-rethorique." "Instead of, I pray, Sir, winke; I must wash you," he should say, "by your favour I must require your *connivence*."<sup>13</sup> In other words, he should get up some roperipe terms.

It seems clear that roperipe terms were bombastic and affected rhetoric terms, and Lady Lucar uses "roperipe" as a pun for "rhetoric." But Dissimulation was also guilty of "boldness," and "roperipe" in any context must have carried with it some connotation of "halter-sick," as Minshew defined it. Without the example of *The Three Ladies of London* we would not suppose "full of his roperipe" to have any reference to rhetoric. Keeping in mind, however, the passages linking rhetoric to rope, roperipe, and roperipe terms, perhaps we should understand by the phrase not only "full of his roguery" but "full of his rhetoric" as well; "a gentleman, nurse, that loves to hear himself talk." And until some instances of *roperie* prior to *Romeo and Juliet* come to light, there is reason to believe that the Nurse's question was, "What saucie merchant was this, that was so full of his roperipe?"

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## CIBBER, *KING JOHN*, AND THE STUDENTS OF THE LAW

The letter-writing propensities of Colley Cibber often exposed him to jibes from the literary and theatrical world. In the spring of 1737 he was once again the center of a series of satires directed at a letter of his which has not, I believe, hitherto been quoted by his biographers. The letter grew out of Cibber's attempt to bring on the stage his adaptation of Shakespeare's *King John*. Behind his intention to revise Shakespeare lay the fact that a group of women—sometimes referred to as "Shakespeare's Ladies"—had induced Fleetwood, the manager of Drury Lane, to embark upon the presentation of two Shakespearean performances each week at that theatre.<sup>1</sup> With so much attention being given to Shakespeare,

<sup>13</sup> *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (1905), III, 15. See also the note on "Rupenrope," IV, 334-335.

<sup>1</sup> Allardyce Nicoll, in his *History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, p. 68, states that in the season of 1737-8 "these gentlewomen evidently

Cibber decided (or was asked) to prepare a version of *King John*. Then, according to the anonymous *Apology* in which Theophilus Cibber is made to speak, "It was no sooner in Rehearsal but slap the Criticks were at him directly: Letters, Epigrams, Odes, Jokes, and all the Ribaldry of *Grubstreet* flew about in the Papers, and it was said the Templars . . . were engag'd to damn it . . ."<sup>2</sup> Alarmed at this outcry, Cibber wrote another lengthy letter, this time addressed "To the younger Gentlemen, Students of all the Inns of Court," and sent it to the newspapers. The letter is interesting not only for its account of the inception and the basis of his alteration of Shakespeare but also for the further glimpse it gives of Cibber's personality. The letter, which appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* for February 4, 1737 (1736/7), is as follows:

GENTLEMEN,

THOUGH no Man ought, or is allow'd, to apply to his Judges, before his Cause comes into open Court: yet my Case is of so particular a Nature, that I hope it will bring its Excuse along with it, for this my previous manner of applying to you: Give me leave, therefore, within as short a Preface as I can confine it, to open my Petition.

Notwithstanding I have quitted the Stage, before the Infirmities of Age might have justly drove me from it: yet I have still a Delight in its proper Prosperity, and a Pleasure in seeing others tread so close upon my Heels there: This Pleasure too is greatly increas'd by observing, that, after a Satiety of monstrous unmeaning Entertainments, the true old Taste for Plays is so evidently reviving: When I see the same Sett of Ladies, two certain days every Week so laudably attentive, to their own Choice of only *Shakespear's* Plays, I cannot but congratulate the Gentleman (who has now made himself Intire Master of the Theatre) upon this advanc'd Restoration of Good Sense and Nature: But as many of that Fam'd Author's Pieces, for these Hundred Years past, have lain dormant, from, perhaps, a just Suspicion, that they were too weak, for a compleat Entertainment; so those that are in Possession of the Stage, are too few in number, with-

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. . . persuaded Rich to produce a number of Shakespeare's plays at his house." But the references to the Ladies of the Shakespeare Club which Nicoll cites allude to the season of 1736-7, and it was, I believe, Fleetwood of Drury Lane, not Rich, who responded to the ladies' appeal. It is true that Rich in 1737-8 revived Shakespeare extensively, but a group of women sponsors for Shakespeare existed at Drury Lane in 1736-7. See Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies* (Dublin, 1784), I, 3, and Cibber's letter in this article.

<sup>2</sup> As quoted by C. W. Nichols, "Fielding and the Cibbers," *PQ.*, I, 285. Although Nichols gives an account of the attacks upon Cibber occasioned by this letter, he does not quote or summarize the letter itself.



out frequent Repetition, to hold out the Service of the Season: The same Gentleman therefore, who stops at no Expence to gratify his Audiences, was desir'd, by some of the Ladies I have mention'd, to treat with me for the Play of *King John* of *Shakespear*, which I had finish'd the Revisal of above Ten Years since, and which I had lately the Honour of reading to them. The Gentleman immediately comply'd with their Desire, and ask'd me, why I would not bring it upon the Stage? I told him, the disagreeable Apprehensions of a First Day, were what I could not get over, otherwise the Town had had it long ago: To this he replied, I am content those Fears shall all fall upon me, and will give your Price for it. This I thought in some measure might alter the Case, if the Town knew of our Terms; so I made him, what he thought no immoderate Demand, and therefore without Hesitation he clos'd with me: so that my Interest now being no longer in Hazard; and Fame never being any further my Concern, than that I might feed upon it, all the Terrors that remain upon me, are for the Generous and Fair Purchaser; which, if they are at all less than those I should have had for myself, it is, because I think he less deserves to have Enemies. Therefore, as I still own, it would very much hurt me, to find I had sold him a bad Bargain, I think myself obliged, in Conscience and Honour, to do all in my Power, to incline the Town to favour it: By Favour I do not mean a Partiality in their Applause; which is indeed but a sort of Defiance, to other true Judges, who have an equal Right, where they think it faulty, to condemn it; the Extent of my Hopes are, for a fair and candid Hearing. Now, Gentlemen, as I look upon the Pit, when you sit upon the Benches there, as the proper Tribunal, from whence every Play ought to receive its Condemnation, or Acquittal, my only Prayer is, that by your Influence (I had almost said Authority) you will, in Justice to your own Judgments, as well as the Play, take Order (as far as in you lawfully lies) that Silence be kept, in the Court, when its Tryal comes on.

And here, Gentlemen, I solemnly protest, I have always been ignorant, from whence the Ill-will that has been shewn, to my most successful Plays, on their first Day's Presentation, has proceeded: Yet when I consider that even *Shakespear*, *Johnson*, and *Moliere*, have often met with the same Severities, it would be almost Arrogance in me to complain of it: Yet again, as this is a Calamity, that every Writer ought to omit no Endeavours to avoid; let me farther appeal to your Candour, Gentlemen (in whose Power it so greatly lies) to dissuade and discountenance any unprovok'd Prejudice (if any such you hear is intended) that may arise against the Interest of the Gentleman, who by so handsome a Purchase of *King John*, now stands alone the Hazard of its Success. This I am persuaded you will grant, because you cannot but know, that the greatest Act of Benevolence, or Bounty, gives not more Joy to the sensible Receiver, than does the Prevention of a dreaded, or unmerited Injury.

As this Address, Gentlemen, is of an unusual Nature, give me leave to offer an Excuse or two, why I have chose you of all the Town to present it to. First, as you are apparently the most numerous, constant, and attentive Spectators; so by your Education, Learning, and Science, you are qualified to be the best Judges of what is a Rational Theatrical Enter-

tainment; and as your Studies, in your eminent Profession, must daily advance you in the Knowledge of what is just and equitable; as the Glory of it too is to relieve, protect, and right the Oppress'd, the Innocent, and Injur'd: Where can a Man under my Concern, hope for a more secure Asylum? especially when for another's Sake, he only asks your Assistance, to be peaceably defended from unmanly Treement. If what I have said, is receiv'd with Candour, it will be ever gratefully acknowledg'd by,  
*Gentlemen*

*Your most oblig'd,*

*And Humble Servant,*

COLLEY CIBBER.

The sequel to this letter was a series of events which Cibber possibly feared but certainly did not hope for. His appeal to the law students only roused more public satire, several examples of which have been quoted by Nichols.<sup>3</sup> In a short time, tradition has said, Cibber, realizing there was no hope for his revision of *King John*, withdrew the copy from the prompter's desk and the play from production. A few weeks later Fielding used the incident as a part of his satire on Cibber in *The Historical Register*, and after that the play stayed out of the limelight until February 15, 1745, when it appeared as *Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John* in Covent Garden Theatre.

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### THE SOURCE OF SIMON EYRE'S CATCH-PHRASE

There is a general agreement that the plot of *The Shoemakers Holiday*<sup>1</sup> rests on the three shoemaker stories in Deloney's *Gentle Craft*.<sup>2</sup> For "hints here and there" Dekker may also have been indebted "more or less directly" to *George-a-Green*, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *James IV*, *Every Man in His Humour*, and *Henry V*.<sup>3</sup> However, the source of one rather important ingredient

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 285-8.

<sup>1</sup> The earliest reference to the play is in Henslowe's *Diary*, 15 July, 1599.

<sup>2</sup> Entered in the *Stationers' Register*, 19 October, 1597.

<sup>3</sup> Alexis F. Lange, "Thomas Dekker," introductory essay to *The Shoemakers Holiday*, in *Representative English Comedies*, ed. by C. M. Gayley (New York: Macmillan, 1903), III, 5, n. 1. It should be noticed that of these plays which may have furnished incidentals for *The Shoemakers*

of Dekker's comedy, Simon Eyre's catch-phrase, "Prince am I none, yet am I princely borne,"<sup>4</sup> is not to be found in any of these plays, or in Deloney, but in Greene's *Orlando Furioso*. There, after the other suitors have spoken for the hand of Angelica, Orlando advances his own worthiness, saying: "I am no king, yet am I princely born" (I, 1, 93).

Although Eyre's favorite expression is closely approximated here in thought, structure, and cadence, I do not doubt that the idea that a shoemaker is a prince born came from Deloney's novel. The title-page of the 1648 quarto of *The Gentle Craft* runs: "... how the Proverb first grew. A Shoemakers Son is a Prince Born."<sup>5</sup> In the second of the three stories, Iphicratis, the Persian general, who is the son of a shoemaker, replies to the taunt of the General of the Gauls: "Indeed, my father's trade is a reproach unto me, but thou art a reproach to thy father: but thou shalt understand that a Shoemakers son is a prince born. . . ."<sup>6</sup> Crispianus and Crispine are king's sons who have been brought up in a shoemaker's family. Crispianus, who has been fighting the Persians in Gaul, is amazed on returning to Logria to find that his brother Crispine has married the emperor's daughter and had a son. He takes the infant in his arms, saying: "Now I will say and swear that a shoemaker's son is a prince born—joynung in the opinion of Iphy-cratis."<sup>7</sup> But Deloney's explanation of the origin of the proverb,<sup>8</sup> while it undoubtedly accounts for Eyre's notion, did not give Dekker the precise phrasing of the idea, which he must have found in *Orlando Furioso*.

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*Holiday*, two of them, or perhaps three, if *George-a-Green* may be counted, are by Greene.

<sup>4</sup> Eyre repeats this humorous tag, with variations, six times: III, 1, 45; III, 4, 143; III, 5, 17; v, 1, 19; v, 5, 16; v, 5, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Francis O. Mann, ed., *The Works of Thomas Deloney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>8</sup> No use of the saying earlier than Deloney's appears to be known. See G. L. Apperson, *English Proverbs*, p. 566.

## DRAYTON'S "NOAH'S FLOOD"

In Mr. Don Cameron Allen's article on "The Relation of Drayton's 'Noah's Flood' to the ordinary learning of the early seventeenth century," *MLN.*, LII (Feb., 1937), 106-111, a few analogues of some possible importance are omitted. Drayton's knowledge of and admiration of Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (which is evident as early as *Endimion and Phoebe*, 1595; cf. also *Moses his Birth and Miracles*, l. 33, and the epistle<sup>1</sup> before the 1604 edition of that poem) make it most unlikely that he could be ignorant of *The Ark* (*Divine Weekes*, II. 2.1.); and in fact in two passages, the defence of the Flood against sceptics (512-558), and the account of the havoc of the actual deluge (633 ff.), there are several parallels. The latter may of course be due to Ovid's account as a common source for both poets. I think it can be assumed that where a poet can find his "learning" already versified in English, he is likely to recall it in that form; this is certainly borne out by Drayton's general use of his sources.

Secondly there is Pererius' *Commentarii et Disputationes in Genesim* (1590, 1601), actually mentioned by Drayton as "Pirerius" in a gloss (the gloss is referred to in another connection by Mr. Allen on p. 107). This was a popular compilation of almost all the traditional opinions and controversies on the subject, and would provide a convenient short cut to many of the notions cited from earlier sources by Mr. Allen. In our respect for the learning of the Elizabethans, we must still remember that they would generally use a secondary or tertiary rather than a primary source. Similarly, I think it not unlikely that Drayton knew and recalled Raleigh's account of the Flood in his *Historie of the World*, Book I. 7. 9.

The main point, however, remains the one which Mr. Allen makes so admirably; not Drayton's use of this or that source, but his incorporation of the general learned opinion of the time. It is yet another example of the amazing amount of sheer junk in the Elizabethan storehouse.

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<sup>1</sup> Not yet printed in J. W. Hebel's edition.

AN ECHO OF JONSON IN APHRA BEHN'S *SIR PATIENT FANCY*

Critics are rather generally agreed that Mrs. Aphra Behn borrowed freely from French, Spanish, and English sources.<sup>1</sup> The sole mention of Jonson's influence seems to be found in the statement of Sir Edmund Gosse, who says that in *The Town Fop* (1676) Mrs. Behn tried "to revive the peculiar manner of Ben Jonson."<sup>2</sup> Molière's *Le Malade Imaginaire* is usually referred to as one of the main sources of *Sir Patient Fancy* (1678).<sup>3</sup> In this connection it may be of interest to note that the latter play contains one quite obvious borrowing from Jonson's *Volpone*. In the opening lines of Jonson's play *Volpone* shows his lust for gold in the following words:

Good morrow to the day, and next, my gold!  
Open the shrine, that I may see my saint.  
Hail the world's soul, and mine!

Mrs. Behn used practically the same lines with a different end in view. In *Sir Patient Fancy*, V, 1, Lady Fancy prepares to turn over to her lover what she believes to be a basket of gold given to her by her husband. Wittmore, the lover, in eager anticipation cries out:

Good Morrow to the Day, and next the Gold;  
Open the Shrine, that I may see my Saint—  
Hail the World's Soul,—

His words are interrupted by the opening of the basket, which proves to contain only the person of Sir Credulous Easy, the "foolish Devonshire Knight." It is evident that, except for the sub-

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage, 1660-1830* (1832), I, 207, 210, 242-4, and 272; G. H. Nettleton, *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (1914), p. 114; A. H. Thorneike, *English Comedy* (1929), pp. 309-313.

<sup>2</sup> *DNB.*, II, 130.

<sup>3</sup> Montague Summers has briefly indicated the sources of *Sir Patient Fancy* in plays by Molière, Brome, and Wycherley (*The Works of Aphra Behn*, 1915, IV, 4-5). See also Sir Edmund Gosse, *op. cit.*, II, 130; Malcolm Elwin, *The Playgoer's Handbook to Restoration Drama* (1928), p. 66; A. H. Thorneike, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

stitution of *the* for *my* in the first line, Mrs. Behn has used the exact words of Jonson in order to heighten the lover's discomfiture at sight of Sir Credulous.

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#### AN EARLIER TEXT OF ADDISON'S ODE TO DR. HANNES

Since Guthkelch's edition of Addison's *Miscellaneous Works* in 1914 it has been generally known that most of Addison's Latin poems first appeared in *Examen Poeticum Duplex*, an anthology of Latin verse published by Richard Wellington in July 1698, seven months before their authorized appearance in the second volume of *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta*. The manuscript acquired by Wellington contained earlier and often widely different versions of the poems, as can be seen from Guthkelch's collations. One poem, the ode to Dr. Hannes, Guthkelch failed to notice, probably because it was not signed with Addison's name and was concealed under the title *Ad Medicum et Poetam ingeniosum*. Since this text is also very different from the later version, it is given here complete. It will be noticed that Addison later added two new stanzas between stanzas three and four as here printed.

*Ad Medicum et Poetam ingeniosum*

O qui sonoro blandius Orpheo  
Vocale ducis carmen, & exitu  
Faeliciori luctuosis  
Saepe animam revocas ab umbris.

Jam seu solutos in numerum pedes  
Cogis, vel aegrum & vix animae tenax  
Corpus tueris, seu cadaver  
Lumninibus penetras acutis;

Opus relinquo: eripe Te morae,  
Non semper aegris sedulus immine,  
Nec caeteros omnes medendo  
Ipse Tuam minuas salutem.

Frustra cruorem pulsibus incitis  
Ebullientem pollice comprimis,  
Attentus explorare venam  
Quae febris exagitet tumentem.

Frustra liquores quot Chymica expedit  
 Fornax, & error sanguinis, & vigor  
 Innatus herbis Te fatigant:  
 Serius aut citius sepulchro

Debemur omnes: vitaeque deseret  
 Expulsa morbis corpus inhospitum,  
 Lentumque spectabunt nepotes  
 Reliquias animae cadaver.

Manes videbis Tu quoque Fabulas,  
 Quos pauciores fecerit Ars Tua,  
 Suumque victorem vicissim  
 Subjiciet Libitina victrix.

Decurrit illi vita beatior,  
 Quicunque luces non nimis anxius  
 Reddit molestas, urgetve<sup>1</sup>  
 Sponte sua satis ingruentes.

At cui dierum lene fluentium  
 Delectat ordo, vitaeque mutuis  
 Foelix amicis, gaudiisque  
 Innocuis bene temperata.

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### THE DATE OF WORDSWORTH'S "THE BIRTH OF LOVE"

Wordsworth's translation of "L'Éducation de l'Amour," a poem attributed by Hutchinson to the Vicomte de Ségur, is not an important piece. It is of value, I should suppose, only for what it may suggest about his interests at the time he made it. The inability of editors to determine the time, however, has deprived it of even this secondary value.

It was first printed in *Poems: by Francis Wrangham, M.A.* The date on the title page of this book, the only cue to the date of Wordsworth's piece, is 1795. A reference in this book, however, to a division in the House of Commons on March 16, 1796, led to Mr. MacGillivray's revision of the date of composition of *The*

<sup>1</sup> Comparison with the later text shows that the printer carelessly omitted the word *curas* at the end of this line.

*Borderers*.<sup>1</sup> In attempting to corroborate this important new date, I came upon a review of Wrangham's *Poems* which settles the question raised by Mr. MacGillivray as to the time of their publication and incidentally reveals the time of Wordsworth's translation. Mr. MacGillivray noted that the Harvard College Library copy is signed "Southey 1799." Three years after receiving his own copy, Southey reviewed the poems in the first number of the *Annual Review*.<sup>2</sup> "The present volume," he there says, "though now first published has been printed eight years."<sup>3</sup> We have long been familiar with its merits." In his description of the contents, he says

A version of a French poem by Mr. Wordsworth is inserted in the volume, and an imitation by Mr. Coleridge of a Hendecasyllable Ode to Miss Brunton. These translations were written when the authors were young men at the University, and we cannot but think that Mr. Wrangham has acted very reprehensibly in publishing them now.

There is no reason, I think, to doubt the accuracy of Southey's assertion. It is certain that Coleridge's two poems—his stanzas "To Miss Brunton" were included also—were written when he was "a young man at the University." They belong to his last term at Cambridge,<sup>4</sup> in the fall of 1794, when, newly engaged to Sarah Fricker, he tried to forget Mary Evans, by courting Miss Brunton. It is possible, too, that Southey in his censure of Wrangham may have been prompted by Wordsworth himself, who, by that time having published the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, would certainly not have wished to appear as the author of a piece so opposite in temper.

Thus the date of composition is before 1791; of printing, probably 1796; of publication, 1802. As an undergraduate poem by

<sup>1</sup> *MLN.*, XLIX (Feb., 1934), 104-11.

<sup>2</sup> I (1802), 655. This review is included in the list of "Contributions to Periodical Literature" in the Appendix to *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*.

<sup>3</sup> Eight years, that is, from 1795, the date on the title page, though certainly not the date of printing of most, if any, of the book, to 1803, the date of publication of the 1802 volume of the *Annual Review*.

<sup>4</sup> They are dated 1794 by Campbell (pp 30-31) and E. H. Coleridge (I, 66-67) on the evidence of letters to Southey and Wrangham; see *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, I, 86-89, and *Unpublished Letters*, I, 25-29.



Wordsworth, "The Birth of Love" is almost unique. *An Evening Walk* was written during his first two long vacations, in 1788 and 1789;<sup>5</sup> but Professor de Selincourt does not identify any other of the early poems with his undergraduate period. "Lines written while sailing in a boat" and "Remembrance of Collins" describe an appearance observed on the Cam, but a note-book used at Racedown shows that he was still at work on them in 1795-97.<sup>6</sup> These poems all being serious in tone, moreover, "The Birth of Love" is the unique memento of those hours when he passed

From the remembrances of better things  
And slipped into the ordinary works  
Of careless youth, unburthened, unalarmed.

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### FONTANE ÜBER SEINE BALLADE *DIE JÜDIN*

Von Anfang April bis Ende September 1852 weilte der bald 33 jährige Fontane in England. In dieser Zeit, oder unmittelbar nach seiner Rückkehr in die Heimat, muss er seine Ballade "Die Jüdin" verfasst haben, die eine freie Übersetzung der altenglischen Ballade "The Jew's Daughter" ist. Diese befindet sich in der Percyschen Sammlung, aus der Fontane überhaupt reichhaltigen Stoff für seine Balladen gewann.<sup>1</sup> Sie behandelt eine Abart des Aberglaubens vom Menschenblutopfer, den Ritualmord, der schon von den Römern als Vorwand zu Christenverfolgungen benutzt wurde. Auf die Juden angewandt, wird danach behauptet, dass dieselben einer angeblichen Vorschrift des Talmuds folgend jährlich am Passahfest (gegen Ostern) ihrem Gotte Christenblut zum Opfer bringen müssen und zu diesem Zwecke Christenkinder zu sich ins Haus oder an eine einsame Stelle locken, um sie dann durch Blutentnahme zu töten. Da "Die Jüdin" in keiner Ausgabe der Gesammelten Werke Fontanes enthalten, und selbst bei Kennern vielfach unbekannt ist, ist ein kurzes résumé am Platze.

<sup>5</sup> Ernest de Selincourt, *The Early Wordsworth* (The English Association Presidential Address, 1936), p. 27, note 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, London, 1891, I, 55 ff.

In "Mirryland," das der Po durchfließt, wird ein ballspielendes Christenkind von einer "Judentochter" mit einem roten Apfel in ihr Haus gelockt und nach dem angeblichen Ritual geopfert. In "Blei gehüllt," "und ein silbernes Messer im Herzen," wird der Knabe dann in einen tiefen "Ziehbrunn" geworfen. Seine Mutter, Lady Anna, welche von der Messe nach Hause zurückkehrt, findet ihren Sohn "Wilm" nicht vor, läuft ahnungsvoll in die Judenvorstadt und wird schliesslich durch "eine Stimme im Wind" zum Ziehbrunnen geführt, aus dem der sterbende Sohn ihr sein letztes Lebewohl zuruft.

Aus den teilweise noch unveröffentlichten Protokollen des Berliner literarischen Vereins "Der Tunnel über der Spree," dem der junge Fontane neben verschiedenen literarischen und politischen Grössen der fünfziger Jahre angehörte, erfahren wir, dass "Die Jüdin" in der Versammlung vom 12. Dezember 1852 zum ersten Mal vom Verfasser vorgetragen wurde und zu "lebhafter Diskussion Veranlassung" gab; "das Endurteil hielt eine schwer zu bezeichnende Mitte zwischen Verwerflich und Sehr Gut."<sup>2</sup> Selbst Fontanes Freunde "Schenkendorf" (Tunnelname Bernhard von Lepels) und "Immermann" (Wilhelm von Merckel), unterstützt von "Collin" (Schuldirektor Dr. Sigmund Stern) und "Canelletto" (Maler Ewald), griffen Fontane heftig an, während sich für ihn nur "Lessing" (Dr. Franz Kugler) und "Anacreon" (Friedrich Eggers) einsetzten.

Im nächsten Jahre bereitete Fontane die Veröffentlichung eines "belletristischen Jahrbuches" vor, an dem die Mitglieder des Tunnels massgebend beteiligt waren. Die Tatsache, dass Fontanes Freund Franz Kugler, der Verfechter der "Jüdin" im Tunnel, Mitherausgeber des Buches war, erklärt auch, warum dieses Schmerzenskind Fontanes trotz des Sturmes im Tunnel in das 1854 erschienene und "Argo" benannte Jahrbuch aufgenommen wurde, das heute längst verschollen ist.<sup>3</sup> Aber eine etwas versteckte,

<sup>2</sup> Carl Wegmann, *Theodor Fontane als Übersetzer englischer und schottischer Balladen*. Dissertation, Münster i. W., 1910, S. 57 ff. Wegmann wurde ausnahmsweise Einsicht in die Protokolle gestattet.

<sup>3</sup> *Argo, Belletristisches Jahrbuch, herausgegeben von Theodor Fontane und Franz Kugler*. Katz, Dessau, 1854. S. 219. Ein Exemplar der "Argo," welches im rare book-room der Harper Memorial Library der Universität Chicago verwahrt wird, wurde mir durch die Freundlichkeit Prof. Archer Taylors zugänglich gemacht.

eigene Anmerkung Fontanes zur "Jüdin" auf Seite 234 der "Argo" verrät uns, was man ihr eigentlich vorwarf und warum Fontane mit der ihm eigentümlichen Zähigkeit sie beibehielt:

über die dem dunkelsten Mittelalter angehörige Vorstellung, die dieser Ballade zu Grunde liegt, ist es überflüssig, hier Worte zu verlieren—sie ist längst als Erfindung eines blinden Fanatismus aufgedeckt. Aber auch der Aberglauben hat seine Poeten, und hier haben wir einen solchen. Ich gebe das Gedicht nicht um des Inhalts willen, *sondern trotz desselben*; ich gebe es überhaupt nur seiner *poetischen Form und Darstellung* halber, über deren Wert mir kein Zweifel obzuwalten scheint.

Der Stoff ist wahrscheinlich einer italienischen Erzählung entlehnt. Mirryland soll *Mailand* sein und der Umstand, dass letzteres am Etsch, nicht aber (wie der Balladenschreiber glaubt) am Po liegt, verschlägt wenig, da die alten Minstrels unter andrem auch schlechte Geographen waren.<sup>4</sup> Das Original ("The Jew's Daughter") hat keinen Schluss; mit Hülfe jedoch einer naheliegenden Wendung (statt "... hinter Mirryland"—*hab' ich übersetzt*. "... *über Mirryland, weit über ...*") ist es mir geglückt, durch Hinweis auf den Himmel das Gedicht einfach und natürlich zum Abschluss zu bringen.<sup>5</sup> Wer mich deshalb tadeln will,

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<sup>4</sup> Eine ungewollte Ironie liegt in diesem Satze; nicht nur die alten, auch die neuen Minstrels scheinen schlechte Geographen zu sein, wenn wir Fontane als deren Masstab ansehen. Mailand liegt zwar nicht am Po, aber noch viel weniger am Etsch, wie Fontane erklärt, sondern überhaupt an gar keinem grösseren natürlichen Flusslauf. Fontane hat diesen Irrtum von Percys Kommentar übernommen. Beide denken wahrscheinlich an das Städtchen *Meran* am *Etsch*. Neuere Forschungen lehnen übrigens jede Verbindung der Ballade mit Mailand und Italien ab.

<sup>5</sup> Die erwähnte Stelle im englischen Original heisst:

"And at the back o' Mirryland town  
Its thair we twa sall meet."

Fontanes entsprechende Schlussworte lauten:

("Geh heim, geh heim, lieb Mutter,  
Kann länger nicht bei Dir stehn,)  
*Ueber Mirryland weitüber*  
Will ich Dich wiedersehn."

Herder hatte übersetzt:

"*Daheim, da hinter Mirrylandstadt,*  
Komm' ich an Eure Seit'."

*Werke*, hrsg. v. Heinrich Kurz, Leipzig, Bibliogr. Institut, o. J. II, 191 ff. Bei Herders Übersetzung befindet sich folgende Anmerkung: "Ein gräulich schauderhaft Märchen, dessen Sage einst so vielen Juden oft Land und Leben gekostet."

vergegenwärtige sich meine Absicht: nicht *literarhistorisch* interessante Beiträge, sondern *Gedichte* liefern zu wollen.“<sup>6</sup>

Diese Erklärung scheint dem eher tolerant eingestellten deutschen Lesepublikum der fünfziger Jahre genügt zu haben. Langsam geriet die Ballade in Vergessenheit und verschwand schliesslich ganz aus Fontanes Werken. Grund und Zeitpunkt des Verschwindens versuchte Wegmann folgendermassen zu erklären:

Den dusteren, grausigen Charakter des englischen Originals, dem Herder sehr nahe kommt, hat Fontanes künstlerisches Glätten und Feilen verwischt. Der Mord- und Nachtklang kommt bei ihm nicht zum Durchbruch, trotzdem keine wesentlichen Änderungen vorgenommen sind. Dass Fontane infolge dieser Schwäche die Ballade nicht mit in die Ausgaben seiner Gedichte aufgenommen hat, ist leicht erklärlich.“<sup>7</sup>

Wegmann irrt zweifach. Einmal übersieht er, dass Fontane die „Judin“ sowohl in seine Balladensammlung (1861) wie auch in die drei darauf folgenden Auflagen seiner Gedichte (1875, 1889, 1892) aufgenommen hat, während er vergleichsweise die gleichzeitig mit der „Judin“ in der „Argo“ abgedruckte Ballade „Edward, Edward“ bereits 1875 aus der 2. Auflage seiner „Gedichte“ wegliess. Dieses unmissverständliche Vertrauensvotum des sehr selbstkritischen Fontane für seine Ballade wird aber weiterhin noch durch die Anmerkung in der „Argo“ gestützt, welche klar erkennen lässt, dass Fontane nicht, wie Wegmann glaubt, die Ballade wegen ihrer künstlerischen Schwäche verdammt, sondern gerade wegen ihrer künstlerischen Vollendung beibehielt, trotz inhaltlicher Bedenken. Diese Bedenken mussten allerdings durch die Entwicklung der Zeitgeschichte noch verstärkt werden, denn die Ritualmordsage tauchte wieder auf und Ritualmordprozesse, besonders in den östlichen Ländern Europas, bildeten den Anlass zu schärfsten Diskussionen in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit. Erregte Auseinandersetzungen im Gefolge der unter der Anregung des Hofpredigers Adolf Stöcker machtvoll emporkommenden antisemitischen Bewegung erhitzen den Boden weiter, und noch erbitterter wurde der Kampf von beiden Seiten geführt, als 1892 der führende Antisemit Rektor Hermann Ahlwardt in den Reichstag gewählt wurde. Im selben Jahre machte nun dem Anschein nach

<sup>6</sup> Die Sperrungen in der „Argo“ sind hier durch kursiven Satz angedeutet.

<sup>7</sup> Wegmann, siehe oben.

ein mir noch unbekannter Freund Fontane darauf aufmerksam, dass die Ballade unter den gegebenen Umständen falsch verstanden und ausgelegt werden könnte. Genau vierzig Jahre nach der Entstehung der "Judin" erwiderte ihm Fontane durch den folgenden, bisher unveröffentlichten Brief:

Zillenthal (Schlesien)  
Villa Gottschalk  
19. Juni 92.

Hochgeehrter Herr und Freund.

Ich bin seit einem Vierteljahr krank und so wollen Sie gütigst die Kurze dieser Zeilen entschuldigen. Das mit der "Judin" ist ein alter Schaden,—schon vor länger als 40 Jahren war Dr. Löwenstein (ein Verwandter von Rudolf L.) dagegen; ich mochte es nicht fallen lassen, weil es ein Musterstück von Balladenton ist. Es stammt aus der berühmten Percy'schen Sammlung. Anno 50 war das alles nicht schlimm, heute liegt es anders und so verspreche ich Ihnen und dem Münchener Freunde die Ballade aus der nächsten Auflage wegzulassen.<sup>8</sup> Mehr ist nicht zu tun.

Mit besten Wünschen für Ihr Wohl, in vorzüglicher Erwartung

Th. Fontane.

Ein Hauch von Resignation liegt über dem Brief, den der 72 jährige Dichter aus seiner schlesischen Sommerfrische schreibt, ermattet unter der auf ihm seit dem Frühjahr 1892 lastenden schweren Grippe, auf die der erste Satz anspielt. Der von Fontane erwähnte Hauptwidersacher seiner Ballade "vor länger als 40 Jahren" ist kein anderer als der spätere Geheime Sanitätsrat Dr. Adolf Löwenstein, welcher nicht mit seinem ebenfalls im Briefe genannten Vetter Dr. Rudolf Löwenstein, damaligen Redakteur des berühmten politisch-satirischen Witzblattes "Kladderadatsch," verwechselt werden darf. Beide Löwensteins gehörten dem "Tunnel" an, Adolf als "Hufeland," Rudolf als "Spinoza." Seltsamerweise weist kein Wort in den Protokollen des Tunnels, soweit bekannt, auf die Opposition Adolf Löwensteins hin, während Fontane wiederum sich keines der in den Protokollen genannten Opponenten der "Judin" zu erinnern scheint. Hat Dr. Löwenstein möglicherweise Fontane seine Bedenken unter vier Augen mitgeteilt? Wie es auch sei, einmal mehr wird uns der Beweis geliefert, mit welcher Vorsicht wir autobiographische Einzelheiten in den Erinnerungen eines Dichters aufzunehmen haben. Klar

<sup>8</sup> Wer der Münchener Freund ist, war bisher noch nicht festzustellen.

geht dagegen aus dem Brief hervor, dass der alte, genau wie der junge, Fontane die "Jüdin" weiterhin für ein "Musterstück von Balladenton" hält, und lediglich durch die Entwicklung der Zeitgeschichte ("Anno 50 war das alles nicht schlimm, heute liegt es anders") zur Aufgabe seiner Dichtung geführt wird. Tatsächlich enthält weder die nicht lange vor seinem Tode erschienene nächste Auflage seiner Gedichte (1898) noch irgendeine spätere Auflage seiner Werke meines Wissens diese Ballade.

Gewiss konnte in den neunziger Jahren das Fallenlassen des einen oder anderen Werkes für den inzwischen bekannt gewordenen Fontane nicht mehr dieselbe Bedeutung haben wie für den jungen, um Anerkennung ringenden Dichter vierzig Jahre früher. Und doch scheinen sich in diesen wenigen Zeilen zwei für ihn charakteristische Eigenschaften wiederzuspiegeln: sein einsichtsvolles Mitgehen mit der Zeit, und die naturliche, vornehme Schlichtheit, mit der er sich von einer Ballade trennt, an der er vier Jahrzehnte lang festhielt.

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## SCOTT AND CARDUCCI

Among Carducci's *Odi Barbare*, one of the most beautiful, and surely the most popular, is the one entitled "Alle Fonti del Clitumno." The Ode begins with the description of the idyllic picture of an Umbrian peasant family, which preserves in its rural ways the ancient traditions and customs of the race; follows an invocation to the god Clitumnus, the witness of the empire of three races—the Umbrian, the Etruscan and Roman—which were later fused together by their common worship of the local god, and fought together to repel the Punic threat when Hannibal invaded Italy and Clitumnus issued the war call resounding through the green Umbrian valleys:

—O tu che pasci i buoi presso Mevania  
caliginosa,  
e tu che i proni colli ari a la sponda  
del Nar sinistra, e tu che i boschi abbatti  
sopra Spoleto verdi o ne la marzia  
Todi fai nozze,

lascia il bue grasso tra le canne, lascia  
 il torel fulvo a mezzo soleo, lascia  
 ne l'inclinata quercia il cuneo, lascia  
 la sposa a l'ara;  
 e corri, corri, corri! con la scure  
 corri e co' dardi, con la clava e l'asta!  
 corri! minaccia gl'itali penati  
 Annibal diro. —

The sources of the foregoing lines which Jeanroy<sup>1</sup> calls "d'une allure vraiment épique" have been variously indicated. Ferrari, in his *Commento*,<sup>2</sup> writes, "E la chiamata carducciana—forse reminiscenza da Virgilio nell' *Eneide*, VII, 691—è bella, alta, ispirata, . . . Il grido . . . ricorda i versi del Macaulay riprodotti in Opere, II, 474."<sup>2</sup>

The Virgilian hexameters referred to—

Hi Fescenninas acies, aequosque Faliscos;  
 Hi Soractis habent arces, Flaviniaque arva,  
 Et Cimini cum monte lacum, lucosque Capenos, —

do not seem to bear any too close resemblance to Carducci's lines. And Macaulay's passage is even harder to relate to Carducci's poem, except perhaps for the two lines in *Horatius*,

Unwatched along Clitumnus  
 Grazes the milk-white steer.

Gandiglio<sup>3</sup> suggests instead, as source of the whole passage, l. 511-522 of the VII Book of the *Eneid*,—the description of the peasants rushing to arms in answer to the summons of the Fury Alecto. But the principal point that the two summonses have in common, according to Gandiglio himself, is only that both are of supernatural origin.

One of Carducci's English translators, Emily A. Tribe, in a note in her *A selection from the poems of Giosuè Carducci*, suggests for comparison Canto IV of Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Giosuè Carducci, l'homme et le poète*, Paris, Alcan, 1911, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> *Commento alle Odi Barbare di Giosuè Carducci*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 2nd ed. n. d. (1923), I, 77.

<sup>3</sup> "Alle fonti del Clitumno," in *Rivista d'Italia*, Nov. 1909, XII, 715-749.

<sup>4</sup> Tribe, E. A., *A selection from the poems of Giosuè Carducci*, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1921, 71, note 6.

Perhaps Canto III, "The Gathering," is meant, for there one finds some suggestive lines, such as,

The herds without a keeper strayed,  
The plow was in mid-furrow stayed. . . . ll. 334-5.

which might remind one of Carducci's

lascia il bue grasso tra le canne, lascia  
il torel fulvo a mezzo solco, ll. 61-2.

and the bridal procession rudely interrupted by the herald of war, in l. 478-520, which might be taken as suggesting Carducci's concluding image of the bride at the altar.

But there is another poem by Scott which bears a far closer resemblance to Carducci's lines, though curiously enough it has been overlooked by commentators and English translators alike.<sup>5</sup> In "The Gathering Song of Donald the Black," ll. 17-32, one finds some striking parallels in thought, in images, and in movement:

Leave untended the herd,  
The flock without shelter;  
Leave the corpse uninterred,  
The bride at the altar;  
Leave the deer, leave the steer,  
Leave nets and barges:  
Come with your fighting gear,  
Broadswords and targes.  
Come as the winds come, when  
Forests are rended;  
Come as the waves come, when  
Navies are stranded:  
Faster come, faster come,  
Faster and faster,  
Chief, vassal, page and groom,  
Tenant and master.

The central thought is the same in both passages—a war call issued to the inhabitants of the countryside commanding them to leave their wonted pursuits, and to rush with their weapons—with some alterations due to the differences of time and place of the respective settings. The urgency of the call, suggested by the

<sup>5</sup> My good friend Mr. Eugene Cairo first called my attention to this poem.



repetition of the words "leave" and "come," finds its parallel in the repetition of "lascia" and "corri"; the "faster come, faster come—faster and faster" suggests the "e corri, corri, corri!" A striking parallel could be drawn between the images "leave untended the herd," "the bride at the altar," "leave the deer, leave the steer" and "lascia il bue grasso fra le canne," "lascia il torel fulvo," "la sposa a l'ara"; between "come with your fighting gear,—broadwords and targes" and "... con la scure—corri e co' dardi, con la clava e l'asta."

While we know that Carducci's knowledge of the English language was rather limited, we also know that he greatly admired English literature; it is not a rash assumption to believe that he—a poet—would be acquainted with some Anthology of English poetry which included Scott's poem, such as, let us say, Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. In that case his great admiration for Scott, whom he calls "perhaps the greatest among modern narrators,"<sup>6</sup> would have undoubtedly spurred him to struggle with a text which really does not require a terrific struggle to be understood. At any rate the resemblance between the two passages seems to be too striking to be dismissed as accidental.

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## REVIEWS

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*John Donne and the New Philosophy.* By CHARLES MONROE COFFIN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. x + 311. \$3.50.

Nearly all modern studies of Donne have noted his keen interest in the new science which in his day was rapidly undermining the traditional Aristotelian conceptions of the physical world. Professor Coffin's book, however, is the first attempt at a full-length analysis and evaluation of the specific contribution of contemporary rather than medieval science to the development of Donne's mind and art. It seeks to trace the ideas introduced by the new philosophy—or more precisely, the new astronomy, since Mr. Coffin limits his discussion mainly to the one science—through

<sup>6</sup> Carducci, *Opere* VII, 261.

Donne's poetry and prose, with much comment by way of elucidation of particular passages.

Mr. Coffin has set for himself a task overwhelming in its magnitude and complexity, for accurately to follow the play of Donne's sharp, intellectual fancy upon the scientific concepts of his day demands a profound and discriminating knowledge of the intricacies of both medieval and Renaissance astronomical theories and of the associations they called up in the seventeenth-century mind. That the author has, on the whole, succeeded so well in his endeavor is a tribute to the high standard of scholarship which he has brought to this study. Particularly to be commended is the keen sense of proportion which prevents him from trying to fit Donne's ideas into arbitrary classifications or to proclaim him as the advocate of one world scheme against another on the basis of some figure or allusion introduced merely because it aptly suited Donne's immediate poetic purpose.

Whatever minor defects this book exhibits may be attributed to the shortcomings of Mr. Coffin's knowledge of Renaissance science, which lead, on occasion, to confusion in his exposition of astronomical concepts and to errors in his interpretation of certain passages in Donne's work. It is true that Mr. Coffin has read widely in the standard secondary works on the history of astronomy and is well acquainted with a number of typical Renaissance scientific books, so that as a rule his knowledge is adequate for his purpose. Certain exceptions, however, require notice.

In the first place, Mr. Coffin's lack of training in the mathematics of astronomy gives rise to a few errors in his explanations of the details of the different systems. That he does not fully understand the function of the epicycles is obvious when he speaks of the "epicycle rolling on the circumference of the larger circle" (p. 90 n.); no doubt he was misled by the diagrammatic representations of the solid eccentric spheres in the Renaissance books on the "theories of the planets." Again, his discussion of the precession of the equinoxes and the obliquity of the ecliptic (p. 136) reveals that he does not clearly comprehend the mathematical aspects of these phenomena. This is not an unimportant point, since it leads him into needless confusion in his exegesis of a passage from *The first Anniversary*. There are also occasional gaps in his knowledge of the history of astronomy and related sciences. He implies that Kepler and Galileo were acquainted with measurements recording the radius of the earth's orbit as some 95,000,000 miles (p. 108, and also p. 78). Such measurements were not made until the end of the seventeenth century; in Donne's time Copernican astronomers erroneously calculated the distance to the sun to be about one-twentieth of that figure. Although mistakes of this sort may not, at times, materially affect his argument, they do, in certain instances, cause him completely

to misapprehend Donne's meaning. A typical example is his treatment of the stanza from *A Valediction: forbidding mourning*:

Moving of th'earth brings harmes and feares,  
Men reckon what it did and meant;  
But trepidation of the spheares,  
Though greater farre, is innocent.

Mr. Coffin, in an involved commentary (pp. 97 ff.), interprets the reference to "moving of the earth" as a reflection of the most disturbing element in the Copernican theory, which Donne contrasts with the most complex motion of the old astronomy. But Donne is not so recondite as Mr. Coffin makes him out to be. He is referring here, not to the rotation of the earth, but to earthquakes. A glance at the Elizabethan treatises on earthquakes will illustrate the "harms and fears" they brought and how men were concerned with what they "did" and "meant" (i. e., whether they were natural phenomena or supernatural warnings from God). Donne contrasts the oscillating movement of the earthquake with another, far greater, oscillating movement, that of the eighth sphere (and the lower ones enclosed by it), which swung slowly back and forth while the extremities of its axis described small circles about two points in the concavity of the ninth sphere in a period of 7,000 years. It should be noted that the preceding stanza contains references to "tear-floods" and "sigh-tempests" (floods and tempests usually accompanied earthquakes), and that the following stanzas contrast the transitory love of "dull sublunary lovers" with quintessential, changeless love. In fact, the figures of the poem are all based upon the traditional cosmology.

Exception might also be taken to certain details in the commentary upon the *Elegy on Prince Henry* (pp. 111-12). Surely the reference to "the earth throwne lowest downe of all" relates to the scheme of the old cosmology and not to the new, in which the earth, as Donne remarks in *Ignatius his Conclave* and elsewhere, has been elevated to a higher position. Also, the allusion to a "slow pac'd star" (*The first Anniversary*, line 117) must apply to a comet or an imaginary planet beyond Saturn, and not, as Mr. Coffin suggests, to a new star. Nor can an argument for a later date for *Elegie XII. His parting from her* be soundly based upon the reference to the loss of the sphere of fire from the scheme of the sublunary world. Doubt of the existence of this fiery sphere was a commonplace of earlier astronomical doctrines, and is found in Copernicus, Digges, and many other writers. Furthermore, the "others" to whom Donne alludes in *Ignatius his Conclave* as changing and perverting Tycho Brahe's system—a question which puzzles Mr. Coffin—are those who introduced the notion of the rotation of the earth into Tycho's geo-heliocentric scheme. This modified Tychonic system became extremely popular in England

after Gilbert's *De Magnete* had offered apparent physical proof of the earth's rotation.

The foregoing criticisms indicate that Mr. Coffin's pioneering study has not said the final word on the influence of the new science on Donne's poetry. They are not intended, however, to detract from the solid merits of his useful book, which makes a genuine contribution to our understanding of Donne's art. But Donne is not so subtly obscure in his figures of speech as the author occasionally implies. Whenever Mr. Coffin's exegesis tends to become involved and abstruse, the student of Donne may feel reasonably confident that if he probes deeper into the history of Renaissance astronomical thought he will be rewarded with a simpler explanation of the poet's meaning.

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*Current English, a Study of Present-Day Usages and Tendencies.*

By ARTHUR G. KENNEDY. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1936. xiii + 737. \$3.00.

As the title implies, *Current English* differs from the usual textbook on the English language in subordinating historical development to an analysis of the pronunciation, spelling, vocabulary, inflection, and syntax of the language as it is to-day. An exception is Chapter v entitled Historical Backgrounds of English. Two of the best chapters discuss etymology: The Derivation of Words (ix) and The Modern English Vocabulary (x); but the object even here is to illustrate various types of derivation by grouping prefixes and suffixes according to languages, and to show by lists of words the many sources from which English has borrowed, rather than to trace the history of word-formation in English or the development of the English vocabulary. Detailed study of the history of single words is left to the student or teacher. Since few undergraduates have any linguistic knowledge of the older periods of English, there is a certain pedagogical advantage in analyzing present-day English without assuming much knowledge of its earlier history. But even Professor Kennedy's ingenuity has not always succeeded in avoiding the pitfalls inherent in this method. This is most apparent in the chapter on Pronunciation of English (vi), in which the sounds of English are discussed in order, with lists of examples and indication of the various combinations in which the sounds occur. Under long [i:] (p. 175), for example, when it is said that the vowel is long in *evil*, but short in *devil*, the student who does not know that [i:] was once [e:] might well wonder what vowel is meant. Similarly, when it is said (p. 177) that before certain consonant groups short [ɪ] is lengthened to [aɪ], as in *child*, *kind*,

the combination of historical information with present-day fact is an objectionable short-cut. Present length of vowel in *fiend* is confused with historical lengthening when the word (OE. *fēond*, ME. *fēnd*) is given together with *bind* as an example of lengthening before *-nd* (p. 193). Still more misleading is the illustration of the 'common process of diphthongization' by *Tuesday* (p. 197); historically the [ɪu] in *Tuesday* is older than the monophthong, as in *new* in the next paragraph, which is given as an example of 'simplification of diphthongs.' The lists in this chapter do not seem very useful to the elementary student, and hardly form a scientific analysis of value to the scholar.

The chapters on The Classification of Words (VIII) and Syntax (XI) give a clear and compact exposition of the main facts of English grammar. In general, Kennedy follows a conservative tradition; but he mentions such matters as the 'aspects' of the verb, and is never dogmatic on questions of good usage. His discussion of the verb-adverb combination is especially illuminating. The author's preface informs us that his book is intended to be both an elementary text-book in English "philology" and a hand-book for general reference. Though this double purpose is sometimes an advantage in the syntactical sections, elsewhere the attempt to include a great deal of material for reference and the tendency to give long lists of examples without any detailed illustration make for a certain lack of readability. Besides a word-index and a subject-index there is a concise index to questions of good usage. An excellent classified bibliography and a list of words for further study are valuable additions to the book.

Some inadequate, incorrect, or misleading statements are here noted. Pp. 14-5: the causes of linguistic change are discussed too superficially; the only cause of phonetic change specifically mentioned is the inexact imitation by children of their parents' speech. P. 73: the description of the tongue position of [ɑ:] is vague, and the diagrams on pp. 74, 75 imply that it is a low central vowel; only from the slightly different diagram on p. 167 could one deduce that [ɑ:] is a back vowel. Pp. 131: the paragraph on extant vernacular literature before 1066 mentions the great prose-writers Bede and Alcuin with Alfred and Ælfric in such a way as to suggest that we have original English prose by the two Latin writers. P. 138: one would not expect a linguist to say that the *Ancren Riwle* was written in southeastern England. P. 182: the first syllable of *woman* surely does not have [u:] in Standard English; [ʊ] is given only as a variant pronunciation. P. 184: *cursor* does not normally have the vowel of *boor*. P. 220: of the four words given in illustration of the tendency to add final [d] after [n], *kind* already had it in OE. (*ge*)*cynd*, and *round*, it should be mentioned, is the archaic *round* 'to whisper' from OE. *rūnian*. Pp. 460: *clothe-clad* should not be included in the list of words which have

undergone mutation in the present (*sell-sold*), but rather in the next group, which has vowel shortening in the preterite (*bereave-bereft*). P. 477: Kennedy justifies *myself* in 'He invited Smith and myself,' on the ground that *myself* is used to emphasize the speaker. But the chief reason, I believe, for the prevalence of this usage is that it easily resolves the dilemma of the speaker who vaguely feels that *me* is incorrect and hesitates to adopt the increasingly popular 'Smith and I'. Throughout the book (e. g. pp. 96, 123, 129, 136) Kennedy, who has elsewhere defended the use of *Anglo-Saxon* as a linguistic term, mistakenly to my mind, vacillates in almost haphazard fashion between *Anglo-Saxon* and *Old English*.

ROBERT J. MENNER

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*The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds.* By FREDERICK WHILEY HILLES, Fellow of Trumbull College and Assistant Professor of English at Yale University. New York: The Macmillan Company. Cambridge University Press. 1936. Pp. xx + 318. \$4.00.

*The Poetry and Aesthetics of Erasmus Darwin.* By JAMES VENABLE LOGAN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936. Pp. viii + 162. \$2.00. (Princeton Studies in English, 15.)

In an attractive, remarkably well written and excellently documented book Professor Hilles deals with the literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds. His careful research supplies us with a great deal of new material regarding Reynolds's persistent and, on the whole, very successful efforts to hold his own in the literary world—an ambition that seems to have been nearer to his heart than his greatness as a painter. The popularity of his *Discourses* established his position as a writer but the nagging minds of later critics have been at pains to deprive him of at least some of the literary fame of which he was so proud. It has been doubted whether Reynolds was the real author of that work, and Professor Hilles performs a valuable service to criticism by making it quite clear that the attribution of the authorship of the *Discourses* to Johnson or Burke is unreasonable. There is perhaps even more merit in his examination of the sources of Reynolds's literary magnum opus and in his instructive comparison of many passages in it with their early drafts. We learn how anxious Sir Joshua was to display more learning than he was actually entitled to claim, and how Junius's *De Pictura Veterum* appears to have supplied him with most of the classical quotations found in his book, without his condescending to acknowl-

edge his indebtedness except in the case of obscure writers. We are also shown the reason for this behaviour. Painting lacked the prestige already attained by letters at that time, and Reynolds wished to appear as the intellectual equal of his celebrated fellow-members of The Club. Professor Hilles's examination of the various stages through which the matter collected in the *Discourses* passed throws much light on Reynolds's halting methods of composition. He made the utmost efforts to appear at his very best in his literary work and was grateful to his friends for the help they gave him in putting the finishing touches to his style. That he failed to acknowledge this assistance is another example of how jealous he was of his literary reputation: he was afraid he might impair it by admitting his debts to other writers.

The extent and nature of Sir Joshua's acquaintance with letters finds much careful consideration in the chapters devoted to him as a literary critic and to his library. What emerges from these chapters is that though he was not much of a scholar he was in his own way a lover of literature, hampered, it is true, by an inadequate early training but determined throughout his life to improve his mind by careful if not very wide reading. Other chapters show what contemporary recognition his literary labours found and how highly he valued that recognition. Several interesting pages deal with the personality of Reynolds's Italian translator Baretti, a typical Latin of his time, very pugnacious in his controversial writings. Here and elsewhere, especially in the descriptions of Reynolds's dealings with The Club as well as of the ups and downs of his career as President of the Royal Academy, we are given attractive glimpses of the social atmosphere of the times.

It is gratifying to be afforded this opportunity to study the great painter's personality from an angle which, though revealing many of his human weaknesses, gives us a deeper insight into that yearning for orthodox excellence that is so characteristic not merely of his writing but of his painting also.

Like Reynolds, Erasmus Darwin approached literature as an outsider, but from a different point of the compass. Each was of the eighteenth-century but Darwin's training in natural science as well as his vigorous, eccentric mind made him almost entirely unlike the author of the *Discourses*. Mr. Logan's treatise will hardly enable us to read Darwin's *Botanic Garden* with pleasure but it adds considerably to our understanding of the author's motives and methods. The careful, lucidly written account of that poet-doctor's aesthetic theories shows how eclectic his philosophy of art was but it also brings out with sufficient emphasis the few original features in Darwin's doctrines. Whatever the ultimate value of the doctor's theorizing, there is no doubt at all as to its springing from an energetic, interesting mind. Even his poetry is shown to be of much

greater interest than those judging it merely on the strength of their familiarity with its caricature in *The Loves of the Triangles* may feel prepared to admit. Politics had at least as much to do with Darwin's lapse into notoriety and ridicule as his literary failings. Moreover, he happened to write at a time when the tide of taste was already turning. On Mr. Logan's showing, he was by no means the least considerable of eighteenth-century didactic poets. The pictorial power of his verse commands respect, however great its lack of delicacy and emotional appeal may be. Mr. Logan's industry and zest have resulted in a readable, stimulating book.

*The University of Tartu,  
Estonia*

ANTS ORAS

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*Ballad Opera.* By EDMOND MCADOO GAGEY. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, No. 130.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. xii + 259. \$3.00.

In his *Ballad Opera*, Mr. Gagey has retraced much of the ground covered by W. E. Schultz in *Gay's Beggar's Opera* (1923). He has described some 125 ballad operas, grouped under six heads indicative of their subject matter or purposes. The general method of treatment is to give information about the production, to abstract the main action, and to indicate the presence of topical allusions or of satire. The resulting descriptive list of ballad operas is useful, as it is considerably more detailed than Schultz's corresponding enumeration of the successors of *The Beggar's Opera*. Preceding this main portion of the study are four introductory chapters that present the definition of the type, indicate something of its origins, describe and comment upon *The Beggar's Opera* and *Polly*, and suggest other English and Continental influences. The bibliography contains lists of ballad operas, published and unpublished. About 120 titles of published operas appear; of these Schultz had listed 103 in his Appendix I, and the rest are found in Allardyce Nicoll's hand-lists. Except for the detailed descriptions of the operas, this study adds to our knowledge of the subject little that cannot be gained from Schultz, Nicoll, and the *Biographia Dramatica*. Mr. Gagey has suggested interesting influences of the French *comédie en vaudevilles* upon English ballad opera, he has found that the author of *The Stage Mutineers* is Edward Phillips, and he has, sensibly, questioned the attribution of *The Court Legacy* to Mrs. Manley, who died nine years before the piece was performed.

The difficulty of defining ballad opera is apparent throughout, and the author repeatedly describes works that he says are not ex-



amples of the type and therefore, one might suppose, had better be ignored. He also finds it hard to make up his mind whether contemporaneous designations are to be regarded as adequate reasons for the inclusion of individual pieces. Thus he says, of Carey's *The Contrivances*, "Technically, . . . the music rules the piece out of the category of strict ballad opera, but . . . his contemporaries all speak of *The Contrivances* as a ballad farce." (It is called a "ballad opera" in the 1743 edition of Carey's *Dramatick Works*.) And in his last chapter the author is still fumbling with his definition:

If such pieces as the two preceding [Dodsley's *Sir John Cockle at Court* and *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*] are not ballad operas, what may they properly be called? Carey's farces, even though he composed his own music, at least looked like ballad operas. Both the songs and the dialogue adhered to the general formula of the type, and Carey's airs were themselves frequently borrowed for other ballad plays. Dodsley's musical pieces and others—coming in the late 1730s when ballad opera was no longer the fashion—mark rather a degeneration of the form.

This confusion indicates the inconclusive nature of the treatment of larger phases and implications of the study.

Furthermore it seems unnecessary to find in Dodsley's pieces evidence of the degeneration of a type that, as Mr. Gagey indicates, had run a fairly steady downward course in excellence and in popularity since the original example. The truth appears to be that the growing popularity of musical entertainment after *The Beggar's Opera* led to the adoption of many of the features of that type into the pantomimes, and to the introduction of the burletta into England and its adaptation to local conditions. From this form was developed a new variety of native, original comic opera, which shared the characteristics of both ballad opera and burletta. Such are the operas of the sixties and seventies as written by Bickerstaffe, Arne, Sheridan, and Charles Dibdin. Nor had the better examples of the earlier type lost their appeal, as is shown by the continuance as afterpieces of the ballad operas of Fielding, Carey, Coffey, and Cibber,—frequently given "with alterations and additions," but offered until afterpieces were abandoned.

If space permitted, comment might be made upon numerous minor inaccuracies and upon the failure to acknowledge indebtedness to Schultz as often or as specifically as might be. Moreover, recent studies of related or supporting subjects are ignored. For example, there is no mention of Dane F. Smith's *Plays about the Theatre in England* (whatever may be its worth) or of R. P. Bond's *English Burlesque Poetry*, which might have contributed the support of parallel developments in non-dramatic verse. Except for the inclusion of explanatory matter on politics and social conditions (drawn from very limited sources), the topic has been so completely isolated that its treatment results in a discourse upon details—sometimes futile and often irrelevant. On the whole, the

present study would have been more useful, more significant, and less a duplication of the work of Schultz, if it had more clearly related ballad opera to other forms of theatrical entertainment and to other modes of expression common in its time.

DOUGALD MACMILLAN

*The University of North Carolina*

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*Jakob Wassermann. Bild, Kampf und Werk.* Von MARTA KARLWEIS. Mit einem Geleitwort von THOMAS MANN. Amsterdam: Querido, 1935. Pp. 472.

In writing about her husband, Frau Marta Karlweis Wassermann's intention was neither to present a connected history of his life nor a detailed analysis of his numerous works, but rather to portray the plan and structure of his life. Her avowed aim was to trace the change of his attitude toward the world, and to depict the development of his art from the standpoint of form, structure and content. She desired to follow the course of a man who was at first driven to write purely by a creative impulse, but who subsequently became imbued with the zeal of a prophet, teaching and influencing others through the medium of his writings, and motivated by the burning conviction that the world must be transformed. To that end she drew as far as possible on Wassermann's works, letters and diaries. The presentation is not strictly chronological; the choice of biographical details as well as of works analyzed was determined by their importance to the trends of development under consideration.

There are many references to the novelist's readings in the natural sciences, psychology, medicine, law, memoirs, correspondence, biography and belles lettres. Included among the authors read by Wassermann, together with his comments on some of them, are numerous leading Russian, English, French and German novelists. Reference is made to his relations to Busoni and such contemporary German authors as Hofmannsthal, Thomas Mann, Schnitzler, Hesse, Döblin, Stehr and Dehmel.

The diaries present a faithful, moving picture of Wassermann's mental anguish and doubts during the World War, his comments on the deplorable inefficiency of Austrian bureaucracy, his thwarted desires to enlist, his conclusion that the war was a result of the capitalistic system, his despondence at seeing the world out of joint, and his prophecy that revolutions would follow in the wake of the conflict. In the early days of the war, just after the fall of Liège, Wassermann wrote: "Ich sehe einen grossen Sieg Deutschlands und des Deutschtums voraus. Deutschland wird Weltmacht.

Gott schütze uns dann nur vor Übermut!" (p. 244). It is noteworthy that during his travels in Switzerland in 1930 he characterized democracy as the one form of government which seemed to guarantee respect for the dignity of the individual.

A large portion of the book deals with Wassermann's struggle with technique, form and style. The weakness of his early unpublished autobiographical novel, *Engelhart Ratgeber*, is ascribed to ineptitude in matters of form. Realizing this, he diligently studied narrative art, its structure and technique. *Das Gänsemännchen*, says Frau Wassermann, represents the high point of structural achievement in his works. Yet after all his striving for technical perfection, the form of this novel no longer satisfied him; the looser structure ("die gebrochene, sozusagen offene Form") of *Wahnschaffe* seemed like a pleasing revelation to him. Henceforth ideas and the growing desire to instruct, to aid and transform humankind gained the ascendancy over the striving for formal excellence. According to Frau Wassermann his later works are marked by movement, flux and a plethora of content. Prompted by the will to interpret, move, teach and uplift, the zealous novelist now frequently addressed his readers directly. His desire to carry conviction led him to write much as he would speak, a tendency which is particularly noticeable in the Maurizius trilogy.

The accounts of numerous revisions of some of Wassermann's works give convincing evidence of his prolonged struggle for formal excellence. *Adam Urbas* was revised nineteen times, *Ulrike Woytich* was begun anew thirteen times, the first fifty pages of *Der Fall Maurizius* were written twenty-two times. The author's habits of work, his endeavor to command the muse, his industry, self-discipline and regular daily routine in later years are graphically portrayed. It is of interest that his writing of "Novellen" was prompted to a considerable extent by the desire to develop unity, greater clarity and more careful technique.

Wassermann is described as distrustful of rationalism and hostile to it, as being interested primarily in the realm of instincts and of the unconscious, and as unfriendly to abstractions.

Limitations of space forbid detailed review of Wassermann's ideals as an author, his mode of composition, analyses of his characters, the influence of his friend and counselor Moritz Heimann, the pronounced biographical element in his writings, the characterization of the man Wassermann, his temperament and his relation to Jewry.

Frau Wassermann has written about her husband with commendable restraint, marked delicacy, and an awareness of his capacities as well as his limitations. As a result of the arrangement of material, with its combination of biographical and critical elements, lines of development are frequently interrupted. Since the sequence is not strictly chronological, more frequent reference to

dates in terms of years would help to clarify the presentation. Unfortunately the volume lacks both a table of contents and an index. The absence of the latter means a distinct loss in view of the numerous, scattered references to Wassermann's works. The style is pleasing, clear, direct and unaffected. This book is a very important contribution to the critical and biographical study of Wassermann.

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

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*Briefe aus den Jahren 1914 bis 1921, von RAINER MARIA RILKE.*

Herausgegeben von RUTH SIEBER-RILKE und CARL SIEBER.

Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1937. Pp. 421.

The new volume of Rilke's letters, the sixth in the series published by the Insel-Verlag, closes the gap between the years 1914 and 1921. These letters portray the poet's experiences and suffering during the World War, reveal his attitude toward intellectual and spiritual developments of the post-war period, and reflect his striving for concentration as well as the sadly patient longing for a renewal of his poetic productivity.

Included in the volume are fourteen pages of annotations and an index of recipients of letters. The editors have made no comment on their choice of letters for this period nor on the number of letters excluded from publication. No information is given about the location or ownership of the originals. There is no list of places and dates of residence of the poet, such as is to be found in the volume for the years from 1907 to 1914. The notes do not disclose the identity of three recipients whose names are indicated merely by initials.

One hundred five of the one hundred fifty-one letters were written to women. This marked difference and the spontaneous tone of numerous letters to women point to the conclusion that the frail, sensitive poet found it easier to unburden himself before women. Rilke himself comments: "Männer [haben] selten einen vertraulichen Anschluss an mich gesucht" (p. 192).

Rilke's letters reveal his growing disillusionment during the World War with its mounting deceit, folly, confusion, exploitation, greed, destructiveness and inhumanity. For the poet those troubled years meant a veritable interruption of life and creativeness. As an intellectual he was opposed to the revolution which followed in the wake of the war, for he was convinced that changes of abiding value come about slowly and almost imperceptibly. In spite of wide reading his inner life seemed barren during these years, and human existence appeared devoid of meaning. His sensibilities seemed blunted; again and again he wrote that he felt confused,

congealed, apathetic, dull and hopeless, that even nature had lost her magic appeal.

Fundamentally, Rilke's suffering in this period grew out of his lack of creative productivity. The letters abound in references to the desire for a quiet retreat, for solitude and reposeful conditions propitious to writing. His inability to command the muse, his dependence on physical surroundings, atmosphere, seclusion and mood for calm concentration are voiced repeatedly. Without a home, he felt adrift and at the mercy of chance circumstance. His difficulties are summed up as follows: "Es ist so schwer, sich zu entschliessen, weil es sich ja, ich weiss, um die Gewinnung eines *inneren* Aufenthaltes handelt, nur dass ein Impressionabler, wie ich, immer wieder annimmt, der rechte *äussere* könnte dem inneren Zustand aufhelfen" (p. 72).

A melancholy note of resignation prevails, a wistful feeling that ultimately his muse will speak again, and a conviction that it is useless to try to force himself to write. In such barren periods his voluminous correspondence became a means of developing a chastened, cultivated, refined prose style. These letters are invaluable to the student of Rilke because of their high literary merit, their important biographical content, and the insight they afford into the poet's character, temperament, ideals, aspirations and friendships. They constitute an essential part of the author's literary achievement.

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

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*Die Philosophie der unendlichen Landschaft*, von HELMUT REHDER.

Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1932. Pp. vi + 228.

We see in Helmut Rehder's book a strongly constructive mind at work. His chief idea is to show how romanticism strives to comprehend the world not through knowledge but through speculation and how the infinite occupies more and more the central position in all philosophical thought. To reach this climax of German liberalism, Rehder stresses the everlasting struggle of the German spirit for balance and equilibrium of life in the seventeenth, eighteenth and of the beginning nineteenth century. He investigates the individual pattern of periods, its structural laws, its variations and its parallels. He shows the changes and the interrelationship of periods and categories of forces and how they are reflected in the atomistic, esthetic, idyllic and infinite aspects of the literary conception of the landscape.

Rehder contrasts sharply the sober morality of the eighteenth century with the imperial majesty of the seventeenth as it is displayed in a wealth of baroque symbols. The period of *Aufklärung*

contributes a new enlightened conception of mythology but without any imaginative enjoyment. The marked moral individualism and the rationalistic mode of thought prevent a creative reaction toward nature. Manifestations of nature are regarded soberly and unemotionally as "Gegenstand des Wissens" (p. 15). Rationalistic metaphysics involve continually an absolute dualism between mind and nature, thought and perception. And it must be remembered that even the most significant examples of *Naturvergötterung* are based on reflection and have little to do with genuine feeling.

He gives objective evidence for the various stages of transition to romanticism, for the shift of emphasis in the philosophical interpretation from the moral to the neglected esthetics, from the intellectual recognition of the sublime to the vital experiencing of the divine beauty. Of particular significance is Rehder's chapter "Die Landschaft im naturalistischen Idealismus" which shows romanticism entering into a second period of literary existence, attaining a synthesis of the spiritual and natural principle (p. 206), a synthesis impossible for the metaphysician of the first romantic school who seeks transcendental beauty and thereby loses sight of the immanent value of the phenomenon of nature.

The most illuminating commentary upon the subject indeed is the final turn of Rehder's book to the twenties of the century. It shows that romanticism gradually changed from an esoteric ideology to a worldly one, as Rehder puts it: "eine wissende Umkehr vor dem Unendlichen" (p. 195). As a matter of fact the age of German idealism has come to an end. The spirit of the nineteenth century was already at work and transformed calmly the search for the infinite (*Unendlichkeitsstreben*) into scientific investigation, into devotion for the objects of reality. The history of man's spiritual struggle with God, nature, the senses and reason expressed in wise worship of *Idee* and *Wirklichkeit* seems to come down to the civil simplicity of a gentleman's credo: "Bescheidung auf eine sinnvolle Lebensführung in gegebenen Schranken" (p. 196). Life, the moving and changing substance of being, is grasped in the relations of unique wholeness. Romanticism converted into well-balanced urbanity is the keynote of the nineteenth century.

Helmut Rehder brilliantly presents a comprehensive analysis of all the facts determining an historic situation. His conclusions are based on a study of the character of an era manifested in its poets, painters, investigators and philosophers and go far beyond a set of definitions and general principles derived from the analysis of a limited field of literature alone. They lead to a richer and deeper knowledge of thought and form in letters and in arts.

MARIANNE THALMANN

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*Modern German Prose Usage.* By W. WITTE. London: Methuen & Co., 1937. Pp. xii, 167. 5s.

In the introduction the author explains that the term "recent" or "modern" was used as about synonymous with "post-War," and he claims to have found his examples in "reasonably representative" post-War prose. The bibliography bears out this claim although some of the dates are far from correct. Quite a few books are of outspoken expressionistic tinge, yet the author wants it to be understood that he is "concerned with usage, not with affectation of literary cliques" (p. 24).

The chapter on vocabulary contains valuable observations and critical remarks. Many a new word compound is listed, and for some striking novelties credit is given to impressionism and its search for the exact shade and flavor of a word. Despite the wealth of material the author was able to muster, one misses a general perspective. In the introduction reference was made to contemporary forces, such as our mode of living, our restlessness, the quick changes and the speed of our life in general, all of which may have had a decisive effect on our languages. Witte, however, never attempts to apply this introductory outline to his specific findings. Have such words—to cite only a few cases—as *Füllhalter* (for *Füllfederhalter*), *Flugkarte* (for *Flugzeugfahrkarte* or *Flugzeugflugkarte*), *Kraftrad* (for *Motorrad* or *Motorfahrrad*), developed in advertisements, are they indicative of a tendency toward conciseness, or are they merely the creation of purists? Has tourist traffic anything to do with the use of the word *Travelers Scheck* beside the good German *Reisescheck*? What is the significance of such neologisms as *Kleinkind*, *Kleinschreibmaschine*, *Kleinwohnung* (with or without corresponding opposites)? Is the prefix *klein-* about to take the place of the suffixes *-chen* and *-lein*?

In the chapter on syntax the author is primarily concerned with freer word order, i. e. word order in an independent sentence in which "the grammatically important word of the predicate (participle, infinitive, separable prefix, predicate adjective or noun) is followed by modifiers that would otherwise have preceded it." These so-called 'irregularities' are constantly used in the spoken language. Many other recent deviations from the 'rules' are likewise directly influenced by the standards set by spoken German.

In the discussion of the use of the subjunctive one misses a word or two on the form of *Erlebte Rede* which has made strong inroads into the territory formerly held by indicative and subjunctive. This form of speech, with its short way of expressing words and thoughts, has become general after the war and may also be found in the spoken language nowadays.

One will often disagree with the author when he interprets examples in the section on 'Tense.' It is true enough, as the author

puts it, that "the present perfect and past imperfect are often used indiscriminately in prose." But in setting one tense against the other in one and the same sentence, a writer does more than just slight the rules.

"Modern German Prose Usage" is an interesting study of the present trends in the German language. It can be read by teachers and students to great advantage. To be a good guide it lacks important features: it is not complete enough to answer many questions; it has no lists or tables; it has no index of new words or word formations, and as the discussion of words comprises almost one half of the book, this is a rather serious fault indeed.

WERNER NEUSE

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*Balzac avant la Comédie Humaine (1818-1829). Contribution à l'étude de la genèse de son œuvre.* By A. PRIOULT. Paris: Librairie Georges Courville, 1936. Pp. xx + 484.

*Sténie ou les Erreurs philosophiques. Texte inédit établi par A. Prioult.* By HONORÉ DE BALZAC. Paris: Librairie Georges Courville, 1936. Pp. xxxix + 256.

The farther we penetrate the Human Comedy, the more confirmed we become of its progressive construction, and the more anxiously we desire to investigate its genesis. In his principal thesis M. Prioult has made such a study: a presentation of many anterior formations, including the cheaper alloy; the literary development of a demiurge rather than a creator *ex nihilo*, who borrowed ideas, figures, plots from the memoir writers, the anecdotal works, the *petits conteurs* and penny-dreadfuls, set them down in manuscripts which were shelved before publication, or were published under pseudonyms. But they were never forgotten; and on many occasions these youthful memories and imitations of Jouy's famous *Hermite*, of *Le Père Lantimèche* or *Le Compère Mathieu*, of Faublas, Vidocq, Melmoth and Udolpho were again utilized to strengthen (or to weaken) the cement with which the Human Comedy was bound. We discover the deposits which are crystallized about Balzac's first novels, and the very first—a philosophic effusion in epistolary form called *Sténie*—M. Prioult has published with elaborate commentary as his supplementary thesis. We view the extent of Balzac's collaborations: with the hack-writer, Le Poitevin de l'Égreville, and with Horace Raison for his *Codes*. We learn the existence of certain hitherto unknown Balzacian products such as *Le Mulâtre* ("par Mme Aurore Cloteaux"), *Le Corrupteur* ("par A. de Viellerglé"); and, finally, the ill-assorted



ingredients of the Saint-Aubin mediocrities are weighed with respect to their dosage of Byron, Scott, Godwin, Maturin, Lavater, or Cooper. M. Prioult brings his volume to a close with thoroughly convincing defense of the *Physiologie du mariage* (1829), wherein he feels that Balzac attained his literary maturity and was in full possession of the principal themes which he could expand later in the Human Comedy: arguments which tend to discount the importance of *Le Dernier Chouan* (and the influence of Scott) as revealing a more decisive progress in the novelist's talent.

One of the most interesting portions of M. Prioult's work is occupied with the evaluation of the curious pre-original form of the *Physiologie du mariage*, an unfinished but printed version, dating most likely from 1823, which was discovered years ago by Marcel Bouteron, bound under one cover with a certain *Histoire de la rage*, the latter from the pen of Balzac's father. It is to be hoped that some day this unusual text will be given a wider circulation. That it was largely inspired by the eccentric autodidact, Bernard-François Balzac, there can be no doubt; and that this inspiration came largely through the medium of *Tristram Shandy* is of great interest, especially when we compare the earlier with the later and more Rabelaisian version; but here, as unfortunately elsewhere, M. Prioult indulges in a great many hypotheses which are suggestive, but often far from conclusive: for example, that Balzac's readings in Sterne furnished him not only the fundamental ideas for this early physiology, but also the anecdotes, the irony, the humour, the very tone of the work.

A host of major and minor prophets (whom M. Prioult acknowledges) have already contributed to the study of the genesis of Balzac's fiction,<sup>1</sup> and it must be confessed that the author of the present study has had to repeat and rework a great deal of their material. Furthermore, his apparent distrust of anything written in English has led him to omit all references to certain American studies from which he might have derived much information.<sup>2</sup> He is familiar with (and occasionally quotes) the American edition of Balzac's *Letters to his Family*, yet the majority of his citations are made

<sup>1</sup> A. Le Breton, *Balzac, l'homme et l'œuvre*, 1905; Pietro Toldo, "Rabelais et Honoré de Balzac," *Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, 1905, III, 117-137; L.-J. Arrigon, *Les Débuts littéraires d'Honoré de Balzac*, 1924; F. Baldensperger, *Orientations étrangères chez Honoré de Balzac*, 1927; P. Barrière, *Honoré de Balzac et la tradition littéraire classique*, 1928, and *Les Romans de jeunesse d'Honoré de Balzac*, 1928; P. Ronai, *Autour des romans de jeunesse d'Honoré de Balzac*, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> E. Preston Dargan, "Scott and the French Romantics," *PMLA*, 1934, XLIX, 599-629; H. J. Garmand, *The Influence of Walter Scott on the Works of Balzac*, 1926 (untrustworthy, but should have been listed in his bibliography); G. M. Fess, *The Correspondence of Physical and Material Factors with Character in Balzac*, 1924; "A Source for Balzac's Determinism" [Dessaignes], *PMLA*, 1935, L, 1186-1190; J. E. Wenger, "Balzac's Notes for an Unwritten Historical Novel," *Mod. Phil.*, 1934, XXXII, 185-191.

from the unreliable volume of general correspondence (Calmann-Lévy, Vol. xxiv, 1876), which sometimes leads him into error. For example (p. 300), he cites a passage to attest B.-F. Balzac's interest in China which was transmitted to his son; but the passage quoted is a forgery. Again (p. 301), the phrase: "le petit anti-Cornaro de père Dablin," cited not from the old *Correspondance* but from an article which corrected many of its discrepancies,<sup>3</sup> offers M. Prioult the opportunity to discover and to comment upon a certain *Louis Cornaro*; but the correct phrase in the *Letters to his Family* reads: "le petit anti-cornard de père Dablin!" Errors of such nature are not infrequent in the course of M. Prioult's over-zealous search for sources. Under the guidance of so stable a master as Fernand Baldensperger he has considered many "weightier matters of the laws"; at times his other guides have blinded him, and we feel the straining at a gnat.

WALTER SCOTT HASTINGS

Princeton University

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*Le Jeune Edgar Quinet ou l'Aventure d'un Enthousiaste.* Par HENRI TRONCHON. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937. Pp. viii + 409. (Pub. de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg, 2e série, Vol. xv.)

The first important work of Edgar Quinet to bring him favorably to the notice of his contemporaries was his translation of Herder.<sup>1</sup> M. T. gives the circumstances surrounding what he calls Quinet's enthusiastic "aventure." The title might lead one to expect something different and more interesting than the story he tells of Quinet's use of an English translation of Herder rather than the original German. The real contribution of this volume is to be found in the chapters devoted to the study of Herder's vogue in England, which is a supplement to the authoritative study by M. T. entitled: *La Fortune Intellectuelle de Herder en France*.<sup>2</sup> The book is divided into four parts: I (pp. 1-18) bears the heading "Weimar-Paris via Londres"; II (pp. 19-286) deals with the interest in Herder in England and North America and constitutes the major portion of the book; III (pp. 287-352) compares the English and French translations; IV (pp. 355-393) studies the changes made by Quinet in 1857 in the translation he had made 30 years earlier.

<sup>3</sup> W. S. Hastings, "A Commentary on Certain Published Letters of Honoré de Balzac," *Mod. Phil.*, 1932, xxix, 437-458. M. Prioult quotes from a translation of this article made for the *Revue bleue*.

<sup>1</sup> Published at Strassbourg and Paris in 3 volumes (1825-27). Quinet was born in 1803, the year of Herder's death.

<sup>2</sup> In this exhaustive investigation of the subject, published in 1920, M. T. takes up the period preceding the appearance of Quinet's translation.

It would seem to be M. T.'s implicit purpose to bring attention to Churchill<sup>3</sup> and the other English disciples of Herder and to have them share in the credit usually given to Quinet for introducing Herder into France. His keen interest in this fine example of English men of letters acting as intermediaries between the French and the English will be shared by other comparatists. No one can doubt thereafter, thanks to the painstaking efforts of M. T., that Quinet used Churchill and not Herder for his translation.<sup>4</sup> This fact is interesting, although the practice was not uncommon at the time. However, this fact is not new<sup>5</sup> and M. T. is the first to admit it. As to the extent of Quinet's rôle in familiarizing the French with Herder or as to French opinion of him, nothing is said. In only one sentence of the brief conclusion (pp. 285-6) do we learn that Herder was not justly appreciated or well-known in England, France, and America until 1880. The author's main theme, then, is that Quinet was really a translator of Churchill and a poor one at that. He writes:

Même quand il ne cherche pas à rendre plus oratoire le Herder de Churchill, Quinet ne se fait guère scrupule de suivre l'usage établi: il affaiblit, il omet, il est souvent inexact, il enjolive, et il accentue, souvent beaucoup plus que de raison, parfois non sans quelque arrière-pensée . . . il aime foncer les tons: emphase encore et toujours (pp. 316, 321).

We may well believe with M. T. that Churchill was linguistically better qualified to render the meaning of Herder's text. Unfortunately, no further conclusions are drawn or attempted. The matter, therefore, does not appear to merit all the emphasis given to it. Quinet may be less than a faithful and impeccable translator, but he did reveal the author of *Ideen* to France and his work was discussed and applauded whereas Churchill's work was unknown and remains, in fact, *introuvable*. (M. T., in his preface, recounts that he had to postpone publishing the present volume twenty years because of the difficulty of obtaining a copy of Churchill). It has not been shown that Quinet first discovered Herder through the English translation<sup>6</sup> but rather that he utilized it because of his faulty knowledge of German. Nor has M. T. properly appreciated the extraordinary accomplishment of Quinet, who undertook his task knowing scarcely any German and very little English (cf. p. 290). For students of Herder, this volume will be of

<sup>3</sup> T. O. Churchill, "Outlines of a Philosophy of History of Man," London, 1800, 2 vols.

<sup>4</sup> Without answering his own question explicitly, M. T. entitles one chapter (pp. 344-51): "Quinet n'a-t-il donc jamais consulté Herder?"

<sup>5</sup> Cf. O. Wenderoth, "Der junge Quinet und seine Übersetzung von Herders 'Ideen'" in *Romanische Forschungen*, xxii (1908), 348.

<sup>6</sup> On p. 286 M. T. says: "Enivré qu'il était d'avoir découvert, pensait-il, une œuvre, un homme, une âme, Quinet semble n'avoir rien soupçonné de tout ce qu'avant Churchill, après Churchill, on avait connu, pressenti, pensé de Herder en pays de langue anglaise."

great value, especially part II dealing with his vogue in England. It is regrettable that M. T., who is so qualified to do it, did not treat this subject separately and more extensively. There is no mention, for instance, of Browning's debt to Herder; and the section devoted to Herder in North America, based almost exclusively on the articles of Larned, should have been omitted or treated in greater detail.

MAURICE CHAZIN

*The College of the City of New York*

*A Contribution to the Study of the Descriptive Technique of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.* By MARGARET LOUISE BUCHNER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. 184. \$1.25. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, xxx.)

Les titres des différents chapitres de ce travail sont assez peu révélateurs—comme d'ailleurs le titre général. Et tout en reconnaissant la somme de travail considérable que représente cette étude on ne saisit peut-être pas toujours assez bien la cohérence du tout. Le chap. I, "The Predecessors of Rousseau," ne fait pas assez sentir en quoi les descriptions des Prédécesseurs vont différer de celles de Rousseau—d'autant plus que Mlle Buchner est d'accord avec Rice que Rousseau a senti la nature autrement, disons plus profondément que ceux qui sont venus avant lui, mais qu'il s'est servi de la palette classique encore et qu'il faudra en venir à Bern. de Saint-Pierre et Chateaubriand pour renouveler le style descriptif. Deuxième chapitre, "The Theory of Sensationalism and its aesthetic applications": Le but de la thèse, dit l'Introduction, est d'indiquer dans certains morceaux de Rousseau "la fréquence des notations sensorielles." Mlle B. cherchera alors à définir d'abord ce qui aurait dû donner au style de R. quelque chose de spécial dans le style descriptif, c'est à dire ses relations avec les Encyclopédistes dans ses années de formation littéraire. Elle expose donc la doctrine sensualiste (elle l'appelle indifféremment "sensationalisme" ou "sensualisme," le second est en somme plus exact), tantôt chez Condillac avec sa statue, chez Locke, dans l'Encyclopédie; elle est fort généreuse dans cette exposition; elle consacre même de nombreuses pages aux discussions de Diderot sur les rapports de la musique, de la poésie et de la peinture, sur "l'anatomie métaphysique des sens," sur l'orgue des couleurs du Père Castel. Au chapitre III "Nature as Rousseau observes it" nous avons enfin la partie importante du travail (p. 57 ss.). C'est

une analyse assez poussée de la Lettre sur le Valais (*Nouv. Hél.* I, 23). La conclusion est celle-ci: Rousseau dans ses descriptions—dans celle-ci et quelques autres qui seront examinées ensuite—s'intéresse d'abord à la nature physique qui l'entoure, et offre des "notations sensorielles," mais il revient obstinément à son moi (ou à celui de Saint-Preux, c'est un trait de leur caractère à tous deux), et dès lors il devient de plus en plus indifférent au paysage; l'élément humain l'emporte sur l'élément descriptif. D'où on arrive à cette conclusion: "Since this is the case, one is prepared for the affirmation of the fact that there are relatively very few and very simple sensory notations in Rousseau's descriptions of nature" (p. 67).

A cette conclusion on ne peut s'empêcher de rattacher une remarque: Si Rousseau offre si peu de matière en ce domaine (et d'ailleurs quand il décrit, il le fait dans le style archaïque des 16<sup>e</sup> et 17<sup>e</sup> siècles, comme Rice l'a dit et comme Mlle B. en est demeurée d'accord), pourquoi ne pas changer de sujet d'observation et s'occuper d'un autre écrivain qui serait plus révélateur sur cette question des rapports de style avec la nouvelle théorie sensualiste? Dans sa conclusion, tout à la fin du volume, Mlle B. offre des pages tout à fait intéressantes sur Saint-Lambert et ses *Saisons*: "... It is there that one finds an astonishingly keen perception of the sensory experiences which are in store for the true lover of nature" (p. 152). Et puis elle mentionne encore Delille comme presque aussi intéressant. Elle affirme—et elle semble avoir raison—que ces deux hommes ont des 'notations sensorielles' autrement caractéristiques que celles de Rousseau. De sorte que l'on ferme le livre en se disant que la thèse même est un peu dans la conclusion, ou au moins la thèse à faire y est indiquée.

Il y a à cela une confirmation dans l'Appendice qui contient une liste des "notations sensorielles générales et spécifiques" chez Rousseau; cette liste est des plus banales qu'on puisse imaginer. Mornet avait remarqué que la vue de Rousseau étant mauvaise on ne pouvait pas s'attendre à des notations visuelles particulièrement intéressantes; c'était en quelque sorte un paysage intérieur seulement qu'on pouvait attendre chez lui. De cette indication Mlle B. qui connaît bien son Mornet aurait pu profiter. Ajoutons en terminant qu'une étude comme celle de Mlle B. est extrêmement délicate et difficile. Seuls des maîtres comme Lanson ou Brunot auraient des chances de la mener véritablement à bien. L'effort de Mlle B. n'est cependant pas sans de réels mérites.

ALBERT SCHINZ

*The University of Pennsylvania*

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*Economic Criticism in American Fiction, 1792 to 1900.* By CLAUDE REHERD FLORY. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1936. Pp. 261.

This comprehensive study of a major theme in American fiction deserves respectful attention. Mr. Flory has read two hundred and fifty novels in which the American economic scene has been described, attacked, defended, and altered (by utopian visions); he has carefully synopsized their plots and summarized their points of view; and he has drawn some relevant conclusions on our novelists' treatment of American economics and politics. Within the limits of his thesis, his work is fairly complete and smooth and readable.

But to scholars who have long awaited a critical examination of the American economic novel Mr. Flory's study will be valuable largely as a convenient source-book of material. Objectivity, when applied to material which demands evaluation, has definite limitations, and results in timidity and inconclusiveness. The "facts" which such scholars as Parrington, Mumford, Blankenship, Boynton, and Van Wyck Brooks have used in their studies of similar phases of American literature are no less objective than Mr. Flory's, but they become significant under the illumination of a point of view. Mr. Flory's point of view is uncertain and his "facts" remain, for the most part, unrelated because uninterpreted. One feels as though Mr. Flory were afraid of losing himself in the American economic ferment which produced the novels and the social criticism they represent.

Minor defects include awkward organization, resulting in repetitiousness. The same novels are studied two and three times, with no appreciable gain in enlightenment. Mr. Flory attributes the outburst of utopian fiction in America to the growing complexity of industrialization and to the disappearance of the frontier, both powerful and basic factors, of course, but he might have taken some cognizance of foreign literary influences. His treatment of Howells is muddled and contradictory. He takes him to task for not having made an attempt to draw characters from the lower classes, yet Howells was probably wise to confine his art to characters of the class he knew best, his own, and to permit the problems of the submerged classes to appear through the sympathetic and indignant eyes of observers like himself. He treats *Annie Kilburn* as "a protest against class consciousness in a more limited sense" (p. 27), yet he quotes the Reverend Mr. Peck's words—which he admits represent "Howells' personal view"—to the effect that "The lines are drawn harder and faster between the rich and the poor and on either side the forces are embattled. . . ." Presumably Mr. Flory does not see that this is essentially a Marxian statement of the inevitable class-struggle, for he insists that none of our novelists, including Howells, "advocated the Marxian program of class war" (p. 193).

Mr. Flory appends a list of representative American utopian fiction since 1900, but omits Jack London's *The Iron Heel* (1908), the most revolutionary of all American utopian novels. And since Mr. Flory has seen fit to devote some space to a few powerful short stories bearing on his subject, it is rather strange that he failed to examine the fiction contributed by the Lowell mill girls to *The Lowell Offering*.

N. BRYLLION FAGIN

*The Johns Hopkins University*

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*The Lonely Wayfaring Man: Emerson and Some Englishmen.* By TOWNSEND SCUDDER. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xii + 228. \$2.50.

Mr. Scudder states his purpose as follows:

The present book attempts to give a portrait of Emerson through persons, and a reading of his life by means of the attitude of his generation. I have sought in it to show him through the eyes and in the actions of some of the noteworthy men and women who crossed his path, but with an effort towards synthesis not permitted them because of their closeness to him. For these ends I have tried, however imperfectly, to summon to life and speech those of Emerson's contemporaries who, I felt, helped to mould that personality by which he was recognized among them.

The main contemporaries dealt with, as Emerson's path intersected theirs, are the Carlyles, William Allingham, George Gilfillan, Alexander Ireland, Landor, Harriet Martineau, David Scott, Arthur Clough, and Crabb Robinson. Since these are all English, and their impressions of Emerson begin after his formative years, the impressions provide materials so fragmentary as hardly to warrant the author's description of the book as a "biography" (p. x). Mr. Scudder has placed great emphasis on making his characters live in a dramatic manner, and he has evidently tried to approach the lively and colorful way of writing represented by Van Wyck Brooks and Lewis Mumford; if he does not quite succeed in being as novelistic as they are in style, he succeeds better than they do in convincing the sceptical reader of his accuracy and thoroughness because he appends a twenty-page Bibliography containing not only lists of books but references to specific passages upon which his narrative is based. This section, of great value to students of biography, testifies to Mr. Scudder's thoroughness in searching all relevant sources, including a good many unpublished letters and diaries.

There is, however, one serious omission which suggests the weakness of the book as a whole; although the most important thinkers Emerson met, next to Carlyle, were Coleridge and Wordsworth, Mr. Scudder does not mention or draw upon the very incisive studies (based on a doctoral dissertation) by Dr. F. T. Thompson: "Emerson's Indebtedness to Coleridge," *SP.*, xxiii, 55-76 (Jan., 1926);

"Emerson's Theory and Practice of Poetry" (as derived from Wordsworth), *PMLA*, XLIII, 1170-1184 (Dec. 1928). In following the external, anecdotal, novelistic method of Van Wyck Brooks, Mr. Scudder appears to be indifferent toward ideas and the larger implication of intersecting orbits of philosophic systems, although occasionally he includes an episode illustrating such matters. Such an episode is that describing Carlyle, the herald of Fascism, telling the herald of democracy that "there is a line of separation between you and me as wide as that, and as deep as the pit," because Emerson did not share his admiration for Cromwell. Instead of ideas, in the main we have masses of relatively unimportant details—the number of windows in Emerson's room at Carlyle's; the brand of Carlyle's smoking tobacco, etc., etc. In short, Mr. Scudder has given us mainly a collection of accurate and often picturesque but essentially trivial personalia; within its limited range, however, the book is exhaustive and a charming companion for the fire-side.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK

*The University of Wisconsin*

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*De Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iuliane.* Edited by S. T. R. O. d'ARDENNE. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège. Fasc. LXIV. Paris: E. Droz, 1936. Pp. xlix + 250.

The early ME life of St. Juliana, long available in Cockayne's E. E. T. S. edition, is now to be had, thanks to Miss d'Ardenne, in a form better suited to the needs of current philological scholarship. The editor gives us diplomatic texts of the ME versions of the legend from MSS Bodley 34 and Royal 17 a xxvii, together with a Latin version (not before published) from MS Bodley 285, and an emended ME text with modern punctuation. Before the texts comes an introduction in which are discussed the MSS, the legend, and the setting, and in which the two ME versions are compared with each other and with the other works of the so-called Katherine group (including the *Ancrene Riwe*). After the texts come a full glossary, an index of proper names, an etymological appendix (devoted to sundry hard words that occur in the texts), some orthographical notes, and a 74-page analysis of the language of the ME texts (an analysis limited to phonology and morphology). The edition is a doctoral dissertation, but shows a ripeness and fulness of scholarship rarely found in dissertations or even in habilitation monographs. Particularly to be commended is the attempt to present the morphology in a pattern based, not on traditional OE grammar, but on the inflections found in the ME texts. This attempt can hardly be called successful, since it was not carried through with enough rigor,



but it was worth making none the less, and has shown the way to future workers in the field. Middle English studies in the nature of the case must be dialectal, and we need most of all a thorough-going analysis and description of each of the various dialects. That particular dialect recorded in the texts of the Katherine group is of special importance, for reasons well known to linguists and literary historians alike. Miss d'Ardenne has shed much light on this dialect—so much, indeed, that we may hope to receive from her, some day, the definitive study which we need. In the meantime, we can use to great advantage the preliminary sketch that she has given us in this edition.

I will end with a few comments on matters of detail. Of medieval saints' lives the editor remarks (p. xlvi),

We . . . do not read the legends now with the double (or rather unresolved) mind of the Middle Age, at once literally and mythically: indeed as edifying stories.

The implication here seems to be that reading with unresolved mind was something especially characteristic of medieval times (as against modern times). In fact, of course, the men of the Middle Ages were far more given to resolving than we are. They were inordinately fond of sharpening for reader or hearer the distinction between literal meaning and symbolic (allegorical or mythical) meaning. We read Mr. James T. Farrell's trilogy with unresolved mind, only dimly aware that Studs Lonigan is a symbol as well as a character in a Chicago novel. This want of resolution is consonant with modern taste, which objects to the pointing of a moral and requires that the symbolism be implicit, not explicit. If we read medieval legends otherwise, constantly and consciously looking for the symbolic values, we are only doing what the hagiographers would have us do.—P. 177: when the native word is given as a gloss, it is presumably there to explain the meaning of the foreign word, not (as the editor strangely concludes) to "preserve the English in memory." P. 204: the editor elsewhere (p. xl, n. 1) shows that *Old English* was the name by which, in this ME dialect, pre-Conquest English was known, but here, oddly enough, she calls it *Anglo-Saxon*.

KEMP MALONE

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## BRIEF MENTION

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*Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus: The First Quarto, 1594.* Reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library, with an introduction by JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. Pp. 44 + sigs. A 1, 3, 4, B 1—K 4. This jewel of the Folger's matchless collection is

now available to all, in a valuable setting provided by that library's distinguished Director of Research. Dr. Adams relates the copy's history, summarizes collations with other editions, and adds—a model for editors of such texts—a precise statement of differences between the facsimile and the original. Not that there has been any touching up; the infidelities, if they can be called such, are matters of inking, stains, and smudges, and of corrections with a pen in the original. The Longleat MS., with its sketch of Tamora pleading for her sons and its forty lines of verse, is carefully studied. Mr. Adams argues cogently for a date not earlier than 1611 and consequently against its textual value. He summarizes the early history of the play and pronounces, but not dogmatically, against its identification with Henslowe's *titus & vespacia*. John Danter's entry (S. R., Feb. 6, 1594) of "a Noble Roman Historye of Tytus Andronicus" Mr. Adams takes to refer, not to the play, though Danter proceeded to publish it in that year, but to a prose version represented by a unique chapbook at the Folger, the first surviving and indeed known edition of which appeared about the middle of the eighteenth century. If this version was in existence prior to the play, we have the long-sought source that Shakespeare dramatized. Judgment must, however, be suspended; it is not being unduly sceptical to mention the heavy burden of proof which rests on an attempt to show that Danter's entry is not of the work we know he published and that the play which was printed in 1594 rests on the prose version which turns up in the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the Titus ballad is appended to the surviving *History*; and Danter's entry included, besides the "Noble Roman Historye," "the ballad thereof." The question is a very pretty question; we must hope that more light will be thrown on it by further study of the parallel passages.

H. S.

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*The Exeter Book.* Edited by GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP and ELLIOT VAN KIRK DOBBIE. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records III. Columbia University Press, New York, N. Y., 1936. Pp. cxvii + 382. \$5.00. Despite the lamented death of the editor, this volume of the Old English poetic records appears in good time, with Mr. Dobbie completing the work left unfinished by Professor Krapp. Mr. Dobbie's share covers about half the texts and four-fifths of the introduction and notes. No difference can be discovered in the care and competence of the work of the two editors. The task of editing these poems was facilitated by the appearance of the facsimile edition of the Exeter Book in 1933. The text of the first folio (8a) containing the first thirty-six lines of *Christ* was made from an ultra-violet print, and shows, in consequence, several improvements over earlier editions, notably *upwegas* (20) and *sunnan wenað* (26). In the many damaged passages of the Exeter Book points within

brackets are used to indicate illegible letters or spaces for letters, even where the letters to be supplied are obvious; but emendations are recorded in the notes. On the other hand, scribal errors are often corrected, although the editors, following the commendable practice of earlier volumes, treat the text conservatively. We see no reason, however, for retaining *mon* for *mān* 'crime' in *Precepts* 82, *Maxims* I, 195, and *Riming Poem* 62, for the error, though repeated, is obviously due to mistaken scribal alteration of MS *man* by confusion with *man*, *mon* 'man.' The notes review and arbitrate the conjectures of scholars, and occasionally propose a new interpretation. The introduction gives an account of the manuscript and summarizes opinion on the poems it contains. Misprints are rare; *sepeana*, *Guthlac* 409, seems to be an error for *se þeana*.

Yale University

ROBERT J. MENNER

*Textliste neuhochdeutscher Vorlesesprache schlesischer Färbung.* (Photometrische Forschungen. Reihe B, Band 1.) Von EBERHARD ZWIRNER und KURT ZWIRNER. Berlin: Metten & Co., 1936. Pp. 100. 6 RM. Record 4 RM. In four previous publications the authors dealt with the method of measuring speech melody, accent, pauses, and quantity. This volume brings the first complete presentation of figures and measurements gained from a record spoken by a speaker in the Silesian dialect. Four-fifths of the booklet are given to the analysis of each sound in a spoken syllable. Numbers, going into decimals, represent quantity, rise and fall of melody, and sound pressure in fractions of a second, while other symbols describe other forms of melody and accent. No practical conclusions are drawn from these statistics. Their aim is to show that it is possible to measure the seemingly infinite variety of the elements of speech and harness them in a series of finite symbols and numbers. Thus one may tabulate contemporary speech and spoken dialects as minutely as possible. From such results obviously a general description of the quality and quantity of sounds may develop and furnish material for the practical phonetician. In this possibility lies the practical value of these minute investigations by the authors.

WERNER NEUSE

Middlebury College

The standard collection of German folksong—John Meier's *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien*—continues to appear punctually. The first part of Vol. II (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1937. Pp. 218) contains ballads on medieval themes. Of these the most important is perhaps "Der Mädchenräuber" (No. 41, pp. 67-115), which is better known as "Halewijn," "Ulinger," or "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight." The "Tänzer von Kölbick," which has played

such a large rôle in discussions of ballad origins, is No. 39 (pp. 57-60). "Die Wette" (No. 38) is particularly interesting as an example of the transmission of a ballad from Germany to Great Britain (see p. 56). The head-notes display the astonishing erudition to which John Meier and his staff have accustomed us.

*The University of Chicago*

ARCHER TAYLOR

*Noah Webster: Pioneer of Learning.* By ERVIN C. SHOEMAKER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. xii + 347. \$4.00. This Teachers' College thesis is essentially an expansion of an interpretation already available in A. O. Hansen's *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century*. Mr. Shoemaker seldom goes beyond simple summaries arranged under a multitude of sub-topics; indeed, Kemp Malone (*American Literature*, ix, 95) dismissed the book with the remark that "its quality is too low to justify extended notice." Although Mrs. E. E. F. Skeel's exhaustive bibliography of Webster was not available for use by Mr. Shoemaker, he seems to have made no use of many newspaper articles by Webster on education which have long been known to scholars. In one respect, however, this book will be more useful to readers in quest of precise information than H. R. Warfel's incisive but more popularly written *Webster* (1936), for Mr. Shoemaker has given the source of all his quotations in precise footnotes, and he has provided a twelve-page bibliography.

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HARRY HAYDEN CLARK

*The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages.* By RAYMOND LINCOLN KILGOUR. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. xxiii + 431. Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, XII. The task of interpreting historical and social movements from literary sources alone is an unusually hazardous one. Literature too often reflects life in a mirror distorted by convention, wishful thinking, or the fashion of the moment. Dr. Kilgour's avowed purpose is "to trace the decline of chivalry as manifested in the French literature of the dying Middle Ages" and he does not pretend "to deal with the complex historical problems underlying the decline of chivalry." Accordingly, his conclusions, as he himself realizes, are necessarily incomplete. Nevertheless, he has assembled a vast amount of pertinent material from the writings of the time, has presented it entertainingly, analyzed it skilfully and interpreted it wisely. The Introduction (The Origins and Ideals of Chivalry) and Chapter I (A Historical View of the Decline of Chivalry) are the weakest parts of the book: the term "chivalry" is ill-defined and loosely employed; the use of a patchwork of authorities, some of them hope-

lessly antiquated, leads to superficial generalizations; little attempt to understand underlying causes is revealed; and a seemingly uncritical attitude toward the primary sources here, though not in the body of the work, needlessly undermines the reader's confidence. Once launched upon his main task, however, K. proceeds with caution and wisdom. He recognizes the varying values to be placed upon the testimony of servile chroniclers, satirical sophisticates, provincial puritans and reforming prelates. He excerpts the passages concerned with chivalry from the voluminous writings of Froissart, Deschamps, Gerson, Chartier and the rest, interpreting them in the light of their author's particular relation to his time, yet weaving them into a consistent pattern. If, unlike Huizinga, he does not himself paint a picture of the decline of the age of chivalry, nevertheless the outlines of that picture emerge from his work.

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GRACE FRANK

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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VOLTAIRE ET LES SCYTHES. RÉPONSE. Si j'entends bien les objections opposées par M. Jean David, dans son intéressant article de *Modern Language Notes* (janvier 1938, p. 7) à mon interprétation des *Scythes* de Voltaire (*Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 30 juillet 1931), il faudrait:

1°, donner moindre créance à ce que dit l'auteur lui-même à Frédéric II, à savoir qu'il opposait en réalité *les Suisses aux Parisiens*: ce n'est certes pas moi qui prends pour parole d'Evangile tous les propos du grand railleur, mais si on "laisse tomber" les confidences au roi de Prusse, on ne saurait faire de même pour les lettres à l'"ange" d'Argental (22 novembre 1766, "les Suisses et les Scythes, c'est tout un"), etc.

2°, oublier la réputation militaire des Suisses au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle; mais Voltaire, qui dès 1737 affirmait que "la guerre était l'unique métier" de ses hôtes et voisins futurs, n'a guère cessé de leur attribuer, en toute justice, ces qualités guerrières (cf. ARMES, ARMÉES dans le *Dict. Phil.*)

3°, négliger l'opinion indéfectible de Voltaire sur une "barbarie" foncière que l'initiative de tyrans éclairés pouvait seule assouplir (voir à ce sujet D. S. von Mohrenschildt, *Russia in the intellectual Life of eighteenth-century France*. New York, 1936), et la nécessaire opposition à Rousseau, au sujet de l'efficacité de ces "lumières."

Tout ceci n'aurait pas grande importance si Voltaire n'était privé du mérite qu'il s'attribuait assez justement: *la forme traditionnelle de la tragédie employée pour des problèmes actuels*. Quant aux questions de fond, il y a longtemps que le plus intelligent des secrétaires de l'admirable touche-à-tout a dit que "celui qui prend Voltaire plus au sérieux qu'il ne faisait lui-même est bien sa première dupe."

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FERNAND BALDENSPERGER

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## THE STATESWOMAN IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH TRAGEDY

Seventeenth-century French opinion regarding woman is often gauged by such examples as Louis XIV's judgment on feminine propensity for the "intérêts de bagatelles,"<sup>1</sup> Bossuet's analogy: "un particulier, une femme, un ignorant,"<sup>2</sup> Racine's intractable Hermione. A Corneille may then appear paradoxical for studying in woman "autre chose que sa passion et ses instincts."<sup>3</sup> But there are other criteria. Racine, Bossuet, Louis XIV acknowledge in *Athalie*, *Henriette de France*, *Henriette d'Angleterre*,<sup>4</sup> respectively, capacities of the highest order. Mazarin cites three ladies "capables de gouverner ou de bouleverser trois grands royaumes."<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Corneille is not the only dramatist to refute a tradition contrary to the experience of the time.

In the first quarter of the century the doctrine of Rabelais and Montaigne that ruled woman out of participation in men's affairs meets with a challenge. Literary circles debate the question: can a woman be a leader?<sup>6</sup> Leaving aside the assurances contributed elsewhere, I propose to survey the answer of the drama.

Although this answer is fortified by the feminist movement of

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de Louis XIV*, ed. Longnon, Paris, Plon, 1933: 258.

<sup>2</sup> Cit. P. Hazard, *La Crise de la Conscience Européenne*, Paris, Boivin, 1935, I, 105.

<sup>3</sup> J. Le Guiner, *Les Femmes dans les Tragédies de Corneille*, Quimper, Ménez, 1920: 43.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bossuet, *Oraisons Funèbres*, ed. Rébelliau, 13th ed., Paris, Hachette, n. d., 80, 110, 113, 138, 152.

<sup>5</sup> Cit. J. Le Guiner, *op. cit.*, 145.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. R. Bray, *La Formation de la Doctrine Classique en France*, Paris, Payot, 1931: 340-341; Brunetière, *Questions de Critique*, Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1889: 28.

the Fronde, it is not without a dramatic background. The *parti pris* of Greek tragedy, "War is not woman's part, nor war of words,"<sup>7</sup> did not completely eliminate feminine initiative. Clytemnestra might not claim her husband's succession until she had a champion by her side, but she had alone defied the Chorus. She was content to be a palace queen who referred to a man whatever was, by custom, man's charge; yet, for decision and firmness, there is no greater character in the Greek plays extant. The sagacity of Atossa, queen of the Persians, asserted itself above a dramatist's patriotic zeal: when she was told that Athenian soldiers were free, she asked how they could have held against the Persian army.<sup>8</sup> Her determination to ascertain the extent of her son's defeat, to sift the details of the combat and the fate of survivors and ships, her steadiness in a distracted city would presage . . . but war was not her province.

The French *Miracle de Sainte Bauteuch* lauds a queen's sense of perspective. While King Clodoveus is away on a pilgrimage, his sons conspire to prevent his return. With his wife's aid Clodoveus regains his throne. The king would pardon; the queen insists the rebels be disabled and shut in a monastery "Pour chastier les filz des roys à venir."<sup>9</sup>

The women of French Renaissance drama display some political acumen, although they remain ineffectual. If Garnier's Amital is a lame prophet after the fact,<sup>10</sup> his Porcie is quick to appreciate the results of Brutus's conspiracy, "Nous tuasmes Cesar pour n'avoir point de rois, Mais au meurtre de luy nous en avons faict trois."<sup>11</sup> Montchrestien's Queen Elizabeth, for a moment, dominates her ministers. She refuses to take on faith that a fugitive Queen of Scots can disturb the peace of England. She will act when she has adequate grounds, and not forego her defense of common rights. Elizabeth is probably the first monarch to express on the French stage concern for "le droit des Gens." Unfortunately, her rôle ends before her sentiment has prevailed.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Æschylus, *Agamemnon*, tr. Morshead, Harvard Classics, New York, Collier, n. d., VIII, 38.

<sup>8</sup> Æschylus, *The Persians*, Loeb Classical Library, Æschylus, London, Heinemann, 1922, I, 129-130.

<sup>9</sup> *Miracles de Notre Dame*, ed. G. Paris, et U. Robert, Paris, Didot, VI, 1881: 145.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Les Juifves* (pub. 1583), III.      <sup>11</sup> Cf. *Porcie* (pub. 1568), II.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *La Reine d'Ecosse* (pub. 1604), I, II.

With seventeenth-century tragedy women enter the political arena. Most of them are unworthy. Happily, their goal is generally a title, "rien n'étant plus doux que le titre de Reine,"<sup>13</sup> and their activities are innocuous. When they demand the reality of power it is soon apparent that perspective and discrimination are not among their talents. In short, they are no better than the men, and the average queen is not above the usual king. The parity is accentuated by their community of language: "Tout ce qui fait régner, ne fait jamais rougir"<sup>14</sup> is a fair mate to "Il n'est point (de crime) que le Trône n'efface,"<sup>15</sup> and the *raisons d'État* and *usages de l'art de régner* are as nimble in the one camp as in the other.<sup>16</sup> But these are only the majority.

A recent publication defines woman as "la dépositaire la plus sûre des grandes forces barbares" and credits Racine with her most genuine characterization.<sup>17</sup> However, the predecessors of Racine also knew a woman whose sense of continuity made her a valuable promoter of authority, although she did not necessarily possess the egotism and cruelty of Racine's model. The plays of Corneille, which readily come to mind when one speaks of the subject of politics in seventeenth-century French drama, can only be briefly quoted here, for their political heroines often manifest, in their field, the ruthlessness of their Racinian cousins, and thus exceed the character I am attempting to describe. The Cléopâtre of *Rodogune*, for instance, "l'une des plus belles peintures . . . de l'ambition politique, de l'audace dans le crime" (Brunetière), is not altogether within the scope of this paper. It is with the guardian of the less barbaric forces that I am primarily concerned, the sort of character seen today, for instance, in Frondaie's *la Gardienne*.

The ordinary run of her precepts can be matched by the common yield of kingly wisdom; but in emergencies her contributions are outstanding. In the Renaissance she warned a Nebuchadnezzar that "Un prince qui peut tout ne doit pas tout vouloir."<sup>18</sup> Throughout the XVIIth century she is at hand to instill in her

<sup>13</sup> Quinault, *Stratonice* (tc. 1660), I, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Boyer, *Artaxerces* (1644), I, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Th. Corneille, *Camma* (1661), I, 1.

<sup>16</sup> The women are not outdone in virtuosity; cf. Quinault, *Bellérophon* (1671), I, 3; *le Fœnt Alcibiade* (1658).

<sup>17</sup> T. Maulnier, *Racine*, Paris, Gallimard, 1936: 182.

<sup>18</sup> *Les Juifves*, III.

father "ce courage . . . qui dessus vostre front assure vn Diadesme,"<sup>19</sup> or caution lest he belittle himself "en perdant pour regner l'auteur de sa victoire";<sup>20</sup> suggest self-mastery to her husband; <sup>21</sup> denounce evil ministers; <sup>22</sup> guide by her own example kings who are deficient in dignity or justice; <sup>23</sup> reprove queens who lack composure.<sup>24</sup>

Her intervention is, of necessity, prudent. If she rules for an incompetent king, success requires discretion as well as ability: "Pour Valentinian, tant qu'a vécu sa mère . . . il a paru régner."<sup>25</sup> When Constantin's sister takes upon herself to free a political prisoner, her excuse must not be the man's innocence; it is the need, in a sudden uprising, of having the only man who could quiet "de lâches factieux qui pouvoient tout oser."<sup>26</sup> Amestris's dexterity in handling a people's demand for its rightful king, the claim of an impostor and the suspicion of a usurper has obtained security for the present ruler and compensation for the legitimate king; but it has also left to the men the final words of settlement.<sup>27</sup> Once Arsinoé has been outwitted, Laodice must fulfill Nicomède's intention and save the queen from "le manque de respect d'un grand peuple irrité."<sup>28</sup> Livie's rôle, which I hardly need define, unless it be to say that her irony seems to have escaped the author, founded the topic "What every woman knows."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>19</sup> P. Du Ryer, *Saül* (1642), I, 1.

<sup>20</sup> Gilbert, *Semiramis* (1647), I, 4. Cf. Corneille, *Suréna* (1674), v, 1. In Du Ryer's *Alcionée* (1640) Lydie fortifies her father's resistance to Alcionée's demand of her hand,

Que la rébellion sera charmante et belle,  
Si mesme vos faueurs esleuent le rebelle! (II, 1)

<sup>21</sup> Corneille, *Cinna* (1643), IV, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Corneille, *Pompée* (1644), I, 3; II, 1; IV, 2; *Pertharite* (1653), III, 1. In Racine's *Frères Ennemis* (1664) it is Iocasta who denounces Creon's trickery; in Rotrou's *Antigone* (1639) it was Eteocle (II, 4).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Rotrou, *les Occasions perdues* (tc., 1635), I, 2; Corneille, *Nicomède* (1651), III, 1.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Rotrou, *Bélisaire* (1644), I, 3; Th. Corneille, *Le Comte d'Essex* (1678), II, 1.

<sup>25</sup> Corneille, *Attila* (1667), I, 2; cf. *Pulchérie* (1673), II, 2; v, 1.

<sup>26</sup> Th. Corneille, *Maximian* (1662), v, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Th. Corneille, *Darius* (1659).

<sup>28</sup> *Nicomède*, v, 7.

<sup>29</sup> *Cinna*, IV, 3; v, 3. Livie's part is usually suppressed when the play is given today; "on a prétendu qu'Auguste paraît plus grand se décidant

Some of the preceding citations indicate that a knowledge of the people is a part of woman's political equipment.<sup>30</sup> The understanding is not mutual, for the people is adverse to the rule of a woman. The prejudice may hand a country over to a foreign king, and is duly exploited by various sorts of candidates.<sup>31</sup> Generally the people prescribes

D'un mari valeureux les ordres et le bras.<sup>32</sup>

The ruling does not entirely justify those who cannot bear "qu'à la honte des Rois vne Femme . . . impose des Loix";<sup>33</sup> and the queen who must marry,

Pour donner plus de force à votre autorité,<sup>34</sup>

may be puzzled, that is, if she is at all familiar with French drama, where the "loi de l'homme" of traditional monarchy has scarcely been upheld.<sup>35</sup> Regarding valor, the stumbling block of feminine leadership, she can avail herself of the example of Bradamante,<sup>36</sup> not to mention more authentic figures. But the people. . . . A Cléopâtre may prove her mettle on the battlefield; yet she can have no illusion about the prestige of her command: "Lâchement d'une femme (le peuple) suit les étendards."<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, generalship has not been a special gift of kings. The Roman challenge has imposed a conclusion which does not lose its validity for being expressed by a woman who tested it, "Contre des rois comme eux j'aimerois leur soutien. . . ." <sup>38</sup> The safety of a throne would seem to be in the choice of a general. It is the very incapacity of

seul au pardon" (Petit de Julleville, *Théâtre choisi de Corneille*, Paris, Hachette, n. d., 461). As Livie would say,

Vous avez trouvé l'art d'être maître des cœurs (v, 3).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Th. Corneille, *Bérénice* (1659), v, 1. The feature is found in Greek drama, cf. Euripides, *Suppliants*, Loeb Classical Library, *Euripides*, III, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1919: 527.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Camma*, I, 1; Boursault, *Marie Stuart* (1683), I, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Corneille, *Don Sanche d'Aragon* (com. hér., 1650), I, 1; *Rodogune*, I, 1; Th. Corneille, *Laodice* (1668); *Théodat* (1673).

<sup>33</sup> Magnon, *Ieanne de Naples* (1656), II, 3.

<sup>34</sup> *Pulchérie*, v, 2.

<sup>35</sup> See my article "The Conqueror in Seventeenth-Century French Drama," *MLN.*, LII, 1: 45-51.

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kings in the matter of military administration that provokes the sarcasm of the drama's earliest feminists,

(Je) ne sais point régner comme règnent nos rois.<sup>39</sup>

The spirit of competition with the men is a current trait of the queens. In and out of season evidence is exhibited to demonstrate "qu'un trône est dignement remply par vne femme,"<sup>40</sup> that Vanda, Semiramis, or Athalie "mieux qu'un homme a régné." Satire is not, however, the dramatist's object. Prefatory epistles dispel all doubt. Vanda may confuse crown with party, but there can be no question that her personal qualifications "forcèrent la Politique de son pays de faire iustice à son sexe, et . . . obligèrent le peuple de luy donner par succession la Couronne d'un Royaume qui fut toujours electif."<sup>41</sup> Exuberant Semiramis is adequately vouched for,

Les hommes qui escriuent d'ordinaire les histoires à leur auantage n'ont peu s'empescher d'auouer qu'aucun Prince n'a égalé cette Auguste Reyne, ny en prudence, ny en valeur.<sup>42</sup>

Athalie's boast, "Le Jourdain ne voit plus l'Arabe vagabond. . . . Comme au temps de vos rois . . ." <sup>43</sup> needs no passport.

Needless to say, I am not attempting to promote a contest of the characters of queen and king; that had best be left to the women's fervor for their new-found occupation. The queens must, nevertheless, be seen against the background of the drama's estimate of monarchs. It then becomes clear that such generalities as

La fourbe n'est le jeu que des petites âmes,  
Et c'est là proprement le partage des femmes (*Nicomède*, IV, 2).  
Elle flotte, elle hésite, en un mot, elle est femme (*Athalie*, III, 3)

are unfair, vacillation and treachery being commonly featured in the kings of the repertory.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, allusions to the combina-

<sup>39</sup> *Id.*, V, 7.

<sup>40</sup> Gilbert, *Semiramis*, V, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Gillet de la Tessonerie, *Sigismond* (tc., 1646). Dedication to Anne of Austria.

<sup>42</sup> Dedication to the Duchesse de Rohan.

<sup>43</sup> Racine, *Athalie* (1691), II, 5.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. my articles, "The Shifting of Responsibility in XVIIth Century French Tragic Drama," *MLN.*, XLIX, 3: 152-158; "L'Art de Régner in XVIIth Century French Tragedy," *MLN.*, L, 7: 417-426.

tion of "le droict de la Couronne et celui du visage,"<sup>45</sup> or insinuations that queens are obeyed out of gallantry are gratuitous. Furthermore, it is not peculiar to the nature of a woman that, in a drama where power is notoriously ephemeral, she relinquishes or even loses a throne. What matters is the queen's conduct during her reign. Thus Magnon's Jeanne de Naples and Thomas Corneille's Queen of Argos<sup>46</sup> deserve an honorable mention, the one for restraining an opposition which overwhelms her when a foreign enemy joins the domestic pack, the other for her notion—later entertained by the inventor of the *métier de roi*<sup>47</sup>—of ending a disastrous reign with the glory of a desperate battle.

For want of space to trace the evolution of the queen regnant, two plays of the mid-century may serve to show how thoroughly women have mastered in the open school for kings "la dureté des vertus politiques." Nitocris, Queen of Babylon, has realized that, as Louis XIV will say, "l'on ne pardonne rien à ceux de notre rang."<sup>48</sup> She will not grant retirement to an officer lest it be said that she banished a worthy man when he ceased to serve her purpose.<sup>49</sup> She anticipates Louis's use of conjunctures by counting on the presence of a foreign princess at her court

Pour tenir en suspens les Princes d'alentour . . .  
Et conseruer enfin la concorde avec eux  
Tant qu'ils espereront cet objet glorieux.<sup>50</sup>

Another of Louis's maxims is heralded when Nitocris undertakes to test the loyalty of a favorite officer "en sage Potentat Qui perdroit ce qu'il ayme en faueur de l'Estat."<sup>51</sup>

Élise, queen of Tyre "par usurpation," enforces the code of kingship,

<sup>45</sup> *Sigismond*, v, 1. The Cléopâtre of Corneille's *Pompée* is a rare example of a competent queen who "par politique . . . se sert des avantages de sa beauté pour affermir sa fortune" (*Œuvres de Pompée*).

<sup>46</sup> *Timocrate* (1658). The queen's fortitude in the midst of disaster,

A quoi que la rigueur (du sort) contre nous puisse atteindre,

C'est la justifier que de s'en oser plaindre . . . III, 4,

makes convincing her forthcoming decision.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. J. Boulenger, *Le Grand Siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1924: 337-338.

<sup>48</sup> *Mémoires*, ed. cit., 192.

<sup>49</sup> Du Ryer, *Nitocris* (tc., 1650), II, 2.

<sup>50</sup> *Id.*, I, 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Id.*, iv, 4. Cf. Du Ryer, *Dynamis* (1652), iv, 5.

... la raison d'état veut souvent qu'on préfère  
A la vertu nuisible un crime nécessaire.<sup>52</sup>

She was to marry Agénor, whose father aided her father in the usurpation. However, Agénor has been defeated in battle. Astrate on the other hand, is a formidable warrior who has already saved the kingdom. Since the people's wish must be obeyed, "puisqu'il faut faire un maître,

Je veux m'en donner un qui soit digne de l'être;  
Qui puisse soutenir le souverain pouvoir."<sup>53</sup>

Moreover, the people still resents the destruction of its legitimate rulers, a crime in which Agénor has participated. Decidedly, Astrate is the man.

But it was all a deception,

Et les raisons d'état qu'on m'a vu mettre au jour,  
N'ont servi que de voile à des crimes d'amour.<sup>54</sup>

Still, the hidden purpose does not alter the immediate significance of her acts. Dr. Lancaster's conclusion<sup>55</sup> that she regarded them as means of winning Astrate is warranted by her confession; but the confession cannot change the fact that the prestige of her throne has been an object of unflagging attention.

Tout ce que, pour mon rang, j'ai fait de sacrifices . . .<sup>56</sup>

Neither does the confession attempt to belittle the exploits which made her dowry worthy of her love,

J'ai tenté, pour donner un trône à ce que j'aime,  
Ce que jamais mon cœur n'eût osé pour moi-même.<sup>57</sup>

Her *raisons d'État*, whatever the ulterior motive, have been the approved safeguards of the profession of a king, and her discipline

<sup>52</sup> Quinault, *Astrate* (1665), I, 5.

<sup>53</sup> *Id.*

<sup>54</sup> *Id.*, II, 3. The stratagem of good "raisons d'état" supporting a personal motive is found in *le Feint Alcibiade*, I, 4; II, 3.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century, Part III*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936: II, 464.

<sup>56</sup> *Astrate*, II, 3. Her philosophy,

Ne s'ébranler de rien, et d'une âme constante  
Rendre, s'il faut périr, sa disgrâce éclatante (II, 1),

is sustained throughout the play.

<sup>57</sup> *Id.*, II, 3.

has brought her through a difficult period of reconstruction. Had not Astrate turned out to be the legitimate king of Tyre, Élise would have completed the establishment of a throne.

While Taine or Lanson noted lapses due to outside influence or some individual dramatist's initiative,<sup>58</sup> recent writers have been more categorical regarding the stand of French classicism against novelty and contrast.<sup>59</sup> However, the political woman of seventeenth-century tragedy is a new and distinct character, and although she is more effectively portrayed in plays of secondary authors, Corneille and Racine have not failed to pay her their respects. She emerges before the Fronde and attains maturity during Louis XIV's reign, at a time when the dreams of a Grande Mademoiselle were no longer fashionable.<sup>60</sup> The fame of contemporary heroines gives impetus to the character inasmuch as it stimulates interest in certain historical sources. To the question, "Can a woman be a leader of men, an example for a king?" the drama's answer is a spectacle of women who, on a throne or beside it, conduct themselves as capable agents of orthodox statecraft.

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## TOUT CRACHÉ AND CHER COMME CRÈME

### I. "Il est son père tout craché"

The meaning and origin of this phrase have inspired a great deal of controversy among scholars. I can do no better as an introduction to my own theory than to summarize the résumé given recently by E. Staaff.<sup>1</sup>

1. G. Paris (*Romania* x, 626) believed that the metaphor had its origin in the resemblance between spittle (crachats).

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<sup>58</sup> Cf. H. Taine, *L'Ancien Régime*, 4<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, Hachette, 1877: 256; G. Lanson, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, 18<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, Hachette, 1924: 435.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. H. Peyre, *Qu'Est-ce Que Le Classicisme?*, Paris, Droz, 1933: 67.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Boulenger, *op. cit.*, 401.

<sup>1</sup> "Contributions au commentaire de *Maître Pierre Pathelin*," *Studier Modern Språkvetenskap*, ut givna av Nyfilologiska Sällskapet. Stockholm, Upsala, 1934. Pp. 157-173.

2. Nyrop opposed this explanation: "il ressemble à son père, comme s'il l'avait craché de sa bouche, cracher est une métaphore burlesque pour *produire, créer*."<sup>2</sup>

3. G. Paris (*Romania* xxx, 432) objects, observing that that which one spits does not resemble the one who spits and that a substitution of the verb *produire* for *cracher* is impossible . . . "L'expression veut dire: 'il est aussi semblable à son père que s'il avait été craché aussitôt après son père et de la même bouche.'"

4. L. Clédât (*Rev. de Phil. fr. et de Litt.* xv, 308) defended Nyrop's theory. "L'enfantement est pour lui un phénomène de reproduction, la mère qui enfante 'reproduit' le père. Donc: *c'est son père tout 'reproduit.'*" Clédât holds too that only later could *père* be omitted or replaced by another word in the fixed formula.

5. Holbrook (Glossary of his edition of *Pathelin*, C. F. M. A. 1924) agreed with G. Paris, but in another place (*Romania* liv, 75) he attempts—unsuccessfully I think—to harmonize the conflicting views of Nyrop and Paris.

6. Leo Spitzer (*ZRPh.*, xlv, 370) agrees pretty much with Nyrop.

Staaff feels that the expression began with *Pathelin* and that there is disdain in it:

Le père avait été un méprisable vilain aux yeux de Pathelin, et, sans doute, lorsqu'il se sert pour peindre la ressemblance entre le père et le fils d'une métaphore qui les assimile à deux crachats, cela couvre une intention injurieuse qui saute aux yeux des spectateurs tandis qu'elle reste cachée au stupide drapier. Dans ces circonstances, il n'y a rien d'étonnant à ce que Pathelin donne devant Guillemette libre cours à son mépris pour le drapier en le caractérisant brièvement comme son père tout craché, c'est à dire comme un crachat ressemblant exactement au crachat dégoûtant qu'était son père.<sup>3</sup>

Staaff's guess that the expression began with *Pathelin* is, as he readily admits, only a guess based on the negative proposition that we have no earlier example. But his theory of the disdainful origin of the expression cannot go unchallenged, as it is built on no evidence which is not ingeniously read into the text. It is extremely unlikely that the draper was stupid enough to permit his father and himself to be compared to two "crachats" unless age had already worn the raw off the metaphor, nor is it likely that

<sup>2</sup> "Observations sur quelques vers de la farce de *Maître Pierre Pathelin*," extrait du *Bulletin de l'Académie royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark*. Copenhagen, 1900, no. 5. P. 343.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

the wary Pathelin would have taken the chance of offending the merchant when he is making every effort to flatter him into a piece of very unwise speculation. It would be my opinion, for what that is worth, that the expression, whatever its origin, was already common in the latter part of the 15th century and that the audience understood it to have no pejorative connotation.

Its origin, it seems to me, cannot now be surely determined from the French examples which we have. The two opinions of Paris and Nyrop, the very literal similarity of two spits and the folklorist idea of spitting as creating, have pretty well held the field throughout the controversy. There has been no agreement between the two camps thus far, and it does not seem likely that there will be. Nyrop was the first to look extensively for similar expressions in other languages, but he did not attempt to bring them to bear on his interpretation of the French.

Many of them are amusing and interesting, but all except the English seem to me to be too far removed from the French to help us in any way. The earliest example given in the *NED.* is from 1825: "A daughter, the very spit of the old captain." The other examples given have exactly this form except those which include "fetch" or "image" as: "She's like the poor lady that's dead and gone, the spit an' image she is." It is, of course, from expressions like this one that we have the Americanism "the spittin' image" or "the spitting image."

Nyrop did not have the *NED.*, and, curiously enough, his examples are mainly earlier and all of them are phrased differently; one from Swift, for example: "She is as like her husband as if she were spit out of his mouth." And one from Smollet which includes a very interesting tag: "He is as like you as if he had been spit out of your own mouth, as the saying is." How old was this saying when Smollet wrote? Certainly as old as Cotgrave, for I find an example there which escaped both Nyrop and the editors of the *NED.*: "C'estoit luy tout craché. He resembled him in every part; he was like him as if he had been spit out of his mouth." I would conclude then that the examples given by Nyrop and confirmed by Cotgrave would represent the earliest form of the expression in England. Now it is perfectly obvious that the French phrase as we have it in *Pathelin* is already elliptical. Could it not have been originally like the English, for example, on the order of "tout

craché de sa bouche" or "craché de la bouche de ton père?" In that case the origin seems to be: one part, the spit, contains the qualities of the whole, as in another English expression "a chip of the old block," or "a chip of the same block." There may be some folklore explanation of this idea related to such customs as burying a finger nail or burning a hair of a person in order to bring about his death, but I am not prepared to defend this hypothesis.

It will be interesting now to look at the two examples of likeness and spitting in *Pathelin*. The first (150-157) is the source of the Paris theory:

Sans faulte, je ne puis pencer  
comment Nature en ses ouvraiges  
forma deux si pareilz visaiges,  
et l'ung comme l'autre tachié;  
car quoy! qui vous aroit crachié  
tous deux encontre la paroy,  
d'une maniere et d'ung arroy,  
si seriez sans difference.<sup>4</sup>

Of course, two "crachats" against a wall resemble each other, but this passage contains only a clear and obvious metaphor which has nothing at all to do with the problem of the phrase found in line 427:

"C'estes vous," fais je, "tout crachié!"

It is interesting to note in regard to this second example that Nyrop's explanation cannot fit it, since if there is production or creation it is in reverse order, as Pathelin says here that it is the father who is the son *tout crachié*. What he means is that the two are off the same block; anyone who is the spit of another resembles that person. Whatever may be said against this interpretation, it does have the merit of fitting every case and it can be tied to the English phrase.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This and the next citation are from the *C. F. M. A.* edition, ed. Holbrook, 1924.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Leo Spitzer has been kind enough to indicate expressions in other languages which indicate this consciousness of the vital unity of the body with all its manifestations: in Arabic one says to indicate strong resemblance that one person is the very breath of another's nose; the author of the *Od* said of a family that they were "uña y carne" of one another. The Arab expression is strikingly similar. In addition to the

## II. "Certes, drap est chier comme cresseme."

The meaning of this verse in *Pathelin* is quite clear, its origin, despite the categorical statement of the late Professor Holbrook, is far from certain.<sup>6</sup> His glossary states simply: "cresseme 212, (le saint) chrême." So far as I can tell, none of the reviewers in the learned journals discussed this interpretation, and there was no difference of opinion expressed until Louis Dimier's edition of a modernized version of the farce. Dimier's contention was not supported by proof, but since he has taken the lead in the controversy I quote his opinion in full:

La crème en effet était fort chère. Elle passait en proverbe . . . Il (Holbrook) a cru qu'il s'agissait de l'huile dont on oint le nouveau confirmé. Assurément cela ne doit s'appeler ni 'savoir son Pathelin,' ni comprendre le français.<sup>7</sup>

It would have been extremely helpful had Dimier cited examples of this proverb or at least mentioned dates, for if the proverb existed after the play and not before it, we may be confronted with a new coinage by the author of *Pathelin*. Moreover, the criticism is far too harsh as there is respectable authority for Holbrook's interpretation. The note in his glossary probably follows Le Roux de Lincy:

"Cher comme Chresme." Précieux comme le saint chrême. Voici comment Leduchat explique ce proverbe: C'est encore l'opinion du "petit peuple dans le Périgord qu'anciennement la substance du chrême se prenait dans l'oreille d'un dragon, qu'un chevalier de la maison de Bourdeille allait chercher au delà de Jérusalem, où il apportait ensuite cette substance, laquelle, sanctifiée par les prélats du lieu, était distribuée dans les églises de la chrétienté." De là vient le proverbe qu'on trouve plusieurs fois cité: ainsi dans les *XV Joies de Mariage*, Joie Ve, p. 64 de l'éd. de 1726, on lit: Mais le bon homme qui est à la bonne foi et du bon cresseme. De même dans la farce de *Pathelin*: "Cestuy drap est cher comme cresseme."<sup>8</sup>

Again the only example of the "cher comme crème" phrase is examples of "cracher" given by Nyrop in the work cited above some others are noted in a recent article of M. L. Wagner ("Phallus, Horn und Fisch," *Donum Natalicium Carolo Jaberg Messori Indefesso Sexagenario*. Zurich, 1937, p. 86).

<sup>6</sup> *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, éditée par Richard T. Holbrook. *C.F.M.A.*, Paris, 1924.

<sup>7</sup> *Comédie à cinq Personnages, en vers du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris, 1931. P. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre des Proverbes français*, I, 63.



from *Pathelin*. Let us bear in mind too that the expression to which it is related by Le Roux de Lincy and Leduchat always has "crème" in the masculine and it is preceded by the adjective "bon." It is possible that the two have different origins? Cotgrave thought that the gender of the word showed a difference in meaning:

Cresme: m. The Crisome, or oyle wherewith a baptized child is annointed; (And because it is to be blessed, by a Bishop, before it be used, it signifies) also, a Dioces.

Homme de bon cresme. An open-hearted, good natured, plain-dealing, man.

Cresme: f. Creame.

In *La Curne de Sainte-Palaye* (iv, 375) we exhaust the possibilities of the holy "crème":

L'homme estrange est celuy qui est d'un autre diocese, ou d'un autre crème.

On a dit figurément: homme de bon cresme pour homme de bonne foi, simple, crédule.

If we could take Cotgrave at his word we could with justice postulate different etymologies for the two creams, but, unfortunately, Du Cange has examples of *Chrisma* used in both masculine and feminine. Indeed Huguet gives *chresme* < *chrisma* (holy cream) as always feminine and he has at least one good example of common cream in the masculine:

"Qui du blanc laict m'a présenté le cresme."

Forcadel, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, p. 241.

It is worth noting, in passing, that this expression "de bon crème" has passed out of the language and is no longer given in modern dictionaries. I have seen no examples of it from any time after the middle of the sixteenth century, and it is probable that it has not been used in the literary language since that time.

Also, despite the assertion of Huguet, I have never seen *crème* for diocese used other than in the masculine. Moreover, unmodified it simply meant a diocese or a faith; it required "bon" to give it any qualitative sense. It certainly never meant the "best" of anything. That meaning belonged exclusively to common cream, from the cow rather than the dragon.

This is the only *cresme* listed in Godefroy (ix, comp. 245) who gives the meaning "Par extens., la partie la meilleure":

There can be no question of the origin of this meaning. Cream has always been prized as a delicacy. One example from Villon will show that it was so considered about the time of the writing of *Pathelin*:

Aient este seigneurs ou dames,  
Souef et tendrement nourris  
De cresseme, fromentee ou riz,

*Testament*, v. 1760 *seq.*

In the *Curiositez Françaises* (x, 249) we find the definition "La cresseme, *i. e.* le meilleur d'une chose," and we need look only in one modern dictionary to see that this meaning has maintained itself to our day. It is to be found in all sorts of expressions, literary as well as popular.

Therefore, I feel that Dimier was correct in rejecting Holbrook's statement of the origin of "cher comme crème" in *Pathelin*, and Leduchat and Le Roux de Lincy were in error when they coupled this simple statement of value with the fixed "de bon crème." Dimier was wrong, however, in denying that Holbrook had any authority for his opinion and he was wrong too in omitting the proverb—if such it be—from his statement. "Cher comme crème" simply does not exist in dictionaries, and if Dimier has found it elsewhere he has been quite fortunate. My own opinion is that "dear as cream" is quite as natural as "sweet as honey," especially for an agricultural society. The author of *Pathelin* probably heard it said in various forms hundreds of times before he used it in the farce. Had it been a fixed proverb the chances are that it would have reappeared in the popular literature of the period. I am certain that it does not exist in the farces, and the testimony of others seems to indicate that it was also absent from the more learned literature of that time.

My own contribution to the *dossier* of "cher comme crème" is another example of its use, the only one other than the *Pathelin* example which has so far come to light. It is found in Bochetel's *Blason du Con* which was written sometime in the fourth decade of the 16th century:

De ce con cy, qui est cher comme cresseme.\*

I do not think that this second appearance of the phrase is enough

\* In Méon, *Blasons, Poésies Anciennes des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, p. 54. The Poem by Bochetel is entitled "Blason du Con."

to make it a proverb, nor do I believe that it is an echo of *Pathelin* which is never otherwise mentioned by the poets of the court of Renée de France and was probably only known to them by name. In *Pathelin* it was cloth which was dear as cream, here it is something else again, and another example would probably show that anything else which was of the best in the mind of the author would be dear as cream simply because cream was, and is, dear.

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### ARTHUR RIMBAUD'S READINGS

In the remarkable book A. Rolland de Renéville has devoted to *Rimbaud le Voyant*, the author makes a few pertinent observations regarding the education of Arthur Rimbaud. One such observation, it seems to me, deserves a little further elucidation: that pertaining to the readings of the poet outside those strictly required of him in the college at Charleville. Concerning Rimbaud's anti-Catholic and pro-republican outbursts, M. de Renéville states that it was Izambard who acted as his mentor.

Celui-ci, malgré les reproches de Mme Rimbaud, n'hésita guère à pourvoir son élève d'ouvrages interdits dont se nourrissait le beau feu du poète. Il l'initiait aux systèmes de Louis Blanc, de Babeuf. Rimbaud s'exaltait à ces lectures. Elles suscitaient en lui de magnifiques résonnances.

M. de Renéville is partly on the right track. There was, however, another, and equally valuable source where young Rimbaud could and did seek the substance of that catastrophic learning. The books Izambard loaned his young energumen were often of a mild character. We are not left in doubt about them. Izambard first, Rimbaud himself, and, finally, *inde irae*, his mother, are quite explicit about that. The latter wrote to Izambard on May 4, 1870:

Il est une chose que je ne saurais approuver, par exemple la lecture du livre comme celui que vous lui avez donné il y a quelques jours (les misérables V. hugot) [sic]. Vous devez savoir mieux que moi, monsieur le professeur, qu'il faut beaucoup de soin dans le choix des livres qu'on veut mettre sous les yeux des enfants. Ainsi j'ai pensé qu'Arthur s'est procuré celui-ci à votre insu, il serait certainement dangereux de lui permettre de pareilles lectures.

The curious thing about this episode is that Mme Rimbaud had not even read correctly the title of the book in question. Izambard was called down by his principal, M. Desdouest. It was an easy thing for the incriminated teacher to justify himself:

Comme j'avais encore le livre rendu sous le bras, je pus lui démontrer séance tenante qu'elle avait mal lu ou mal retenu le titre du présent ouvrage; ce n'était pas *Les Misérables*, c'était bel et bien *Notre-Dame de Paris*; et j'avais prêté cela à son fils pour qu'il y fît provision de couleur locale en vue d'un discours français donné en classe et portant ce titre: 'Lettre de Charles d'Orléans à Louis XI pour solliciter la grâce de Villon menacé de la potence.'<sup>1</sup>

M. Desdouest's verdict was: "Faites-lui lire tout."

Izambard has told how his diminutive library could scarcely minister to the voracious intellectual appetite of his pupil, and we gather this much from the repeated laments of the latter. His teacher provided him for a time with the only supplementary literature he could lay his hands on. Thanks to him and to Léon Deverrière, professor of philosophy in the Institution Barbadaux, he read, besides the humanities prescribed at the lycée, and which included the ancient, the seventeenth-century classics, and some of the "philosophes" of the eighteenth century, the more iconoclastic works of Helvétius, especially, *L'Esprit* and *L'Homme*, of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, especially, *Le Contrat social* and the *Discours sur l'Économie politique*, and of Michelet, Louis Blanc and Proudhon. He was made acquainted with the novelties of the period, in addition; Th. de Banville's *Gringoire*, which inspired him to write *Bal des Pendus*; the same poet's *Exil des Dieux*, and Hugo's *Satyre*, which together with *De Rerum Natura*—"je l'avais grisé de Lucrèce," says Izambard—are the sources of his inspiration for *Soleil et Chair*. Izambard records other innocuous titles: *Florise* and *Les Exilés* by Th. de Banville, the *Nouveaux Samedis* of Pontmartin, the *Couleuvres* of Louis Veuillot, the *Nuits Persanes* by Armand Renaud, and some others. The list is ludicrously meager. It explains the pathetic letter Rimbaud wrote to Izambard Aug. 25, 1870, from Charleville:

Heureusement, j'ai votre chambre: — Vous vous rappelez la permission que vous m'avez donnée. — J'ai emporté la moitié de vos vers! J'ai pris le *Diable de Paris*. Dites-moi un peu s'il y a jamais eu quelque chose

<sup>1</sup> *A Douai et à Charleville*, Paris, Simon Kra, 1927, pp. 23-24.

de plus idiot que les dessins de Granville? J'ai lu *Costal l'Indien* (by Meyne-Reid), j'ai la *Robe de Nessus* (by Amédée Achard), deux romans intéressants. Puis, que vous dire? . . . J'ai lu tous vos livres, tous; il y a trois jours, je suis descendu aux *Épreuves* (by Sully-Prudhomme) puis aux *Glaneuses* (by Paul Demeny), — oui! j'ai relu ce volume! — puis ce fut tout! . . . Plus rien; votre bibliothèque, ma dernière planche de salut, était épuisée! . . . Le *Don Quichotte* m'apparut; hier, j'ai passé deux heures durant, la revue des bois de Doré;<sup>2</sup> maintenant, je n'ai plus rien!

If we are to guide ourselves by the authors mentioned in the *Lettre du Voyant*, Rimbaud's reading was general without being catholic. He speaks of the versifiers "D'Ennius à Théroldus, de Théroldus à Casimir Delavigne," and of Racine, "le Divin Sot." The Romantics find more favor in his eyes. They were "*voyants sans trop bien s'en rendre compte*": Lamartine sometimes, but "étranglé par la forme vieille. Hugo, trop cabochard, a bien vu dans les derniers volumes: les *Misérables* sont un vrai poème, j'ai les *Châtiments* sous la main. . . ." But "Musset est quatorze fois exécration." He is the child of that "odieux génie qui a inspiré Rabelais, Voltaire, Jean de La Fontaine, commenté par M. Taine!" The second Romantic generation are all "très voyants: Théophile Gautier, Leconte de Lisle, Théodore de Banville." But over and above all he places Baudelaire, "le premier voyant, roi des poètes, un vrai Dieu."

Rimbaud knew besides many lesser writers among his contemporaries: L. Grandet, G. Lafenestre, Coran, C.-L. Copelin, Soulayr, L. Salles, Aicard, Theuriet, Autran, Barbier, L. Pichat, Lemoyne, Deschamps, Des Essarts, L. Cladel, Robert Luzarches, X. de Ricard, C. Mendès, Léon Dierx, Coppée, all of whom he knew mainly through the *Parnasse Contemporain*. The shining light in this group was, of course, Verlaine: "un vrai poète." It is curious to observe that Rimbaud's attention was not attracted by Mallarmé, or Villiers de L'Isle-Adam.

None of these last-mentioned writers can be regarded as likely to have been instrumental in causing the moral and spiritual upheaval that was taking place within the young poet at this time. He had exhausted them without his being exhausted. Finally he

<sup>2</sup> Rimbaud wrote a composition on a Quixotic theme entitled: *Allocution de Sancho Pança à son âne mort*, in Latin verse, for the Concours Académique of 1870, which won first prize. It has never been found.

was cut off from them. The library of Izambard had been ransacked, and the Parisian booksellers seemed to have forgotten Charleville: "Paris se moque de nous joliment: pas un seul livre nouveau! C'est la mort!"

"Plus rien!" he had written to Izambard. Fortunately, there was another "planche de salut," near at hand, another and richer source from where he could draw the beverage he craved. Let us return to Rolland de Renéville. His book, *Rimbaud le Voyant*, is a very lucid exposition of the mystic essence in the poetry of Rimbaud, of its occult and magical symbolism. He writes:

Rimbaud, tout possédé de cette science à la fois retrouvé par sa prodigieuse intuition et par les lectures qu'il faisait à la bibliothèque de Charleville était encore entretenu dans ce courant d'idées par son ami Bretagne, dont Ernest Delahaye nous dit qu'il était un artiste, presque un mystique, jugeant comme Rimbaud la religion chrétienne trop terre à terre, anticlérical pour cette raison (chose curieuse qui n'est pas rare), et croyant à l'occultisme, à la télépathie, à la magie.

Dismissing as irrelevant the reference to Bretagne, who was no more than a pretentious country boor,<sup>3</sup> and incapable of influencing Rimbaud in anything, we can retain this new aspect of Rimbaud's readings, of which Izambard himself was, perhaps, scarcely aware. The library at Charleville became the shrine where the insatiable adolescent illuminato found doctrinal authority for his social and religious rebellion, on the one hand, in the literature of the eighteenth century, and for his mystic aspirations, on the other, in the spiritistic and hermetic texts of cabalistic doctrines. But the path of Rimbaud to this shrine was not an easy one. The librarian was not kindly disposed. He resented the arrogant irruption of the uncouth prodigy into his somnolent reading-room. The latter disrupted his sedentary habits. The boy's avid, devouring curiosity respected no age or law. Books that had lain dormant for a long time had to be aroused from their dusty shelves. And this at the request of an insolent collegian, whose reputation in the town was of the worst. As the present librarian at Charleville explained to me when I visited him, it is not to be wondered that "Père Hubert," in charge in 1870, showed himself unpropitious to the unwelcome reader. Rimbaud avenged himself by ridiculing him in what is perhaps the most caustic of his poems, *Les Assis*:

<sup>3</sup> See opinion of Izambard, *A Douai et à Charleville*, pp. 40-42.

Ces vieillards ont toujours fait tresse avec leurs sièges, . . .  
 Oh! ne les faites pas lever! C'est le naufrage. . . .

What were these books, however, whose reading, it is claimed, changed the disciple of Banville, the Parnassian of *Soleil et Chair*, into a Magus, the *voyant* of *Illuminations*? According to M. de Renéville:

Ses biographes rapportent qu'il passa ses journées à la Bibliothèque de Charleville, où il se fit apporter par le bibliothécaire, maugréant et scandalisé, des livres d'occultisme, de magie et de Kabbale. Bien qu'ils ne citent ce fait qu'assez légèrement, j'y attache l'importance la plus grande. Ces lectures m'apparaissent l'aboutissement nécessaire de ses tendances. Il devait y trouver un système pour les soutenir et les organiser.

Until quite recently, not one of his biographers had thought of investigating this problem. M. Étienne Yassu Gaucière, in a recent book on *Rimbaud*,<sup>4</sup> produces a list of such books which he quotes from Colonel Godchot in *La Guiterne* for October, 1934, to whom it was supplied by the present librarian M. Manquillet. In order to substantiate his pro-Catholic thesis regarding Rimbaud, M. Gaucière dismisses the list, and consequently M. de Renéville's contention, without submitting the books to a preliminary exegesis, so that whether M. de Renéville or his adversaries are right will have to depend on a sincere examination of the texts themselves. The point of the matter is that the list of books M. Gaucière discards is, as it happens, a partial one only. It does not include all the books available to Rimbaud in the library in 1870. I went to Charleville and its library in quest of information. I examined the "livre des prêts" of the library for the years 1869-1873. It contained the names of the book-borrowers, nearly all professors and professional men, the books borrowed and the dates. Unfortunately, the name of Rimbaud does not appear once. The librarian observed to me that this was natural. Books were not entrusted to minors at the period. None of the books loaned out were on any of the subjects that would concern the present controversy. It is possible that such books were not let out. It is of interest also to note that the name of Izambard, the one man who could have served as an intermediary between Rimbaud and the library, does not appear on the reader's register. We must conclude that Rimbaud

<sup>4</sup> Paris, 1936, p. 33, note 1

had access to the books in the reading-room of the library only. This explains readily the grumbling ill-will of the librarian called upon to supply the suspicious texts to a suspected adolescent.

Now as regards the texts themselves. I examined the catalogue of the library for the year 1870. I listed first those books that were likely to have contributed to Rimbaud's social and religious rebellions. I retained next works on mysticism, magic and kindred subjects, in which he must have found incentive and corroboration for his own disturbing inner preoccupations. The library was not rich in either category. It is no wild supposition to assume that Rimbaud read some of the following books. One or two he may have read over with clenched fists. The list includes:

- Examen Impartial des Religions du Monde.* in-8. (No name of author).  
*De L'Esprit*, par Helvétius, Paris, 1758, in-4 G. papier.  
*Traté des Systèmes*, par l'abbé de Condillac, La Haye, 1749.  
*Discours sur l'Origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*,  
 J.-J. Rousseau, Amsterdam, 1755.  
*Histoire des Oracles*, Fontenelle.  
*Religions de l'Antiquité*, par J. D. Guigniaut, 1825  
*De la démonomanie des Sorciers*, par J. Bodin, Paris, 1581  
*Quatre livres de la Cabale*, ou traditive, auxquels se traite de Dieu, de sa souveraineté, des principes, gouvernement et progrès des choses. In-8 manuscrit sur papier du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle à longues lignes, proprement écrit.  
*Le Monde enchanté*, ou examen des communs sentiments touchant les esprits, par B. Bekker, Amst., 1694.  
*De fascino Libri*, L. Vair, Paris, 1583.  
*Apologie pour les grands hommes soupçonnés de magie*, par G. Naudé, Amst., 1712.  
*Déclamation contre l'erreur exécration des maléficioiers, sorciers, etc.*, par P. Nodé, Paris, 1578.  
*De l'abus des devins et magiciens*, avec un fragment de l'ouvrage de R. Benoît sur les magiciens, Massé, (no date).  
*Des talismans* ou figures faites sous certaines constellations pour faire aimer et respecter les hommes, les enrichir, etc. par De Lisle, Paris, 1636.  
*Traité sur la magie, le sortilège, les possessions*, etc. par M. Dangis ou Dangy, Paris, 1732.  
*Fari energumenicus: Ejusdem Aleaxiacus*, by Bartholomei, Paris, 1571.  
*Disquisitionum magicarum*, M. del Rio, Lyon, 1612.  
*Mémoire sur le somnambulisme et le magnétisme animal*, par le Général Noizet, Paris, 1854.  
*Les Oracles des 12 sybilles*, mis en vers latins par J. Dorat, et en vers français par C. Binet, Paris, 1856.



*La Sorcière*, Michelet, 1867.

*Comte de Gabalis, ou entretiens sur les sciences secrètes*, par l'abbé de Montfaucon de Villars, Cologne, (no. date).

While he pondered over the pages of these strange works, a moral and spiritual upheaval must have been taking place in the heart and mind of the impressionable youth. If, on the one hand, Helvétius and Condillac were influential in bringing about the conversion of the "petit cagot," as he was called by his classmates—so great was his Christian zeal<sup>5</sup>—into the fierce antagonist who wrote upon the walls of his town: *Mort à Dieu*, the theosophical and other books of magic listed may have been no less responsible in inducing in him that weird, mystic spell under which he wrote his letter of May 15, 1871, the *Lettre du Voyant*, which ends with the pithy disclosure of brooding self-exorcism: "Je travaille à me rendre voyant." Out of that travail came *Illuminations*.

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### SECRET MARRIAGE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH COMEDY

In XVIIIth century France secret marriage was no laughing matter. Since, at least in the upper strata of society, marriage was a means of patching up a family quarrel, or of shifting responsibility for a wayward daughter, or of improving the family fortunes—"Un beau mariage payera tout"—any move by or affecting a minor which upset the plans of a legally despotic father was rigorously punished. The memoirs and correspondences of the time contain many accounts of abduction, secret marriage and hasty flight to foreign parts; also of the penalties inflicted on principals and accomplices when caught: exile, branding, even death.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See E. Delahaye, *Rimbaud, l'artiste et l'être moral*, p. 175.

<sup>1</sup> For typical instances, see Buvat, *Journal de la Régence* (Paris, 1865), I, 372; Mme de Genlis, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1825), I, 160; Mouchet, *Anecdotes historiques* (Troyes, 1811), I, 350; Marais, *Journal* (Paris, 1863-68), II, 191; III, 84; Luynes, *Mémoires sur la cour de Louis XV* (Paris, 1860-65), I, 389; XIII, 172; Barbier, *Chronique de la Régence* (Paris, 1857-85), IV, 416.

In literature, abduction followed by secret marriage was common, far more common probably than in real life, for it was "romanesque" and it led to complications at once serious and potentially comic. For such reasons one might expect the theme to recur frequently in XVIIIth century comedy, which, with little regard for realism, made large use of conventional material. And yet there were apparently restrictions and *bienséances*, as in the matter of adultery, which discouraged the representation of marriage without parental consent. Of some 400 comedies that I have read, only 17 mention secret marriage. In these seventeen, not once does it occur during the action;<sup>2</sup> not once is it encouraged or applauded; only twice is it suggested by a lover and in both cases the girl refuses.<sup>3</sup> In *le Glorieux* by Destouches (1738; I, 8) Lisette the *suivante* says to Valère;

Vous flattez-vous, Valère.

De faire à notre hymen consentir votre père?

VALÈRE

Nous nous passerons bien de son consentement.

LISETTE

Oui, vous; mais non pas moi.

VALÈRE

Je puis secrètement . . .

LISETTE

Non, non, ne croyez pas qu'un vain espoir m'endorme,  
Je vous l'ai dit, je veux un mariage en forme;  
Et me garderai bien de courir le hasard. . . .<sup>4</sup>

There are several cases of secret marriage contracted long before the action of the play. For instance, we learn that Mélanide, having married secretly, was forcibly separated from her husband

<sup>2</sup> For that matter, I have never read an XVIIIth century comedy in which a wedding occurs during the course of the action. The closest approach is Beaumarchais' famous pair of plays.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Mariage clandestin* by Le Monnier, performed once at the Théâtre-Français (1775) and never printed, was probably an imitation of the English play of similar title by Garrick and Coleman. See Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire* (ed. Tourneux), XI, 108.

<sup>4</sup> In Collé's *le Galant escroc* (publ. 1767; sc. 8) Sophie rejects a similar proposal on the ground that by marrying without her guardian's consent she will deprive herself of a rich inheritance.

and disowned for seventeen years; <sup>5</sup> that M. Dorsan has an eighteen-year-old daughter, born of a secret marriage; <sup>6</sup> that Honesta married a rascal who, when time had withered her, forced her to pose as his sister; <sup>7</sup> that Lélío having married secretly in his youth, was for fifteen years pursued by the girl's parents; <sup>8</sup> and so on. These marriages in the remote past rarely affect the plot; introducing no complications, they serve only to move the audience to compassion.

More significant are clandestine marriages contracted six months or less before the beginning of the action, marriages unknown usually to most of the other characters. It sometimes happens that one of the married couple, already of age, is sought in marriage and, loath to divulge the secret, deludes the suitor until the end of the play.<sup>9</sup> Or it may be that a father has arranged a match for a son or daughter who is already married and who must placate the parent both tactfully in order to avoid disinheritance and firmly in order to avoid annulment of the marriage.<sup>10</sup>

These secret unions serve a double purpose: they provoke dramatic situations and they allow the secretly married pair, without offending against the *bienséances*, to give full expression to their passionate love. The late M. Félix GaiFFE saw in the clandestine marriage, as it was used in the *drame*, a representation *in usum delphini* of the liaison:

Pour tout comprendre, il faut lire entre les lignes. Que signifient ces mariages secrets désavoués par des parents cruels, ces enfants qui ignorent leur naissance et se retrouvent un père au moment où ils s'y attendent le moins, ces jeunes veuves courtisées par des adorateurs pressants, mais platoniques, et pour le bon motif, sans doute? A bon entendeur salut; on n'était pas plus dupe de ces subterfuges qu'on ne l'est aujourd'hui du mot *mariage* inséré dans les annonces spéciales de certains grands quotidiens. Tout cela proclame discrètement, mais clairement, le triomphe de la

<sup>5</sup> La Chaussée, *Mélanide* (1741), II, 3.

<sup>6</sup> DesforGES, *la Femme jalouse* (1785), I, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Dumaniant, *les Intrigants* (1787), I, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Beauchamps, *les Amants réunis* (1727), I, 3. Cf. La Chaussée, *l'Homme de fortune* (1751), III, 3:

Les persécutions que monsieur votre père

Essuya pour avoir enlevé votre mère. . .

<sup>9</sup> Boissy, *les Amours anonymes*, 1735; *le Mari garçon*, 1742; *l'Époux par supercherie*, 1744; Dorat, *le Célibataire*, 1775.

<sup>10</sup> Destouches, *le Triple mariage*, 1716; Guyot de Merville, *le Consentement forcé*, 1738; Desfaucherets, *le Mariage secret*, 1786.

"liaison," c'est-à-dire de l'amour libre, à peu près officiellement admis et reconnu dans le meilleur monde.<sup>11</sup>

Gaiffe goes on to say that the frank representation of love without benefit of clergy may be seen in the *comédie de société*. Re-affirming that privately performed comedy countenanced the frank representation of liaisons, and worse, I cannot agree that clandestine marriage constituted the equivalent on the public stage. For one thing, liaisons are by no means unheard of in the Theatre-Français. In *Laurette* (1768) the liaison of Mme de Clancé and the comte de Luzzy is reported to have shocked the audience.<sup>12</sup> In *l'Impertinent* (1750) — which Gresset said should have been entitled *l'Indécent*—Damis is the "amant de Julie," obviously in the modern sense. And Gresset, shocked as he is by *l'Impertinent*, makes Cléon of *le Méchant* say:

Avant que dans ces lieux je vinsse avec Florise,  
J'avais tout arrangé pour qu'il eût Cidalise:  
Elle a, pour la plupart, formé nos jeunes gens:  
J'ai demandé pour lui quelques mois de son temps. . .  
Laissez la bergerie, et, sans trop de franchise,  
Soyez de votre siècle, ainsi que Cidalise;  
Ayez-la, c'est d'abord ce que vous lui devez;  
Et vous l'estimerez après si vous pouvez.<sup>13</sup>

In Imbert's *le Jaloux sans amour* (1781) there is much talk about the comte d'Orson's "maîtresse achetée," although she does not appear. Several plays show us a woman of thirty the mistress of a young man of twenty or less, engaged in "forming" him as Mme d'Esparbès instructed the youthful Lauzun in the ways of the

<sup>11</sup> *Le Drame en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1910), p. 364.

<sup>12</sup> Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, VIII, 190. Collé, *Journal* (Paris, 1868), III, 205: "J'étois spectateur, et j'ose assurer que ce sont les mœurs dépravées et tristement vicieuses de cette comédie qui sont une des principales causes de sa chute." What a Pharisee Collé could be!

<sup>13</sup> 1747; I, 1 and II, 7. Compare with these lines the speech of Mme Dupuis in Collé's *la Vérité dans le vin* (1757, *en société*), sc. 1: "Je sens bien qu'il est établi actuellement dans la société qu'il faut vivre avec quelqu'un; on aurait l'air extraordinaire sans cela. . . ." In *la Mode* by Mme de Staal-Delaunay there is a countess who loves her husband but has lovers "pour ne pas se chamarrer de ridicules, parce que la vie est un tissu de bienséances qu'il faut remplir." Quoted from Du Bled, *La Société française du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1900-13), VI, 225.

world, and as mature women have trained young cubs since the beginning of society.

L'amour qui nous instruit, et qui forme nos mœurs,  
Devient une vertu, loin d'être une faiblesse;  
Et l'on doit tous les jours ses plus grandes erreurs  
Au mauvais choix d'une maîtresse.<sup>14</sup>

Then again, it seems perfectly clear that secret marriage became a dramatic convention, like the remarkably frequent use of young widows as heroines,<sup>15</sup> mildly implausible, but useful and accepted at face value. While the boy and girl or man and woman are married, they may at the same time entertain all the fears and undergo all the humiliations which family and society would visit upon them if they were not married. It is significant, finally, that all comedies in which a recent secret marriage figures prominently in the plot are comedies of intrigue, where *valets* and *suivantes* are really the moving spirits. With clandestine marriage during the action apparently outlawed by convention, and with unhappy forced marriage obviously alien to the essence of comedy, the traditional servants are called upon to resolve the plot by forcing parental consent to a secret marriage already contracted, or more often by maneuvering for a happy one with parental consent.

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LES AMOURS DES GRANDS HOMMES OF MLLE  
DESJARDINS AND LE DOCTEUR  
AMOUREUX

*Le Docteur amoureux*, a farce which "belongs to the Théâtre italien" and which was almost certainly written not earlier than 1683 and probably as late as 1694, was published for the first time

<sup>14</sup> Boissy, *les Billets doux* (1734), sc. 1. Cf. Voisenon, *la Coquette fixée* (1746), II, 10:

Oui, le choix d'un amant ou perd ou justifie.  
On sait que le malheur de la jeune Emilie  
Est d'avoir pour Eraste un penchant peu réglé:  
Au contraire, l'on a du respect pour Eglé;  
Son mari ne veut pas vivre mal avec elle,  
Parce qu'il sait qu'elle est prudemment infidelle.

<sup>15</sup> See my article in *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 4.

in the Spring of 1937.<sup>1</sup> Its source was not known at the time. Comparison of the farce with the *Histoire de Socrate* in Mlle Desjardins' *Amours des grands hommes*, published in 1671, shows her story to be the textual source of the entire farce, with the exception of a curious scene between the pedant and his assistant which bears no relation to the plot (II, 3), half of a scene in which Arlequin describes the heroine to his master Lelio, using the "Trois choses blanches," etc. found also in Brantôme (III, 4), one soliloquy on the "maudite profession . . . d'un amant" (III, 11), a song (III, 13), a serenade in pantomime (III, 7) and a comment of the hero upon it (III, 9). The plot of the farce is identical with that of the story, and its structure follows that of *Socrate* as closely as actions on the stage permit, a fact which accounts for the rather unusual change in place from one scene to another pointed out by Mr. Lancaster. Socrates keeps his beautiful ward Timandre at the home of the astrologer Aglaonice; Alcibiades, whose curiosity is aroused, believes Aglaonice to be Timandre and spurns her until his nurse reports to him the beauty of the real Timandre and he suspects a trick has been played on him. Luring Aglaonice away from the house by making a false rendez-vous with her, Alcibiades finds Timandre and they fall in love. Socrates discovers them, but is forced to yield to the strength of their youthful passion and give up his own designs on the girl. In the farce Socrates becomes the pedant Metaphraste, Alcibiades Lelio, Timandre Flaminia, Myrto (Socrate's wife) Colombine, Aglaonice Marinette, and Alcibiades' nurse a valet, Arlequin. Metaphraste is provided with a valet who has no counterpart in *Socrate*. Since the imitation is textual, the characters are identical; no effort whatever was made by the author of the farce—except for the slight additions noted—to change Mlle Desjardins' characters. A brief quotation from each work will show the technique employed to dramatize the story.

*Socrate*

L'Astrologue vint à la place de la Phrigienne, & sa personne étant aussi désagréable qu'Alcibiade avoit esperé de la trouver charmante, il

*Docteur amoureux*

MARINETTE: Qui est-ce?

LELIO. Ouvrez-moy de grace. *Reculant deux pas, à part.* Que vois-je? Voicy vne femme dont

<sup>1</sup> *Five French Farces, 1655-1694?*, a critical edition by H. C. Lancaster assisted by members of his seminary, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press. Cf. pp. 18-20 and 111 ff.

*Socrate*

recula deux pas à sa vûe, & lui demanda tout surpris, si elle étoit la disciple de Socrate: Oui, lui dit Aglaonice . . . qu'avez-vous à me dire, & que demandez-vous de moi? Rien, Madame, répartit Alcibiade froidement. J'avois beaucoup de choses à dire à Timandre, lorsque je suis venu dans cette maison, mais je n'ai plus rien à faire qu'à me retirer.

Alcibiade avoit un charme dans l'air, & dans la maniere de parler, qui lui soumettoient les cœurs de tous les gens qui le voyoient. L'Astrologue en fut blessé comme d'un coup de trait, & ne pouvant se résoudre à perdre si-tôt la présence d'un objet qui commençoit à lui devenir si cher . . .

*Docteur amoureux*

la figure est aussi desagréable que j'avois esperé de la trouver charmante. Madame, n'estes-vous pas la disciple du Docteur Metaphraste?

MAR.: Ouy. Qu'avez-vous à me dire et que demandez-vous de moy?

LEL.: Rien, Madame. J'avois beaucoup de choses à dire à Flaminia lorsque je suis venu dans cette maison, mais je n'ai plus rien à faire qu'à me retirer.

MAR.: Seigneur, je vous auoieray que je vous trouve vn charme dans l'air et dans la maniere de parler qui vous soumet aisement les cœurs de tous les gens qui vous voient. Je ne puis m'empescher. . . .

LEL.: Madame, permettez que je me retire.

MAR.: Aimable caualier, je me sens subitement blessée comme d'un coup de trait, et il faut que je vous dise que je ne puis me résoudre à perdre si tost la presence d'un objet qui commence à me devenir cher.<sup>2</sup>

Everything which the author of the farce could possibly include as dialogue was converted into such (if not already in spoken form), and what still remained, as we can see above, was utilized for stage directions.

The source of Mlle Desjardins' story is not known. Its plot and atmosphere suggest an Italian origin, possibly a *novella* or *canevas*. Mlle Desjardins' preoccupation with Greek and Roman subjects explains the curious transposition of such a story into a classical décor. The general atmosphere of the farce may in fact resemble that of the unknown source of *Socrate*, if indeed the latter came from an italianesque composition involving a modern pedant, an

<sup>2</sup> *Five French Farces*, pp. 119-120, and the *Oeuvres* of Mlle Desjardins (ed. of 1741), v, 41.

astrologer, etc. But, whatever the source of *Socrate*, it may be stated definitely that the structure and speeches of *le Docteur amoureux* were copied directly from the work of Hortense Desjardins.

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### GRILLPARZER'S POSITION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY THOUGHT

In older histories of German literature, Grillparzer is usually considered as an epigonus of the classicists of the Eighteenth Century, because his style and the choice of his themes show certain similarities with those of Schiller in his earlier dramas and with those of Goethe in his later works.<sup>1</sup> Other historians of German literature treat Grillparzer as an outsider without even raising the question where to place him in Nineteenth Century literature. Recently his position has been greatly clarified by the studies on the Biedermeier period. His place in the literary environment can, however, be more accurately determined on the basis of a comparison between the development of idealistic thought from Fichte to Hegel and the change in the philosophy of life from Kleist to Hebbel.

While the phenomenal world was for Kant only in part a product of creative reason—namely through the categories of space and time—, Fichte makes the phenomenon entirely an act of consciousness. For him there is no existence except through the activity of the mind. The active Ego is the center out of which the diversity of all reality is derived, and in relation to which alone there is any reality. Reality is not first an object of perception and knowledge and then made the object our will, but is first of all an object of our will. The active Ego constantly transforms a chaotic diversity into an integral whole. Accordingly, it is the duty of the moral personality to make the world an expression of his own will; he must not accept the laws of the environment, but he has to develop the inherent potentialities of his own nature.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. "Grillparzer's Relation to Classical Idealism." *MLN.*, 1936, pp. 359 ff.



The community and the State have no existence apart from and above the individual; they are essentially expressions of the will of the individual.

Kleist's aspect of life is closely related to Fichte's ethical activism. In all his dramas, he rejects the objective forms of judgment and conduct which have been inherited from the past and petrified in conventional rules. He rejects them, because they prevent the individual from the immediate and active experience of the situation and from an adequate reaction on the basis of this experience. Kleist's foremost ethical postulate, like that of Fichte, is the active assimilation of the Non-Ego into the Ego. The rejection of objective traditional forms is presented, e. g., in the fatal effect of the unnatural laws of the Amazon State in *Penthesilea* and in the rigidity of the *raison d'État* in *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*. One imperative stands out as the postulate of every one of Kleist's dramas, and that is the imperative of moral activism with its demand that every situation and every person should be judged and evaluated on the basis of their immediate appeal to our sympathy and antipathy in every individual case without any claim to lasting or universal validity. This postulate is presented in a positive form especially in the last drama, *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, in which the prince accepts the death penalty only when the application of the law and thereby the existence of the State is made dependent upon his own active will. Kleist's drama is the expression of a restless fight for the immediate active experience of life, for the dynamic penetration of the object-world with the creative will of the subject, for the transformation of the Non-Ego into the Ego.<sup>2</sup>

Schelling restricts the ethical factor, which was of first importance in Fichte's philosophy, by making the unconscious will, the infinite urge, the basic principle of existence. The conscious moral order is only the final aim of the evolution of this universal will. If the idealistic belief in this ethical tendency ceases, the fundamental principle of all existence is, by logical necessity, reduced to the purely vital urge, the "will to live" of Schopenhauer's philosophy. Then the intellect is reduced to a mere instrument of vitality; its function is to present aims to the will and thereby to stimulate its activity. Thus, all striving remains essentially

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the article on Kleist und Fichte, *The Germanic Review*, IX (1934), 1 ff.

meaningless; life becomes an endless alternation between desire and fulfilment, a process in which the displeasure of willing and striving always exceeds the enjoyment of the attained object. Man's life is the more tragic, the more it rises above the level of unconscious animalistic urge; at this stage, man's only relief is the renunciation of the will to live. This aim of Schopenhauer's philosophy, too, is a negative reaction against the idealistic belief in the final realization of the Absolute.

Grillparzer, in spite of his derisive attitude towards German idealism, shares with Schelling and Schopenhauer the belief that individuation is a betrayal of the original, natural unity of all existence. With Schopenhauer particularly, Grillparzer sees in man part of an instinctive and non-reflecting principle, the "will to live." With Schopenhauer he believes that reason through the aims which it presents to the will tends to sever man from his natural environment and, thus, to submit him to the fateful antagonism between adjustment to the natural organic environment on the one hand, and a striving in which he is isolated and gradually demoralized on the other hand. Man can only thrive in an organic environment in which he has a well determined function. With Schopenhauer, Grillparzer abandons the classical belief that man might, by his moral will, master his destiny.

In the *Ahnfrau*, he rejects the moral freedom which characterizes Don Cesar in *Die Braut von Messina*. Jaromir is deprived of all moral stability and reaches the lowest stage of demoralization in his uncontrolled love for his sister Bertha. Sappho pays for her idealistic striving the price of detachment from the vital foundation of existence. Medea, Jason, Kunigunde (in *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*) and Otto von Meran (in *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn*) are removed from their natural sphere and thus exposed to complete demoralization in a foreign environment. Ottokar is doomed to failure, because he allows himself to be carried by his conscious will beyond the possibilities of an organic world. Only in his later dramas, Grillparzer attempts to find a somewhat more positive meaning for the transgressions of the narrow boundaries of adjusted life, as e. g., when the dream experience of Rustan in *Der Traum ein Leben* becomes a means for the realization of his personal limitations and of the necessity to adjust himself to a peaceful life in his organic sphere. Similarly for King Alphons in *Die*

*Judin von Toledo* a temporary and unrestricted submersion in the world is considered as necessary for the full development of his character, while at the same time, it menaces its very substance. In *Libussa* this tragic antagonism between organic, self-contented life and the tendency of the rational will to transcend these boundaries is accepted as inescapable. Here Grillparzer leaves only one hope for a possible regeneration, namely, the final return to an organic state in which the rational will is subordinated to the natural conditions of life. But even here the complaint of the disintegration of an original unity is stronger than the belief in a possible development of mankind.

Hegel's philosophy constitutes the last great defense of the idealistic conception of the world against a growing naturalism and pessimism. With Fichte he shares the belief in the active Mind as the principle of all existence, with Schelling the conviction that the meaning of life is revealed in the evolutionary process. Like Schopenhauer, he rescinds the significance of the individual in distinct reaction against the extreme valuation of human personality in the idealistic systems of Kant and Fichte. For, however optimistic Hegel's belief in a progressive realization of reason and freedom may be, it is at the same time eminently tragic as far as the individual and the individual nations are concerned. Their existence becomes void of any meaning, as soon as the purpose of the evolutionary stage, which they represent, is attained. In the last analysis, this relativistic conception of the value of man is due to a growing respect for concrete reality, which is only concealed by the metaphysical superstructure of an evolving universal Mind.

Hebbel's relation to Hegel's idea of the dialectic process and its application to the historical evolution hardly needs any further comment. For Hebbel the superior individual is an instrument for the evolution of the Absolute Mind. His life is meaningful as long as the individual is fighting for this purpose, and it loses its significance as soon as this purpose is fulfilled. Hebbel's philosophy, too, is a superstructure erected over a realistically and psychologically conceived conflict.

We have followed the development of the philosophy of the early Nineteenth Century through these stages: Fichte's ethical activism with the conviction of the ability and the obligation of man to

develop his own personality; Schelling's theory of the evolution of the unconscious Will; Schopenhauer's disillusioned development of Schelling's system to the doctrine of the primacy of the vital urge over the intellect; the last synthesis of idealistic thought in Hegel's system which combines the classical optimism with Late Romantic pessimism in the idea of the relative significance of the individual for the evolution of the Absolute Mind.

Grillparzer, we found, was disillusioned in the idealistic faith in the freedom of the moral will. He was convinced of the primacy of life over the rational will, and he searched for a new meaning of life. We, therefore, compared him with Schelling and Schopenhauer and placed him between Kleist who still believed in the idealistic obligation and freedom of the mind, and Hebbel who overcame at least part of his pessimism by attributing a relative significance to human life. Grillparzer shares this position with Grabbe and Büchner who begin with similar disillusionments. Grabbe may be considered as a link leading from Grillparzer's middle period to Hebbel, since he succeeds in outgrowing his disillusionment in the conception of the great individual who anticipates the tendencies of the future and paves the way for their realization.

It is hardly necessary to state in this connection that Grillparzer's as well as Schopenhauer's philosophy is in some respects more closely related to later trends of Nineteenth-Century thought than is Hegel's and Hebbel's. Especially the conception of life as the fundamental principle and value point forward to a period of a more naturalistic conception of man. But Grillparzer's emphasis on the value of organically rooted life assures his position in the neighborhood of the romanticism of Schelling and Schopenhauer and before Hebbel's rationalized endeavor to save the value of the individual in a growingly impersonal and materialistic world.

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## THE BEGINNINGS OF GERMAN LITERARY CRITICISM

The moralising tendency to be remarked in German literature after the turbulence of the middle ages persisted for some considerable time. To this tendency the 'Volkslieder' of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries succumbed; "der Spruch verdrängte das

Lied." This emotional repression lasted on through the seventeenth century, except for the occasional relief afforded by religious poetry, while in the eighteenth century the literary fruits of Rationalism, the classical imitations of the school of Gottsched and the Anacreonticism of Leipzig did nothing to effect a change. It was not until 1748, with the publication of the first three cantos of the *Messias*, that the rights of feeling to a place in literature were reasserted. But Klopstock's work came before its time, before the conditions necessary to the success of a creative work in Germany had been established, before criticism had created an audience; and before this was possible criticism in Germany had first to free itself from the restraints of the moral periodicals and begin its modern development through the letters, essays, and fragments of the period before the Storm and Stress. In this work of liberation Lessing was a pioneer; but a pioneer, whose rôle in criticism was rather to destroy and clear away than to build up. Rooted in Rationalism, still loyal to the older ideas of form and discipline, Lessing does not bring us quite up to the gates of the Storm and Stress. That was left to such critics as Gerstenberg, Sturz, and Herder, in whose critical ideas we can discern the trail, which led German criticism from a negative criticism of dissection to one of a more positive and creative nature.

Irregular and vague in many of his conceptions, reflecting almost all the significant literary movements in which the first half of his long life was passed, Gerstenberg, perhaps more than any other writer, may be regarded as the John the Baptist of the Storm and Stress. Flattered in his youth as "der allgemein verehrte Sänger der Tändeleien" he was none the less the conqueror of Anacreonticism. Earlier than most he realised how utterly unsuited to the German temperament was the "chanson-Geschmack" of the French:

Wir sind der französischen Schreibart in mancher Absicht recht gut: aber den chanson-Geschmack möchten wir nicht gern von ihnen annehmen, am wenigsten in *Liedern der Deutschen*. . . . Die Franzosen sind ein singendes Volk; sie singen alles, wenn es nur die Form eines Liedes hat: sie singen, um zu singen. Ausdruck, Character, Anmuth und Reiz sind ihnen Kleinigkeiten.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. W. v. Gerstenbergs Rezensionen in der *Hamburgischen neuen Zeitung* (HNZ), 1767-1771, in *Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1904, Vol. 128, 41-2.

From such a beginning Gerstenberg might have gone much further and it was a great pity that, like Herder, he never made a more determined approach to what might have been a great contribution to the literary theory of the period before the Storm and Stress, the defining of an aesthetics of lyric poetry. For such a task, Gerstenberg, with his passionate interest in and knowledge of music, was particularly well-fitted; but while the twentieth Schleswig letter remains as important for the criticism of the lyric as were the fourteenth to the eighteenth letters for the criticism of Shakespeare, his remarks on the subject remain very incomplete. Possibly Gerstenberg's loyalty to Klopstock prevented him from asserting as bluntly as he might have done the rights of the German *Lied*. But a more fundamental reason, perhaps, is to be found in his inability to sustain his passionate intentions by any logical or persistent endeavor. He was lacking both in the relentless and logical persistence of Lessing and in the heedless self-sacrifice of the *Stürmer und Dränger*. Yet it should not be forgotten that Lessing, who spoke of fable and epigram, neglected the lyric almost altogether, while Gerstenberg did succeed in asserting the right of the *Lied* to an independent treatment by criticism.

With many of Gerstenberg's ideas Helferich Peter Sturz is in entire agreement. It is true that his personal contact with Lessing and the ideas of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* were not without their effect on Sturz' dramaturgic ideas. But Sturz, too, represents the transition from Lessing to Herder. In his declaration of Shakespeare as a genius, subject to no laws, in his demand for a lyric of heart and feeling Sturz is of the Storm and Stress; and this is not surprising when one remembers that his literary education had been received largely within the Northern Circle in Copenhagen, where he had been on a footing of friendship with Klopstock and on most intimate terms with Gerstenberg, at whose musical evenings at Lynby Sturz had been a most eager and regular attendant. And if, as Redlich asserts,<sup>2</sup> Sturz did not actually contribute to the Schleswig letters, he was certainly in close contact with those who did.

Like all Klopstock's school Sturz sees in the prevailing imitation the chief bar to a national theatre; and in 1766 in his *Geschichte des deutschen Theaters* he asks indignantly:

<sup>2</sup> Max Koch, *Helferich Peter Sturz*, München, 1879, p. 95.

Wie können wir ein eignes Theater erwarten, wenn wir ewig übersetzen, und wenn unsere Schauspieler fremde Sitten mit deutschen Gebärden ausdrücken sollen? Wann wagen wir es endlich einmal zu sein, was wir sind?

In another passage he sounds a veritable trumpet call for the *Sturm und Drang* advance:

Wir sind der gefeilten Arbeit müde; es ist Zeit, dass endlich Mutter Natur einmal spricht, wie ihr der Schnabel gewachsen ist . . . schon wandelt allmählig die populär gewordene Literatur aus den Zimmern unter die Treppe.<sup>3</sup>

Like Klopstock, Gerstenberg, and Herder, Sturz too is interested in nordic literature and advocates the treatment of old Scandinavian and German mediaeval material.

Yet there are still in Sturz' ideas traces of Lessing's influence. He emphasizes more strongly than does Gerstenberg the importance of Form. Nor is he so great an admirer of the *Messias*. He believes that the creative artist must have a tangible subject, that he cannot create from the imagination purely and simply. He has not so high an idea of the importance of criticism as Gerstenberg and speaks of criticism as having emerged in classic literature only when the great creative writers had died out. Here he is, however, less in line with Gerstenberg than with the *Stürmer und Dränger*, who saw in criticism and a full heart two irreconcilable things. Like Lessing, Sturz would not go so far as Gerstenberg in his championship of English literature; he would have the German theatre keep to the middle of the road between the English and the French theatres.

That which unites Herder and Gerstenberg is chiefly Shakespeare and the Folksongs. Herder's first critical writings on these themes are rooted in Gerstenberg's Schleswig letters. On July 20, 1771, Bode, the publisher, wrote to Herder and asked him whether he had seen the continuation to the Schleswig letters and whether he would not fulfill his promise of contributing to it. On September 17 of the same year Bode thanks Herder for the extract, entitled *Aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*; neither this nor the essay on Shakespeare appeared in the Schleswig letters but were published by Bode in 1773 under the title *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*. The Schleswig letters (1766-

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsches Museum*, Nov. 1777, pp. 419 ff., article on Klopstock.

70) and Herder's *Fragmente* (1776-7) show the stamp of the new direction. Herder, once he had taken up the cudgels, did much to make Gerstenberg's conception of Shakespeare general in Germany. In their attitude toward criticism Gerstenberg and Herder stand extremely close to one another. Both place the power of feeling and sympathy among the primary qualifications of a good critic. Genius must be felt and cannot be explained. Since criticism is to be creative the critic should be a creator himself. As Gerstenberg expresses it, a critic can not enter into the feelings of a victorious general but Caesar can weep at the great deeds of an Alexander, since Caesar himself was a general.<sup>4</sup> Then, too, the work criticized must be regarded as a unity: "Wo Einheit ist, da ist innere Regel; und wo die fehlt, da fehlt gemeiniglich mehr als irgend eine andere Regel ersetzen kann."<sup>5</sup> Herder agrees with Gerstenberg when the latter calls for a detailed examination of the work criticised.<sup>6</sup> Both critics stress the vital importance for the critic to acquaint himself with the modes of thought and the taste of the author's nation. Already in 1765 in the first preface to the *Sorøer Schriften* Gerstenberg had declared that a nation, which was constantly wrapped up in itself and never compares itself to others, imagines it possesses perfection, which it has not. He goes on to say that there is always a useful citizen, who will make such a comparison and who, without allowing himself to be carried away by the general tumult and shouting, will boldly tell his own people that they are not all that they ought to be. And this useful citizen both Gerstenberg and Herder may fairly claim to have been. Against the idea of a systematized criticism both Gerstenberg and Herder range themselves. In this respect Gerstenberg's fourth Schleswig letter stands as a proclamation of the idea of the whole *Sturm und Drang* movement:

Was will denn Herr Warton, was wollen denn unsere Kunstrichter, mögte ich fragen, mit ihrem ewigen Jammergeschrey über Mangel an Regelmässigkeit, über Unwissenheit, über Barbarey? Lenken Sie sich um, meine Herren, und machen Sie sich erst genauer mit der Denkungsart Ihrer Dichter, mit dem Charakter der Jahrhunderte und dem Geschmacke der Nationen bekannt.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *HNZ. ed. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Briefe über Merkwürdigste der Litteratur* (BML), *Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Vols. 29/30, Stuttgart, 1890, p. 380.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.



Herder was of the opinion that in Gerstenberg's chief critical works, in the Schleswig letters and in the *Rezensionen in der Hamburgischen neuen Zeitung*, were to be found some excellent and original ideas, which were especially valuable at a time when all threatened to succumb to negative and destructive criticism. But Herder's remarks on Gerstenberg's works were not entirely uncritical and his declaration, based on Gerstenberg's condemnation of French tragedy, that the criticisms in the *Hamburgische neue Zeitung* were a supplement to Lessing's, did not please Gerstenberg. Gerstenberg, however, did pay full tribute to Herder, as the interpreter of great writers and spirits, although he does not seem to have altogether suspected Herder's future greatness in the fields of folk poetry and the philosophy of history. Nor did he divine that Herder was destined to give a philosophic basis and justification to these new ideas. The two men never met. Herder never went to Denmark, although in 1769 on a sea-voyage from Riga to France he passed near to Denmark, but not close enough to achieve his announced purpose of joining Klopstock and Gerstenberg and, as he expresses it, of lighting a fire, which, beginning with the Danish end of Germany, might quicken the whole country.<sup>8</sup>

The common objectives of this new type of criticism, appreciative, sympathetic, *nachempfindlich*, seem to have been to take literature away from the over-moral, over-academic atmosphere, in which in Germany it had lived for so long and to give it that connection with real life, so important for its development. Like Aristotle they see the task of the writer rather in the expression of the individually characteristic rather than of the typical. In the drama they wish, for the most part, to make 'form' subordinate to interest and character, to give a new freedom to present the 'mixed' characters, which Bodmer and Breitinger had already foreshadowed, and to present "those high strokes and noble contrasts of character," which they found in Homer and Shakespeare; in the lyric they wished to reassert the rights of the German *Lied* against the strophes of the classical epic. Had these forerunners of the Storm and Stress succeeded in impressing their views on the literary public as effectively as the more logical and consistent Lessing had been able to do, something more natively German

<sup>8</sup> Suphan, iv, 435.

than the classical creations of Goethe and Schiller might have succeeded the extravagances of the Storm and Stress movement and German literature might have been spared the reactionary excesses of the Romantic School.

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## TWO VERSIONS OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SONG

*Es ist ein Schnee gefallen . . . Ich sollt zu meinem Bulen*

The following remarks concern the two texts of the song which I published in an earlier volume of *MLN.*, xxv, 244 sq.

A. The *Goldschmied*-version. The second of those texts—from the only source, a Nuremberg fugitive print of about 1550—is the older. It represents the complete form of a version previously known only by its first stanza in the *Grassliedlin* of about the middle of the 1530's. Version A doubtless borrowed most of its first stanza from a still earlier song (see Uhland's *Volkslieder*, no. 44). In five of the seven stanzas it told a three-part story: Three swains, a tailor, a nobleman, and a goldsmith, stroll about a house in which lives the young girl on whom the goldsmith, in particular, has designs (stanzas 2 and 3). In the second part the nocturnal visit of the goldsmith is passed over in one stanza (4) in veiled language that was clear enough to contemporaries:

Das Meydlein das kunnt stricken,  
es strickt ein halbe Nacht  
An einer seydin Hauben,  
auss garn ist sie gemacht.

When, in the last part (stanzas 5 and 6), the girl realizes that she may no longer wear her hair in the way that marked the virgin, but must put on the *Haube* with all it implies, her emotions burst out in the only direct speech in the song. Whether these few words be tearfully pathetic or passionately defiant, they are as eloquently lyrical as any we can find in German folksong:

“Ich will mein Haar nit binden,  
wenn ich wils hangen lan.  
Ich wil wol disen Sommer lang  
damit zum Tantze gahn.”

B. The *Schreiber*-version. The other text is that of a fugitive

print once in Uhland's possession (another copy in Berlin, Ye 465). It was probably printed in Basel by Samuel Apiarius (not in Strassburg) about 1570, some twenty years after our version of text A.<sup>1</sup> B goes back to version A, or possibly to a form differing somewhat in the latter half. Whatever the basis, the older song was done over with humorous intent. The tailor and the goldsmith were replaced by a *Reuter* and a *Schreiber*. A comical refrain was introduced, including apparently the names of the three fellows: *Jörg nissel, sigmichel, hannsjoel*. The lines of the older version: *Der dritt das was ein Goldschmid, der wolt das Meidlein han*, were changed to flatter the conceit of the jolly *Schreiber*:

Der dritt ein stoltzer schreiber, jörg nissel . . .  
den selben wolt es han.

Stanza 4 of A appears in B in a shortened form:

Das meitlein das kondt stricken, jörg nissel . . .  
biss es sie aussgemacht.

A pair of lines between these have dropped out; in spite of that, the two as quoted gave all the meaning needed by the graceless *Schreiber*, who seems to have been responsible for this version, because of the double significance of *stricken* in both texts of this song.

Not knowing text A, Uhland failed to understand fully the *Schreiber*-version (see *Volkslieder*, no. 43), hence his elimination of every amusing feature, like the refrain, the two lines quoted above, and the real point of the line *denselben wolt es han*, through his change of *denselben* to *derselbe*. Fischart appreciated the humor of this version, as his comically jumbled quotation in the *Truncken Litanei* well shows.<sup>2</sup>

The two rare prints containing our texts A and B bring together again, over the accidents of nearly four hundred years, a song which is a real addition to the body of older German folk poetry, and a humorous variation of it so fresh that the voices of the merry fellows who sang the altered stanzas seem scarcely to have died away.

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<sup>1</sup> E. K. Blümml, *Ludwig Uhlands Sammelband*, Strassburg, 1911, p. 42 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Gargantua* ed. Alsleben, p. 137; *PBBetr.* xxxv, 448.

"MANNYSSH WOOD"—*MERCHANT'S TALE* (IV) 1530-1536

When Justinus advises January to choose a wife as carefully as he would a horse, he lists a number of inquiries to make :

I warne yow wel, it is no childes pley  
To take a wyf withouten avysement.  
Men moste enquire, this is myn assent,  
Wher she be wys, or sobre, or dronkelewe,  
Or proud, or elles ootherweys a shrewe,  
A chidestere, or wastour of thy good,  
Or riche, or poore, or elles mannyssh wood.

The italicized expression is glossed by Robinson "a fierce virago (lit. 'mannish mad')." <sup>1</sup> The *NED.*, citing under its sixth meaning for *mannish* only this passage, interprets the word as follows: "quasi-adv. Like a man. *Obs.*" If we accept the authority of the *NED.*, we must translate *mannyssh wood* as "mad like a man." But this reading will not make sense, unless we take the expression to be a piece of double-edged satire cutting men as well as women. Justinus or the Merchant who reports his words was scarcely capable of such a turn, although a woman might be. In the hands of Robinson and the *NED.* the passage remains a *cruz*, unsupported by parallels.

The true meaning, I believe, is "lustful, mad for men." I shall support this contention with two kinds of evidence, its inappropriateness in context if the accepted meaning be taken, and a group of similar expressions in English and other languages.

From the beginning line 1536 has caused difficulty. Tyrwhitt accepts the impossible reading of MSS. Petworth and Harleian 7334, "a man is wood"; although he observes that Harleian 7335 has "mannishewed" and Cambridge Dd. 4. 24 "mannish wood."<sup>2</sup> Skeat rightly argues that the last reading is correct, and in the notes he takes the expression to mean "with masculine manners, and mad; virago-like" and in the glossary "like a man, boastefully."<sup>3</sup> Robinson and the *NED.* appear, therefore, to rest on the authority of Skeat.

<sup>1</sup> *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston, Mass., 1933, p. 819.

<sup>2</sup> See Thomas Tyrwhitt, *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, London and New York, 1874, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1894, v, 358; vi, 160.

Admittedly when Chaucer uses the word *mannish* at other times he seems to confirm Skeat's opinion. In addition to this passage the Chaucer Concordance<sup>4</sup> cites three others in which the word occurs. In *Meliðee*<sup>5</sup> it means "human, not divine"; in *Troilus*<sup>6</sup> "like a man, awkward and unwomanly"; and in the *Man of Law's Tale*<sup>7</sup> "man-like, harsh and cruel."

But in spite of this weight of authority both from within and without Chaucer's text, it seems to me that the meaning "a fierce virago" is awkward and inadmissible. It assumes that Chaucer, or at least Justinus, was an intolerable repeater of ideas. Twice already (or three times if we accept the medieval connotations of the word *proud* when applied to a woman), in the words "proud, or elles ootherweys a shrew, / A chidestere," the charge that a prospective wife may be a virago has been made.<sup>8</sup> What is more important still, the ubiquitous calumny against women, that they are immoderate in sexual desire, has not yet been cited in this list. Unless the interpretation "lustful, mad for men" or something closely like it be accepted, there is nothing in this passage to equate to such expressions as Deschamps' "salle ou nette"<sup>9</sup> or Theophrastus' "foetida."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> J. S. P. Tatlock and A. G. Kennedy, 1927.

<sup>5</sup> (vii) 1264; see Robinson, p. 849.      <sup>6</sup> i. 282-284.

<sup>7</sup> (ii) 778-784; see Skeat, v, 160.

<sup>8</sup> *Virago* in our modern preferred sense, of course—a humorous exaggeration of the word *shrew*. Chaucer would scarcely imply the limited meaning current in his time—an Amazon.

<sup>9</sup> *Œuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Gaston Raynaud, Paris (Société des Anciens Textes Français), 1878-1903, ix, 53.

<sup>10</sup> Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* i. 47, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxiii (1883), col. 289. There is no proof that one or both of these passages were before Chaucer when he wrote the *Merchant's Tale*, of course. But a strong likelihood exists, as Robinson's notes will testify. The figure of the farm animal up for sale is evidence that Chaucer was at least following a descendant of Theophrastus' passage. There are many such counsels to beware in choosing a wife. Compare, for instance, *Gólas de Coniuge non Ducenda*, ed. Thomas Wright, *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, London (Camden Society, Series i, No. 16), 1841, pp. 77-85, and Lydgate's translation, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken and Merriam Sherwood, London (EETS 192, 1934), ii, 456-460; "I winked, I winked," in Thomas Wright and J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, London, 1845, i, 289; "Man be war or thou knyte the fast," and "3yng man I red that 3e be war," in Thomas Wright, *Songs and*

But the best evidence that such a meaning could have been intended by Chaucer is found in similar expressions scattered over a variety of languages. If this interpretation be accepted, something of an echo may be found in the *House of Fame*:

Yet lat us to the peple seme  
Suche as the world may of us deme  
That women loven us for wod.<sup>11</sup>

"Mannyssh" is the crucial word, however. There are analogous formations in Greek, Latin, Scandinavian, and German. Strangely enough they are also nonce-expressions. The Latin *uirōsus* (usually *uirōsa*, of course) means "mad for men"; according to Ernout and Meillet, it was formed as a humorous parallel to *uinōsus* by Roman comic writers.<sup>12</sup> I have been able to find only four sure cases of its use and one doubtful one: in Lucilius,<sup>13</sup> Afranius,<sup>14</sup> Apuleius,<sup>15</sup> Aulus Gellius,<sup>16</sup> and a suggested emendation in Cato's *De Agri Cultura*.<sup>17</sup> No derivatives of *uirosus* exist to my knowledge in Romance.<sup>18</sup> Professor Alexander Schutz assures me that the failure to find them is not surprising, since *vir* and its compounds are rarely found in Vulgar Latin. Greek, however, has the rare

*Carols*, London (Percy Society), 1848, pp. 34, 43; "Loke, er thin herte be set," in Thomas Wright, *Songs and Carols*, London (Warton Club), p. 27; *The Towneley Plays*, ed. A. W. Pollard and George England, London (EETS 71), 1897, p. 119; Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, London (EETS 72), 1897, p. 61; "The tyme approcheþe of necessite," MS. Harleian 2251, fol. 161r; and, above all, a related passage in *Wife of Bath's Prologue* (III), 285-292 (other parallels cited by Robinson, p. 803).

<sup>11</sup> Lines 1745-1747.

<sup>12</sup> *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine*, Paris, 1932, p. 1070.

<sup>13</sup> *Sat.* vii (282-283), ed. Friedrich Marx, Leipzig, 1904-1905, I, 20.

<sup>14</sup> *Divortium*, fr. viii, in Otto Ribbeck, *Comicorum Romanorum . . . Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 204.

<sup>15</sup> *Met.* ix. 14, ed. Rudolfus Heim, Leipzig, 1931, I, 212.

<sup>16</sup> *Noct. Attic.* vi. 12.5, ed. Karl Hosius, Leipzig, 1903, I, 266 (the one case where the term is applied to a man, which makes the insult all the more telling).

<sup>17</sup> Ch. 157. sect. 11 in Heinrich Keil's edition, Leipzig, 1895, p. 82. Keil does not accept the emendation suggested by Karl Ernst Georges, *Ausführliches Lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1880, II, col. 3155.

<sup>18</sup> See Gustav Körting, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed., Paderborn, 1901, II, coll. 915-916; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911, pp. 715-716.

ecclesiastical forms ἀνδρομανία "lust after men" and the corresponding verb ἀνδρομανέω.<sup>19</sup> And in Old Norse we find the striking parallel *vergiarnastr*, glossed by Neckel "mannstoll."<sup>20</sup> The most informative evidence of these formations exists in German. Not only do we find the adjectives *mannstoll* and *mannsüchtig* with their corresponding nouns, but we also meet the very semantic development of *männisch* which I argue that Chaucer gave to its English cognate. In Josua Maaler's *Die Teutsch Sprach*<sup>21</sup> appears the following passage: "mennisch weiber, uppig und unkeüsch, uber die mannen begirig oder verhetzt, *virosa mulieres*." Morris Heyne who cites this specimen, therefore glosses his third meaning of *männisch* "mannesgierig."<sup>22</sup>

The difficulty which might be urged in the forcing of the meaning "for," "with desire for," out of the suffix *-ish*<sup>23</sup> is overcome by Maaler's German parallel. From modern colloquial English we may cite the adjectival formations *man-crazy* and *boy-crazy*. And perhaps the verb *to bull*, in the second meaning offered by the *NED.*, there applied to the animal<sup>24</sup> but transferred to human beings according to Eric Partridge,<sup>25</sup> will give confirmation that Chaucer could have used *mannyssh wood* in the sense I have indicated, rather than in the impossible sense found in the *NED.*, or in the sense unflattering to Chaucer's style found in Robinson and Skeat.

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<sup>19</sup> H. G. Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, New York, 1883, p. 117.

<sup>20</sup> *Lokasenna* 17 and *Þrymskviða* 13; Gustav Neckel, ed., *Edda*, Heidelberg, 1927, II, 190. Professor F. P. Magoun, Jr., informs me that Modern Icelandic possesses the forms *vergjarn* 'mad after men' and *vergni* 'nymphomania.'

<sup>21</sup> Zürich, 1561.

<sup>22</sup> See his continuation of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Leipzig, 1854 ff., VI (1885), coll. 1594-1595.

<sup>23</sup> The *NED.* (s. v. *-ish*) is not helpful on this point.

<sup>24</sup> See also Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, London, 1898-1905, I, 436.

<sup>25</sup> *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, New York, 1937, p. 104.

"ARCHIMORPHEME" AND "PHONOMORPHEME"

In his recent *Analytic Syntax* Jespersen records (p. 106) a number of definitions of the morpheme, all of which, with the exception of the linguistically irrelevant definition of Noreen, indicate "expressive" units constituted by given phoneme-combinations; whereas he passes over that which comes closest to his own account of the "morphoseme," the definition given by Hjelmslev in his *La Catégorie des Cas*.<sup>1</sup> In Hjelmslev's terminology "les termes de *sémantème* et de *morphème* sont réservés à désigner les unités *formelles*. Les unités *expressives* qui y correspondent sont désignées par les termes de *formatif* et de *formant* respectivement." The opposition of *semantème* and *morphème* as of formative and *formant* does not concern us here, where the morpheme and formative will be regarded as including the other terms of the two pairs respectively. But this treatment of the morpheme as the significative class corresponding to a formal distinction, i. e. the "formal" class in Hjelmslev's sense, rather than the expressive types which realise that class, possesses certain advantages. For the expressive unit we already possess such satisfactory terms as, in English, *formative*. Further the morpheme so defined is the closest significative or conceptual counterpart of the phoneme and the term is thus apt to yield corresponding terminological compounds. The phoneme is the phonic unit which represents the furthest degree of phonological analysis synchronically relevant to the significative side of language,<sup>2</sup> the morpheme would represent the furthest

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Jutlandica VII*, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> In his article "Phonemes and phonological units" (*Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, VI, 235 ff.; cf. the same author's discussion "Can the phoneme be defined in terms of time?" in *Mélanges van Ginneken*) Vachek objects to Skalička's view that the "correlative relation of two phonemes is considered as their private affair which has no bearing on actual speech"; if however we substitute for "on actual speech" "on the morphological system" the statement seems more easily defensible. For though it is true to say with Vachek that "in a pair like *bad : pad* the difference cannot be stated as *b : p*, if it is to be a minimum difference. The minimum difference here is *sonority : 0*," the opposition *b : p* is in the morphological and lexical systems quite on a par with such disjunct oppositions as *b : r*, and if correlative oppositions are there more frequent or more important than disjunct this has historical causes. (The living and morphologically relevant nature of the quantitative vowel-oppositions in



degree of significative (semantic) analysis synchronically relevant to the phonic side of language.

In the question of the application of the term morpheme there is however room for disagreement with Hjelmslev's view, where he continues: "... la désinence latine *-us* de la deuxième déclinaison des adjectifs est un formant, ... qui cumule plusieurs morphèmes, c'est-à-dire plusieurs unités de forme; le morphème de nominatif, ... de singulier, ... de masculin. Chacun de ces morphèmes peut être exprimé par d'autres formants: ainsi le morphème de nominatif peut être exprimé par le formant *-i*. . . ."<sup>3</sup> The nominative and plural are in Latin however categories established by significative or "functional"<sup>4</sup> analysis not here relevant to the system of formatives; the nominative possesses in Latin no expressive characteristics which differentiate this case (in both numbers) from the genitive and which are of greater phonological significance than those differentiating the expressive variants (formatives) of the nominative itself. Only the semantically complex formal types Nom. Sing., Gen. Sing., Nom. Plur. can be said to possess such formal relevance; the formatives realising these morphemes are indeed various, but the variation is less great than that between the formatives of other morphemes and, as a (productive) resemblance persists even through the differences of gender, is not sufficient to rob these classes of morpheme-status.

While the Latin "case-morphemes" are in themselves completely lacking in phonic relevance and therefore by this criterion no genuine morphemes, the categories of number are in so far relevant to the system of formatives that they entail among these certain syncretisms, such as that of Dat. and Abl. Plur. This is paralleled in the phoneme-scheme by the syncretism of the various members of an archiphoneme (e. g. the opposition *b:p* of the archiphoneme

Vedic, where a new phoneme  $\tilde{r}$  seems to have been created on the analogy of other quantitative oppositions (*i:ĩ*, etc.) in the declensional system, is exceptional and seems to demand a special analysis of these oppositions. Moreover the opposition of quantities is that which provides most difficulty with regard to Vachek's "temporal" criterion of phoneme-unity.)

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> More properly this analysis might be termed "sub-functional," as the function, i. e. the faculty of combination with given other morphemes, belongs strictly in the first place to the stem-morpheme or semanteme, cf. Hjelmslev, "Principes de Grammaire Générale," 123 ff.

symbolised by *P*) in a sole paradigmatic function, caused in given combinations (e.g. before following voiceless consonant).<sup>5</sup> The class in which the syncretism of formatives takes place may correspondingly be termed the archi-morpheme. The categories of singular and plural in Latin may thus be said to include, as archi-morphemes, the system of cases, liable to individual syncretisms of expression, which each comprises. The various morphemes tending to be covered by a single formative (Dat. Abl. Plur.) may be said to form a single phono-morpheme, as the phonemes of an archiphoneme which tend to cover a single function are termed morphonemes (morpho-phonemes). As the morphoneme may include the disjunct members of several archiphonemes, so the phono-morpheme may include the disjunct members of several archi-morphemes; while there is no clear example in the Latin declension, the Gen. Sing. and Nom. Acc. Plur. form such a phonomorpheme in the Germanic feminine declension of most earlier dialects.<sup>6</sup>

The claim of the Latin phonomorpheme Dat.-Abl. Plur. to be regarded as the composition of two distinct morphemes is perhaps not greater than that of the Russian gutturals to represent two phonemes (“hard” and “soft”) despite the fact that the variants are not functionally differentiated; the variants are still regarded as distinct (though “supplementary”) phonemes<sup>7</sup> on the basis of the generally functional nature of the hard-soft opposition of consonants in Russian. Such instances of functional identity are rarer than the instances of expressive identity of phonomorphemes. Moreover the morphologically most important of the morphonemes do not show anywhere complete functional equivalence; thus those represented by the IE Ablaut-variations are normally cases of functional identity with regard to stem-morpheme and functional

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Martinet, “Neutralisation et archiphonème,” *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* VI, p. 54 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. H. M. Flasdieck's article in *Indogermansche Forschungen* (XLVIII, 53 ff.) and my comment in the same journal (LIV, 265 ff.).

The various case-groups which in Sanskrit, for example, tend to be represented by case-endings accompanied, in certain declensions, by the “strong” or “weak” forms of the stem, naturally form phonomorphemes; the term of formative including the “phonemic function” (faculty of combining exclusively with certain phoneme-combinations) as the morpheme implies also the grammatical “function.”

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Roman Jakobson, *Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique du russe*, p. 11.

differentiation in respect of inflectional morpheme, or conversely. This fact is in some measure paralleled in the morphological scheme by the asymmetrical dualism of the "sign."<sup>8</sup>

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### SHAKESPEARE AND MILTON

Sir Edmund Chambers, in his *William Shakespeare*,<sup>1</sup> prints an epitaph on Sir Edward Stanley which is attributed to Shakespeare. It appears in a manuscript that was known to Halliwell-Phillipps and ascribed by him to the early part of the reign of Charles I. The manuscript reads:

Shakespeare    An Epitaph on Sr Edward Standly.  
                          Ingraven on his Toombe in Tong Church.

Not monumentall stones preserves our Fame;  
Nor sky-aspiring Piramides our name;  
The memory of him for whom this standes  
Shall outlive marble and defacers hands  
When all to times consumption shall bee given,  
Standly for whom this stands shall stand in Heaven.

This same poem, again attributed to Shakespeare, appears in identical form, except for minor changes in spelling, in another manuscript of the same period.<sup>2</sup> It would thus seem to have been fairly well known, and known as Shakespeare's.

In 1630, at just the time when the poem was in circulation, Milton wrote his lines on Shakespeare:

<sup>8</sup> Cf. V. Skalička: *Asymetrický dualismus jazykových jednotek (Naše řeč, XIX, 6-10)*. For this author the class of morphemes is closely covered by the class of formatives without apparently being identical in nature; thus he speaks of a *Nullmorphem* (*Zur Ungarischen Grammatik*, p. 13) rather than nil-formative though only the *expression* of the morpheme by absence of phoneme is concerned; and it is not apparent what status could be given to the formatives of word-order in his definition of morpheme as "séma [= Jespersen's morphoseme] nebo spojení sémat, která jsou totálně nebo s pomocí jiných morfémů vyjádřena nepřerušenu řadou fonémů."

<sup>1</sup> I, 551.

<sup>2</sup> Described by H. Harvey Wood, "A Seventeenth Century Manuscript of Poems by Donne and Others," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, xvi (1931), 181.

What needs my Shakespeare for his honored bones,  
 The labor of an age in piled stones,  
 Or that his hallowed relics should be hid  
 Under a star-ypointing pyramid?  
 Dear Son of Memory, great heir of Fame,  
 What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name? . . .

The rest of the poem is too familiar to need quotation. The resemblances between "Shakespeare" and Milton are as follows: 1) Both state the uselessness of a monument for preserving the memory of the dead; 2) in both, "fame" and "name" are rhymed; 3) "marble" is mentioned in both, and 4)—most striking of all—the one phrase in "Shakespeare's" poem that has life in it, "sky-aspiring Piramides," is echoed, both in idea and rhythm, by Milton's "star-ypointing pyramid."<sup>3</sup>

The first three resemblances are, of course commonplaces of epitaph poetry. But the last resemblance implies something more. I suggest that Milton knew the epitaph on Stanley, and that when he composed his own epitaph on Shakespeare he was consciously or unconsciously following a poem which, like his contemporaries, he believed Shakespeare himself to have written.

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## DR. JOHNSON'S 1745 SHAKESPEARE PROPOSALS

The fact that in the *Specimen* printed with Dr. Johnson's 1745 Shakespeare *Proposals*<sup>1</sup> the pages are numbered (11 and 12) has led to the belief that part of the text was actually set up at that time.<sup>2</sup> But the specimen given is from *Macbeth*, III, i, 45-72;

<sup>3</sup> These parallels to Milton seem more convincing than those cited by H. W. Garrod, "Milton's Lines on Shakespeare," *Essays and Studies*, XII (1926), 7 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Karl Young, "Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare: One Aspect," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, XVIII (1923), prints a facsimile facing p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 173: "The *Specimen* . . . seems to show that by 1745 Johnson had made substantial progress in his arrangements for the actual printing, for the paper, typography, format, and price had been decided upon, and some part, at least, of "*Macbeth*" had been set up in pages" (my italics).

854 lines precede this passage, and one of the specimen pages will take only thirty-six lines of solid text, without notes. The specimen passage, then, could not have begun on an earlier page than page 25. It seems clear that the pagination in question was chosen at random, and that no other pages were set up.

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### POPE ON THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

It is well known that Pope's famous description in the third Moral Essay of the Duke of Buckingham's death is inaccurate. But it seems to be accepted that Pope departed from what he knew to be the truth in order that poetic justice might be visited on this lord of useless thousands. On the contrary, Pope merely repeated what his age generally believed to be the truth.

This edifying fiction began to circulate within a week of Buckingham's death:

The duke of Bucks, who hath some time supported himself with artificial spirits, on Friday fell to a more manifest decay, and on Sunday yielded up the ghost at Helmesley, in Yorkshire, in a little ale-house (where these eight months he hath been without meat or money, deserted of all his servants almost).<sup>1</sup>

Thus early was it discovered that for Buckingham the wages of sin had been death in an ale-house without benefit of servants. Indeed, even before the event, the duke himself seems to have taken much this view of the circumstances:

To what a situation am I now reduced! Is this odious little hut a suitable lodging for a prince? Is this anxiety of mind becoming the character of a Christian? From my rank I might have expected affluence to wait upon my life; from religion and understanding, peace to smile upon my end; instead of which I am afflicted with poverty, and haunted with remorse; despised by my country, and I fear foresaken by my God! <sup>2</sup>

In 1707 Brian Fairfax, struggling to replace the then well estab-

<sup>1</sup> *The Ellis Correspondence* (London, 1829), I, 275-6, an unknown writer to John Ellis, 23 April 1687.

<sup>2</sup> George Frank, *Ryedale and North Yorkshire Antiquities* (York, 1888), p. 127. It is difficult to believe that Buckingham wrote this letter, but for present purposes the question of its authorship is immaterial.

lished myth with the truth, wrote John Gibson, who had been present with him at the deathbed, and Gibson duly corroborated Fairfax's account.<sup>3</sup> The futility of these efforts is evidenced by the fact that as late as 1786 a correspondent provided *The Gentleman's Magazine* with a highly circumstantial version of the myth.<sup>4</sup> Pope should be freed from the charge of having substantially altered what his age certainly took to be the true history of Buckingham's death.

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### CRABBE AND *TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES*

The conversion to zealous piety of the handsome sensualist, Alec D'Urberville, is one of the striking features of Hardy's best-known novel. Tess, it will be recalled, has been drawn by curiosity to the barn where an ardent preacher is declaiming and finds that he is none other than her seducer, Alec. But after meeting and talking with her again he swings to the opposite extreme of complete scepticism.

It was not necessary to the development of the plot that Alec should have become a zealot; he might as easily have remained as he was the first time Tess met him. It was only needed that he should come into her life again; and this Hardy could have arranged in a dozen simpler ways than the one employed. It seems likely that the novelist remembered a story of the poet, George Crabbe, for whom his wife tells us he had high esteem:

The 150th anniversary of the birth of the poet Crabbe at Aldeborough in Suffolk was celebrated in that town, and Hardy accepted the invitation of Mr. Edward Clodd to be present. There were some very good *tableaux vivants* of scenes from the poems exhibited in the Jubilee Hall, some good lectures on the poet, and a sermon also in the parish church on his life and work, all of which Hardy attended, honouring Crabbe as an apostle of realism who practised it in English literature three-quarters of a century before the French realistic school had been heard of.<sup>1</sup>

Of Crabbe's narrative verse, the most memorable group is that

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 6 Rep. App., p. 467b.

<sup>4</sup> *LVI* (1786), 17.

<sup>1</sup> Florence Emily Hardy, *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy* (New York, 1930), 113-14.

entitled *Tales of the Hall*. One of these, "The Maid's Story," contains the account of Martha and her handsome lover, Frederick. The young man leaves her for what they both believe will be a temporary absence, but Martha neither hears from nor sees him again until, as in the novel, she meets him by accident. Joining her mother in a visit to a sectarian chapel, she is amazed to find that Frederick is the fiery preacher. Like Alec,

. . . of his conversion then  
He told, and labours in converting men,  
For he was chosen all their bands among,  
Another Daniel, honoured, though so young (557-61).

And, again like Alec, he offers to wed her. Martha's reaction is that of Tess, for she "expressed her full disdain," but, as in the novel, "it was given to the man in vain."<sup>2</sup> After the period of a year, Frederick seeks her out again, even as D'Urberville followed Tess to the upland farm, although without allowing so long an interval to elapse.<sup>3</sup> And now, wonderful to relate, Frederick has "fled from superstitious zeal" by "reason and exertion freed"<sup>4</sup> and has lapsed, like Alec, into complete scepticism:

He now conceived that truth was hidden, placed  
He knew not where, she never could be traced (727-28).

He tenders his love again and Martha is another Tess in her refusal of his proffered affection. Frederick, however, is more easily discouraged than Alec, for "He then retired."<sup>5</sup> There are, of course, obvious divergencies in the two stories—for the writers had different purposes—but, in general, they are surprisingly analogous.

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### WHITMAN AND CARLYLE: 1846

Whitman's review of *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* merits accessible reprinting. Published January 31, 1846, in the Brooklyn *Evening Star*, the item antedates by nearly a year

<sup>2</sup> "The Maid's Story," 553-54.

<sup>3</sup> *Tess*, chapter XLVI.

<sup>4</sup> "The Maid's Story," 690-98.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, 729.

the comment hitherto considered to be Whitman's introduction to Carlyle.<sup>1</sup>

Books Worth Reading

Carlyle's *Cromwell*: A dashy, rollicky, most readable book that sets at defiance all the old rules of English composition. It has also another distinguishing difference from nearly all European works relating to that era—the era of the great Cromwell—it *tells the truth*.

W.

No earlier mention of Carlyle by Whitman is known.

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REVIEWS

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*La Crónica de Veynte Reyes. A comparison with the text of the Primera Crónica General and a study of the principal Latin sources.* By THEODORE BABBITT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. Pp. viii + 172.

*The use of auer a and auer de as auxiliary verbs in Old Spanish from the earliest texts to the end of the thirteenth century.* By JOHN ANTHONY STRAUSBAUGH. Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1936. Pp. ix + 189.

*La Cultura y las Letras Coloniales en Santo Domingo.* By PEDRO HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA. Buenos Aires, 1936. Pp. 191 (Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana, Anejo II).

*The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain.* By I. L. McCLELLAND. Liverpool: Institute of Hispanic Studies, 1937. Pp. xii + 402.

*Das Frankreichbild des modernen Spanien.* Von Dr. HANS JURETSCHKE. Druck H. Pöppinghaus, Bochum-Langendreer, 1937. Pp. 159.

<sup>1</sup> The October 17, 1846, Brooklyn *Eagle* notice of *Heroes and Hero-Worship*.



*The Generation of 1398 in Spain as seen through its Fictional Hero.* By KATHERINE P. REDING. Northampton, Mass., 1936. Pp. viii + 125. (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. xvii, Nos. 3-4.)

Entering a field in which the name of Menéndez Pidal has been predominant for decades, Mr. Babbitt, in a well-presented enlargement of his Yale dissertation, examines the relationship between the still unpublished *Crónica de Veynte Reyes*, so-called, and the *Primera Crónica General*. Comparing the two chronicles in contents, arrangement, technique and style with their acknowledged main sources, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and Lucas de Tuy, the author concludes that the CVR is not a homogeneous work: with the accession of Alfonso VII its character changes, and indications of its having been composed before the PCG are reversed. The facts of this change will be admitted and their discovery credited to the author, but their significance depends on certain assumptions of which the crucial one (previously elaborated by the author in *HR.*, II, 1934, pp. 203 ff.) is the following: "one way of judging the relative antiquity of two works is by comparing the stage of development of legendary material found in the two texts" (p. 4). Perhaps "popular stories pass through growth and decay as do living organisms," but a glance at the formulas of tales in Bolte-Polívka, although they ignore chronology, is sufficient to show that one story may show widely varying stages of development at approximately the same time even in a very limited territory. One may in general consider a more complex form as in itself probably younger than a simpler one, but to decide anything about texts in which these forms occur on this basis alone, without a great deal of confirmatory evidence, would certainly be unwise. Only in the complete absence of contradictory evidence and 'faute de mieux' may such a conclusion be accepted, and with that understanding the reader may grant the author that at least the first part of the CVR, in spite of the lateness of its manuscripts, may antedate the PCG. The whole process may not have followed exactly the author's outline (cf. p. 163), and a detailed comparison with the *Crónica de 1344* and the *Crónica de Castilla* still remains to be made, but one question of relative position has been carefully studied on the basis of all evidence available, and we are that much nearer now to the solution of a complicated problem.

Mr. Strausbaugh's Chicago dissertation (in typescript) is a somewhat anxious study of *auer a* and *auer de*, and incidentally just *auer*, with the infinitive, in Spanish prose before 1300. Having faithfully reviewed the literature of the general Romance problem from Nebrija to Eva Seifert, the author discusses an abundant set of data and reaches a series of conclusions which may lack novelty, but are unquestionably sound. Cicero's *habere* with the

infinitive, from expressing ability or possibility, has come to express first necessity (as early as Seneca), then merely future time; subsequently *habere ad*, originally expressing purpose, then *habere de*, have been used for necessity or future time, or merely to serve as flexional auxiliaries. The author's grasp of the subject is best shown where the validity of more general theories can be tested by his increased knowledge in the Spanish field, and his conscientious inclusiveness is illustrated in his treatment of such comparatively rare constructions as *haber de* or *haber a* to express imminence (p. 101 ff., 177 ff.) or *tener de* to imply a threat or resolution (p. 18).

Ranging from Columbus to the French Revolution, Professor Pedro Henríquez Ureña, the distinguished hispanist now sojourning at Buenos Aires, has produced what should be a definitive study of culture and letters in Colonial Santo Domingo. The small island-colony never became economically productive, and the first wave of conquerors, which brought amazing splendor of learning and letters in the first half of the sixteenth century, flowed on to Mexico and Peru, and left Santo Domingo poor and proud, slowly decaying yet high in prestige, until in 1795, becoming French, it scattered its *emigrados*, in almost final largesse, over Cuba and Puerto Rico, Venezuela and Colombia. The universities and convents, bishops and archbishops, friars and laymen are given most scholarly individual attention. It is often difficult, nor is it necessary, jealously to draw the line between properly native contributions to letters, and the gifts of transiently adopted sons or of merely appreciative visitors; the author has sensibly thrown his net as wide as possible, and great or important names appear in his list: Las Casas and Oviedo, Tirso, Valbuena, Eugenio de Salazar, some others perhaps doubtful,<sup>1</sup> some merely curious, such as the strange Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán.<sup>2</sup> The chapters are brief and well-written (there are some excellent paragraphs on Valbuena), judiciously resisting patriotic enthusiasm; the notes are full and exact. Altogether this is indeed an excellent book, the kind of book on which a future history of Spanish-American letters can be safely and adequately built.

There are at least two reasons for a renewed interest in Spanish Romanticism: one is that our dehumanized art may wish to look for balance to the personalized world of even Meléndez Valdés; the other is that the traditional picture of the 'Romantic School,' once

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no sufficient reason to include Micael de Carvajal, author of the *Tragedia Josephina*. Professor Henríquez here admits a doubt ('salvo que la identificación falle,' p. 57) but in a recent note (*RFE.*, xxii, 1936, 410), for reasons not mentioned, he seems to have gained greater assurance.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 81. As was noted in *HR.*, v (1937), 203, the published manuscript is not complete. Simpson's study was preceded by an interesting essay of F. A. Kirkpatrick, *The First Picaresque Romance*, *BSS.*, v (1928), 147-154.

conceived on the elaborate French scale, complete with 'program,' 'battle' and 'triumph,' has come to be evaluated with closer regard for its ephemeral and amorphous reality. That makes it advisable to re-survey the approaches. It is still true that a Spanish writer's romanticism may be simply his spontaneous preference for imagination over reason, as in Lope; or it may be a nationalistic reaction against French or Italian Neo-Classicism or, finally, the expression of the international Romanticism which swept over Europe in the early nineteenth century. Miss I. L. McClelland, Assistant in Spanish at the University of Glasgow, is mainly concerned with the second type and, naturally, with the eighteenth century. In the field of literary theory, necessarily in the tracks of Menéndez y Pelayo, it seems hardly worth while to rehabilitate the 'pestilent Nipho' in over twenty pages when Feijóo rates only five. Moreover, contrary to the author's belief (p. 156), even mediocre criticism must be estimated against its international background, and the traces of nationalistic sympathies in Luzán, for example, can hardly be correctly gauged without reference to Muratori. There is no mention of Professor Robertson's *Studies in the Genesis of Romantic theory* on this point, no specific reference in the text to Pellissier's *Neo-classic movement in Spain* or to Professor Cano's recent edition of Luzán. Evidences of 'romantic tendencies' in drama, prose fiction and the lyric, faithfully gathered in the second and third part of the book and carefully arranged, lead to final reassurance about a fact never really doubted, that the eighteenth century, below its pseudo-classicistic upper level, preserved a popular substratum. Miss McClelland's study will be useful and is easy to consult; eventual illumination of its very many facts remains a pious wish.

Starting from the end of the Romantic period, Dr. Hans Juretschke has painstakingly and very fairly catalogued the opinions of leading Spanish writers about France. "Gerade weil man Frankreich fast allgemein als einen Gegenpol empfindet, untersucht man es stets von neuem, um daran des eigenen Seins und seiner Bedingtheit gewisser und bewusster zu werden" (p. 73). Hence we find what "Dr. García" called 'la oposición y conjunción de los dos grandes luminaires de la tierra,' not only among the nations, but within the consciousness of many writers. The great question, recognized already in Durán's *Discurso* (1828), was how to be in contact with French culture without being bewitched or overwhelmed by it. This book is not a study of French influence in Spain: even with Miss Strong's recent bibliography, Delpy's *Feijóo*, Rubio's *Crítica del galicismo* and other forthcoming studies, this would be premature. In the meantime we have here the record of the spiritual attitude of at least ten important Spaniards toward France, ranging from the profound antipathy of Menéndez y Pelayo, through the love-and-hate complex of Baroja, to the quasi-

infatuation of Azorín. The other main figures considered are Valera and Clarín, and after 1898 Unamuno, Ortega y Gasset, Eugenio d'Ors and Madariaga. But why include Castelar and ignore Benavente? The criterium (p. 74) is not very clear: a 'konkretes Bild Frankreichs' is necessary, one must "eigentlich Frankreich erlebt [haben]." Only when there is a satisfactory monograph, such as Mulertt's on Azorín (or, in the case of Madariaga, when nearly all proceeds from one book), can these fragmentary notations be properly fitted into their background. In too many cases, with all the author's zeal, the absence of such monographs for Valera and Clarín, the difficulty of procuring the early writings of Azorín or 'Xenius,' even in Spain, has been a handicap and yet it is striking to what an extent the essential personality of those here considered—even Ortega's—lies involved in their relation to France. As a judicious 'Materialsammlung' this study will be welcome: its planning is sound, its presentation competent, and its contemplated Spanish enlargement may produce a more successful integration, but its present conclusion seems inadequate. Weighing and balancing these imponderabilia, the validity and representative importance of these opinions, can lead only to an approximation. Even so, on the basis of the author's own evidence, it seems unjustified to say that a favorable attitude toward France before 1900 has now been completely changed (p. 148). The relationship between the two countries is a complex and twisted and often contradictory one. Perhaps it is true on the whole that French influence before 1936 did not seem to be and in reality no longer was the dominant one, yet the strongest impression left with this reviewer by a re-reading of all the evidence offered here was the power of France to compel even unwilling admiration and love from the world's most stubborn individualists, men like Menéndez y Pelayo and Valera, Baroja and Unamuno. And it would be difficult to forget the implications as well as the words of Ortega's outburst of admiration in November, 1918.

Miss Reding's study inevitably calls to mind Hans Jeschke's *Die Generation von 1898 in Spanien* (1934). A great deal has been written, especially in Germany, about the concept of 'generations,' from diverse points of view, including that of literary history. Outside Germany the idea has received little attention, except in Spain, where Ortega y Gasset, steeped in German learning, was known to be intensely interested in it. Perhaps it was this interest on the part of Spain's latter-day mentor which threw into such sharp relief the denial by Ramiro de Maeztu, and especially by Pío Baroja, that they belonged to the 'Generation of 1898,' or that there even was such a 'generation.' Most people will be inclined to consider this denial in Maeztu's case as a reactionary's impatience with a liberal group, in Baroja's as the natural petu-

lance of an exacerbated individualist—but now that the term ‘generation’ has acquired in Germany a complex of technical connotations, what seems to have been a perfectly harmless designation applied by Azorín to a group of his Spanish friends has tended to become a focus of active controversy. Forgetting that in 1912 or ’13, in spite of Ottokar Lorenz (1886; 1891) and even Kummer (1909), the term ‘generation’ had in Spain no particular implication beyond that of age-group,<sup>3</sup> certain critics have come to ask, with somewhat pathetic anxiety, whether the ‘Generation of 1898’ is really a generation according to the gospel of Pinder, Peterson and Hoppe, and dissertations—Jeschke’s, Miss Reding’s—are being written to supply the answer. Jeschke’s, though arbitrary as a whole, has excellent parts, not the least the study of the linguistic traits of the group, his main criterium; Miss Reding’s, while also an attempt to answer a superfluous question, is in the main a carefully-documented and well-presented study of the fictional heroes of Gánivet, Unamuno (both excluded by Jeschke), Azorín, Baroja and Valle Inclán, and thereby of the spirit of their creators. That these fictional heroes are shown to be “kindred spirits, moved by similar preoccupations, alike in their attitude toward society as in their conception of life” is an interesting fact in itself—while the use of this fact to substantiate the existence of the ‘Generation of 1898’ seems to this reviewer regrettable or at best a matter of indifference. Indeed, German scholars concerned in this matter of ‘generations,’ unable to establish their duration or periodicity, seem to have returned to the flexible concept of cultural age-groups, much as Goethe, Ranke or Dilthey understood them. Free from positivistic pedantry this apparently simple notion is sufficiently fascinating in itself, largely unexplored and perhaps of transcendent importance, being nothing less, as Ortega y Gasset rightly put it, than ‘the dynamic fusion of mass and individual.’ In other words, the important question is not: “When does a group deserve to be called a generation?” but, given a more or less coherent cultural age-group: “What happens to each member of the group to make it something else than the mere sum of its members?” and “What is the composition of the group-mind, apart from what can be traced to each individual?” The first question may be answered in the future; for answering the second, Miss Reding’s study, although confused by its controversial concern, has provided some valuable indications.

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<sup>3</sup> Azorín’s articles, first published in *ABC*, were reprinted in *Clásicos y modernos* in 1913, but the term ‘generation’ could hardly have had a more specialized meaning to him than it has e. g. in Azafía’s *Tres generaciones del Ateneo*.

*The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre.* Vol. I: Text of the Arsenal and Venice Versions. Prepared with an introduction and commentary by MILAN S. LA DU. Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 495. \$5.00. (Elliot Monographs, Vol. 36). Vol. II: Version of Alexandre de Paris: Text. Edited by E. C. ARMSTRONG, D. L. BUFFUM, BATEMAN EDWARDS, L. F. H. LOWE. Princeton, 1937. Pp. xxiv + 358. \$4.00. (Elliott Monographs, Vol. 37).

Paul Meyer in his *Alexandre le Grand* wrote: "il m'a fallu . . . faire une très longue étude préparatoire pour assurer des résultats qui sont . . . indiqués en quelques pages." The nature of the Alexander material is such that only a long preliminary study can assure any synthesis likely to be definitive. Thus, although the vast undertaking at Princeton is progressing as quickly as could be expected, it is only with volume II of the *Roman d'Alexandre* (the Introduction to which should be read before proceeding with the earlier volumes in the series) that the first elements of a synthesis begin to emerge. Here the stages in the formation of the Alexander romances are analyzed and the rôles played by Albéric, Lambert and the more recent versions are revealed. Here, too, are laid down the wise principles adopted in the editing of the various texts (pp. xviii ff.).

Obviously, it is as yet impossible to judge the results obtained by the present collaborative enterprise. Such phrases as "this is a problem reserved for a later study" recur with great frequency. Indeed, most of the material likely to interest the average student is still unavailable: discussions of ultimate sources and origins, a study of the relation of the Alexander romances to their times and to the other romances based on classical themes, of their contributions to contemporary and subsequent literature, etc. Even the notes, variants, glossaries and other linguistic apparatus necessary to an understanding of the texts published in the two volumes under consideration are not yet printed. Volume I, p. vi states: "numerous errors or obscurities [in the Arsenal and Venice texts] can be readily clarified by a comparison with the corresponding passage in the other versions." The reader may well feel on seeing this statement that the editors have left a rather generous share of their task to him. But subsequent volumes will doubtless assemble and interpret the *dissecta membra* being published at present, and students will then have available to them the intimate knowledge that, it is apparent, the editors have been laboriously acquiring.

Meanwhile we have been given minute and exhaustive descriptions of the paleographical details of the manuscripts and faithful reproductions—so far as one can judge—of the texts. The wisdom of placing texts A and B side by side must be questioned, how-

ever: nothing is gained by the arrangement, since the two texts vary so greatly that, after the first few *laisses*, corresponding passages are not within sight of each other; and, on the other hand, much is lost. The reading of texts chopped up in this manner is always unpleasant; moreover, since B is much longer than A, the pages opposite B not required for A have either been left blank or been filled in with miscellaneous matter, some of which properly belonged at the beginning of the book (the commentary on A, for example). Indeed in Volume I little is done to facilitate the researches of the student: abbreviated proper names are left unexpanded, no running titles are furnished, the table of contents is meager, and, although the language of the scribes of A is discussed (unexpectedly and incompletely on the left-hand pages beginning with p. 376), that of B is neglected.<sup>1</sup>

Awkwardness of arrangement and incompleteness, however, are probably unavoidable penalties of collaboration. If a considerable part of the knowledge of the editors still remains inaccessible, if we seem at present to have been offered too much undigested paleographical material and too little interpretation of the literary and linguistic significance of the texts, future volumes may be confidently expected to make good the omissions.

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*Anatole France 1844-1896.* By EDWIN PRESTON DARGAN. New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xxxiv + 729. \$5.00.

This attractive and well-illustrated volume covers the life of Anatole France to 1896, the year of his election to the Académie Française. The author justifies his concluding his work at that point by his statement: "the greater part of Anatole France's utterances after our line of division was anticipated by what he had written earlier." While Mr. Dargan does not completely disregard the remaining twenty-eight years of his subject's life, the reader

<sup>1</sup> Other instances could be cited of information withheld from the student that he might reasonably have expected to find in this volume. On p. xv, we are told that "a cedilla with *c* is sometimes present in both B and A, frequently in conflict with present use of *ç*," but we are not informed as to the circumstances in which this cedilla is found or what its meaning may be. On p. xvi, it is stated that the abbreviation *ch'r* is resolved as *chivalier*, but the reason for this resolution is not given. In A, line 30, we find the word *ger* (apparently = *chier*), but nothing in the section on A's language explains this form. Even in vol. II, information available to the editors is kept from the reader: why do they prefer to locate Elberich von Bisenzûn in Pisançon rather than in Briangon or elsewhere? A note appraising the numerous discussions of this subject or at least indicating the basis for their own decision would have been welcome.

would welcome a more detailed discussion of some of the distinguished productions of this period, such as *L'île des pingouins*, *Les dieux ont soif*, and parts of the *Histoire contemporaine*.

Within the limits imposed by the author, this biography gives a detailed and illuminating account of the many elements that made up the complicated and fascinating being known as Anatole France. It treats fully his life from many points of view—racial traits, family, friends, social transformation, travels, education, career as man and author. It goes fully into the “triumph of Madame de Caillavet,” the woman who so deeply affected his career and his work. It discusses such formative elements as the abiding influence of classical antiquity on him, his judgments of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors, his admiration of Renan, the undying fascination exercised on him by the supernatural, the sympathetic interest felt in the simple-minded and the lowly by this sophisticated mind. It admits his whimsical and contradictory sides, it also shows that this “sceptic,” “hedonist,” “dilettante,” “pessimist,” had “plenty of affirmations,” among others “the hatred of ugliness, the horror of suffering.” It traces his evolution from the period of borrowing and imitation to the “maturity and sophistication” of a later period. It discusses the poet, the critic, the historian, the fiction-writer, the stylist, the thinker.

Mr. Dargan does not worship Anatole France blindly. He aims at giving an “impartial evaluation.” He admits that at one time Anatole France’s fame was perhaps too high, but he rightly rebels against the denigration and vilification that have pursued him in later years and hails the dawn of a fairer appreciation. He justly concludes that “our author has entered into the ranks of the enduring French classics.” For the admirers of Anatole France, and they are still many, this book, with its scholarly treatment and its exhaustive bibliographies, is indispensable.

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*Five French Farces* (1655-1694?). A critical edition by H. CARINGTON LANCASTER, assisted by members of his seminary, 1935-1937. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. 141.

Two of these *Farces*, *Merlin gascon*, by Jacques Raisin, played twenty-three times (1690-1691), and the anonymous *Docteur amoureux*, played by the Italian troupe at about the same period, have never before appeared in print. The other three *Farces*, *L'Amant ridicule* by Boisrobert, *L'apothicaire dévalisé* by Villiers and *Le gentilhomme guespin* have each been published but once, in



1655, 1660, and 1670 respectively, and hence have been practically inaccessible to students of French dramatic literature.

While the farce had long been a popular feature of theatrical programs during the first three or four decades of the seventeenth century in France, its licentiousness and its crudities of language had prevented it from receiving recognition as a literary genre. An attempt to elevate this dispeller of the gloom of tragedy and of the seriousness of tragi-comedy began to make itself felt not long after the middle of the century and developed rapidly after the début of Molière in Paris. The *Five Farces*, edited by Professor Lancaster, serve, as he states in the Introduction (p. 7): "to illustrate the history of French seventeenth century farce in the first forty years after it acquired enough fame to be considered worthy of publication."

The fact that *L'Amant ridicule* of Boisrobert first appeared on the stage as a *comédie représentée dans le Ballet du Roy*, while lending it a certain prestige, called for the element of *politesse* which had been lacking in previous farces. The intentions of the characters are honorable and its language contains nothing incompatible with the salon conversation of the period. Indeed its hero, Léandre, *a leu dans Balzac, il a leu dans Voiture*.

*L'apothicaire dévalisé* illustrates still more clearly this fusion of literary and farcical qualities. Its actor-author, Villiers, disdained to dedicate it to a protector *parmy les Grands* and depends entirely upon the generosity of the public. He characterizes it in his preface as *cette petite comédie burlesque*, perhaps to forestall having it called a farce.

Donneau de Visé's *Le gentilhomme guespin* is a lively representation of provincial types and provincial manners. Its kinship with *Monsieur de Porcelain* and *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas* is quite apparent. The statement in the preface: *Il y a un perpétuel jeu muet dans cette pièce*, suggests the acceptance of the Italian technique of the Commedia dell'Arte in the presentation of this form of dramatic entertainment.

*Merlin Gascon*, first of the two plays hitherto unpublished was the last of four one act farces written by Jacques Raisin, an actor of La Comédie Française (1684-1694). The 77 performances accorded to his four plays between 1686 and 1693 is evidence of their popularity. *Le docteur amoureux* like the above is in prose and belongs very clearly to the type of farce written in French to be played by Italian actors before Parisian audiences. Its unknown author may be considered a pioneer in a development of the drama which was to achieve considerable distinction some twenty or thirty years later.

Professor Lancaster has shown in his *French Dramatic Literature of the seventeenth Century* (Part III, p. 269) that, between 1659 and 1662, the one act farce was the most popular form of dramatic composition. Twenty-four of the thirty-seven comedies

produced during this period are in this form. The publication of the *Five Farces* furnishes texts which enable us to follow stage by stage the development of this genre of dramatic entertainment which until now has received very little if any attention from historians of French Literature.

[I take this opportunity to call attention to the article of B. A. Morrisette, published above, which establishes the source of *le Docteur amoureux*, and to make known the fact that the Latin proverb that constitutes v. 480 of *l'Apoticaire dévalisé* is also found in Rabelais, *Tiers Livre*, Chap. xxxiv, from which Villiers in all probability borrowed it, as the two lines coincide word for word.—H. C. L.]

COLBERT SEARLES

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*Milton and Wordsworth, Poets and Prophets.* By SIR HERBERT J. C. GRIERSON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. x + 185. \$2.50.

*Milton's Projected Epic on the Rise and Future Greatness of the Britannic Nation.* By H. MUTSCHMANN. Tartu: J. G. Kruger, 1937. Pp. 87. \$1.70.

*Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in Samson Agonistes.* By WILLIAM RILEY PARKER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 260. \$2.50.

Grierson's book (which devotes but one chapter to Wordsworth) sets out to describe a kind of poetry he calls prophetic and to estimate how far Milton's poetry was of this kind. There are poets, he holds, who, grasping intuitionally notions beyond their conscious reasoning faculties, express them in poetic or oracular form. Their notions are beyond 'the thought and feeling of the society in which they live, the civilization which has shaped their minds and hearts.' On the other hand they do not merely utter their own private and unique feelings. They have a new message for that society whose thought and feeling they are *not* expressing: men in advance of their age, groping for something they know not consciously what, and saying it brokenly though impressively and as if burdened with the weight of their message. Such were the Hebrew prophets, such in England Blake, Burke, and Carlyle. Up to the Revolution Milton was essentially the artist, not fraught with any prophetic message. With the Revolution he was dazzled by the vision of an England reformed into a state of pristine

Apostolic purity and of himself as the prophet-poet of a regenerate England. Parts of the early pamphlets are in the true prophetic vein. The course of events quickly curtailed the full range of his prophetic ambitions. But the original urge persisted till *Defensio Secunda* with its praise of Cromwell and other Parliamentary leaders. By the time of the long poems the urge was dead. *Paradise Lost* was in subject the product of Milton's reason. Its greatness is artistic. *Samson* is great, less for its prophetic message than for its weight of personal emotion.

The general discussion of prophetic poetry is of the highest interest, but Milton's failure (according to Grierson) to fulfill the rôle of prophet-poet weakens the interest of the main theme as applied to Milton. The climax of the book is negative rather than positive. However, the book is notable in other ways. It is written with a freshness of spirit and an ease in the manipulation of great learning that make it a delight to read. It also contains a wealth of important detail quite impossible to do justice to in a short review. Here are two items. Grierson gives the best brief summary of Milton's Protestantism I know (pp. 41-3). And he puts up the best defence I know of Milton against recent detraction.

I am not altogether happy about Grierson's insistence on Milton's artistry, as it suggests a narrowing of Milton's interests which I am sure Grierson cannot really mean. On two points I venture to disagree. I doubt if the prophetic note of the early pamphlets is really so new. Surely it is there in the Lady's reply to Comus and in *Lycidas*. And I doubt if Milton kept up his idea of a national historical poem till *Defensio Secunda* (1654). The topical passages in the first four books of the *History of Britain* show that by the years 1646-8 he had lost faith in the generality of his countrymen. With that faith he probably discarded the idea of making Britain the theme of his great poem.

Mutschmann's book has two aims: first to prove that Milton's first pamphlet, *Of Reformation in England*, was indebted to an anonymous pamphlet called *Great Britain's Ruin plotted by seven Sorts of Men*; second, to define the nature of Milton's intended poem on the British people. I do not think the evidence Mutschmann adduces proves any connection between the two pamphlets beyond the common background of the year 1641; and any evidence of dates could be made to favour the priority of Milton's work as well as the other way round. The most useful work Mutschmann has done in this field is to reprint the anonymous pamphlet. His second theme yields more interesting results. He is quite right in insisting that Milton on his return from Italy and after the failure described in *Epitaphium Damonis* did not abandon the notion of a British epic; and he is quite justified in trying to piece together the material Milton would have used. The gist of his theory (and it is a plausible theory) is that the ecstatic prayer in *Animadver-*

sions, beginning 'In this age, Britons, God hath reformed his church . . .', conceals an outline of Milton's plot. This would have been: the five invasions of Britain, beginning with Brutus; the Reformation, with its foreshadowing in Wyclif; the Armada and the Gunpowder Plot; Britain's glorious future. Mutschmann is too dogmatic, but he may be right in thinking that some such subject was contemplated by Milton at the time. Only those who accept this author's previous reading of Milton's character will agree that the poem would have been a fanatical Messianic outburst, prompted by the meanest motives of self-interest. Common sense suggests that it would have embodied the British material of Spenser and the present hopes in the strict epic form of Virgil and Tasso.

Parker plots out Milton's debt to the Greeks in the mechanism of *Samson Agonistes* and argues that the tragedy is truly Greek in spirit. This is the most thorough treatment of these subjects hitherto, and on the whole Parker makes good his contentions. He concludes that, though Milton owed specific debts to *Prometheus Bound* and *Oedipus at Colonus*, his general debt was divided between the three Greek dramatists, being complex and ubiquitous. Apart from the detail that he might have made more of *Hercules Furens*, I accept and welcome his findings under this head. As to presentation it is a pity he did not relegate the more detailed and statistical parts to an appendix. The book would then have a stronger appeal to the general reader; for its methods are by no means merely mechanical but reveal a true insight and sensitiveness. An instance of insight take this remark on Milton's choice of a biblical subject: 'He went for his story exactly where Aeschylus would probably have gone, had Aeschylus been a Christian and an Englishman in the year 1670 A. D.'

His effort to prove the spirit of the play to be Hellenic succeeds. He has refuted Richard Jebb. His chapter on irony, which he shows to be even more pervasive in *Samson* than usually realised, and that on Fate are admirable. Parker makes good the difficult contention that the Greek and Miltonic conceptions of Fate are the same. On the other hand, when he gives a list of the qualities of Greek tragedy (seriousness, thoughtfulness etc.) and proceeds to find them in Milton, he proves very little, because all these qualities could be found in, for instance, certain oriental drama. Parker does not treat of the Greek and Miltonic conceptions of sin and individual responsibility. And it is here that I think Milton un-Hellenic. As a whole this is a thorough, intelligent piece of work, with really new stuff in it. As a book it would have been better if the text had been severely curtailed.

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*A Catalogue of Papers Relating to Boswell, Johnson & Sir William Forbes Found at Fettercairn House, a Residence of the Rt. Hon. Lord Clinton, 1930-31.* By CLAUDE COLLEER ABBOTT. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1936. Pp. xxviii + 258. \$7.00.

*Index to the Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle in the Collection of Lt.-Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham.* Compiled by FREDERICK A. POTTLE with the assistance of JOSEPH FOLADARE, JOHN P. KIRBY and others. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xx + 360. \$21.00.

No testimonial is needed here to the importance of Professor Abbott's discovery of some 1600 papers from Boswell's "archives" and those of Sir William Forbes. The circumstances of the amazing find are told with understandable excitement in the introduction to this handsome and painstaking catalogue. A full reconstruction of the events which led to the separation of these Boswellian private papers from the others will doubtless be made in time. Meanwhile, in view of the last year's yield from Malahide Castle, writers must grow wary of making confident statements about the permanent loss of Boswellian documents. This review attempts only, on the basis of Professor Abbott's concise summaries in the *Catalogue*, to point to a few high spots of interest and usefulness in what has been found at Fettercairn House.

The holograph letters of Johnson number 119, most of which have been to the printer with the manuscript of the *Life*. Seventy-one of the letters were published entire by Boswell, thirty were presented in part, and eighteen are quite unpublished. The unpublished letters range in date from 24 October 1770 to 6 November 1784 and are largely concerned with symptoms and treatments. Those with most promise of other interest are Nos. 1548-9, sent to Nollekens with the epitaph for Goldsmith's monument, Nos. 1521 and 1532, to Bennet Langton, with references to Boswell and Goldsmith, and two affectionate notes to Lucy Porter (Nos. 1554 and 1561), the later of which echoes the phrasing of Johnson's letter of the same day (31 July 1784) to Dr. Brocklesby. The cataloguer's summaries hint at no startlingly new disclosures to be found in these letters; it appears that Boswell selected from them wisely. The other papers from Johnson's own hand are the list of books drawn up for the Reverend Daniel Astle (No. 1594) and Boswell's copy of *The Convict's Address* with Johnson's markings of the parts composed by Dr. Dodd himself (No. 1597).

Among the much greater number of Boswellian documents pride of place belongs to the three journals. The earliest, that of 15

November 1762 to 4 August 1763, has been in part foreshadowed by the memoranda on which it is based, No. 3 of the Malahide papers. But from 14 November to 26 December such notes, as well as letters, are lacking. "Important" is a feeble word to apply to this full record of Boswell's early acquaintance with the delights of London and of the first few weeks of his friendship with Johnson. Apart from its primary value it will provide the close student with an interesting comparison to the records from 24 May 1764 to 30 January 1765 (Boswell Papers, Nos. 4-6), which preserve both memoranda and full journal. The Fettercairn journal for 20 March to 23 May 1778 is a rough draft in Boswell's abbreviated way of writing. Its loose leaves "tally" exactly with No. 55 of the Malahide papers and supply the hitherto missing record of London and Johnson for that spring. The scarcity of extant letters by Boswell for the two months accentuates the value of this second journal. The third and least significant is the journal of the Northern Circuit for 1 to 29 July 1788, when Boswell was neglecting the *Life of Johnson*, wondering whether he was right in leaving his ailing wife, and finding few briefs. Although of less intrinsic interest than the other two, it bridges a part of the longest gap in the journals since 1771 and gives a core of material for the story of this unhappy and slightly documented autumn.

A tool of the greatest value will be provided by the two registers of letters sent and received by Boswell from June 1769 to August 1782 (Nos. 1364-5). They will furnish an outline of his voluminous correspondence which will not merely indicate what proportion of his letters has been recovered but will undoubtedly set authentic dates in place of some now conjectural and, by means of the brief summaries included, give working substitutes for many letters not otherwise known. It should be noted that the similar register recently acquired by Lt.-Col. Ralph Isham from Malahide carries on the record of these two, summarizing September 1782 and continuing in full from 25 September 1782 to October 1790.

Of the more than a thousand letters to Boswell the central place is taken by those of Temple, 160 in number and at least a good majority of all he ever addressed to his great friend. From 1766 to 1785 they run in nearly unbroken series, indicating the steady continuation of the correspondence through such years as 1771-4 and 1777-8, for which Boswell's letters to Temple have not been found. Only after 1785 does the sequence fail and the balance of letters without extant answers shift to Boswell's side. The latest letter from Temple is that of 3 November 1794. Temple appears throughout as the more faithful writer and as respondent to the issues opened by Boswell, who definitely takes the lead in the choice of subjects.

The 287 drafts or copies of letters from Boswell to more than 140 different recipients are the next best thing to a wholesale recovery of actual Boswell letters. That surprisingly few of them

are duplicated by letters already published makes them a very good next best indeed. In large part they dovetail neatly with the letters to Boswell which are preserved, and cross-reference to the first two sections of the *Catalogue* discloses many a little chapter of biography, that of the packet marked "Divryana," for instance, which adds Mlle. Divry to the list of those who awoke Boswell's gallantry and shows how he spent some of his time in the "unjournalized" summer of 1791. One finds also the letters which settled, not quite perfectly, the misunderstanding between Boswell and Burke in February 1786.

The forty-one original letters of Boswell to Sir William Forbes and the thirty-three from Forbes to Boswell give both sides of a correspondence covering twenty years and of significance proportionate to its length. Whatever the final verdict on his conduct as literary executor, Forbes will emerge from a study of these letters as a constant friend and wise counsellor, fully deserving of Boswell's tribute in the *Tour*. For the interest of the Boswell letters one example must serve here: the letter of 24 February 1777 sent with the Hebrides Journal, Forbes's answer to which appears near the end of the published *Tour*.

Much more of high interest must go unmentioned. When the ownership of the Boswellian papers, now *sub judice*, has been established and their text made available, they will notably increase the already unparalleled materials for the great biography that will some day be written.

The *Index* to the Boswell Papers from Malahide prepared by Professor Pottle and his assistants is as impressive as it is welcome. The seven hundred columns of compact but legible print fill one with admiration alike of the compilers' industry and of the breadth of Boswell's acquaintance and experience. Of the 6500 personal names many are little known to fame; the volume gives quick refutation to whatever is left of the charge that Boswell was only a snobbish seeker-out of the great. The names which require the longest articles, his own and Johnson's excepted, are those of his father, his wife, Burke, Paoli, Lord Bute, Lord Monboddo, Temple, Reynolds, and Malone. At the other end of the scale of importance are the names of hundreds of worthy and unworthy people of whom Boswell found something to record. The indexers have identified and placed a creditably high proportion of these, and query signs are infrequent.

The virtues of an index are accuracy, completeness, consistency, and convenience. The first and last of these the work possesses in a high degree. A check of several hundred entries (including the large and perplexing clan of the Campbells) shows very few errors of reference. The arrangement of material in the longer analyzed articles justifies in use the care and judgment bestowed on it. The presence of a comma after a name entry to indicate (usually) the objective case soon becomes familiar to the reader and permits com-

pactness of expression without ambiguity. Only in the completeness and consistency of the treatment of place-names does there appear to be cause for complaint. A few instances may be given from those noted principally in the examination of selected portions of Volumes iii, viii, and xiii.

The casual mention of a place usually but far from invariably results in an entry in the *Index*. There are thirteen references to "Glasgow, mentioned," but none to xiii. 9. "Skye" has seven references, but none to xiii. 27. "The Hague" has four, but none to ii. 2, 48, 106, 131, or iii. 104 or xiii. 55. Brighthelmston, mentioned at viii. 106, is not to be found. The mention of Spain at iii. 12 is recorded, but not those at iii. 133 and ix. 74, although "french and spanish fleets" at xiii. 281 gets an entry under "Spain." "Perth" is included from xii. 40, but not from iii. 150. Two striking cases are "The Poultry," not indexed from viii. 114 although the reference is of the same kind as those recorded from xiv. 170 and 236, and "Queen Square," indexed from ix. 74 but not from viii. 115, where the nature of the reference is identical. "Jamaica" at viii. 110 and xvi. 126 provides a similar instance. "Carthage," also at viii. 110 and of the same order of importance, is indexed, though with one of the rare errors in page number. Since the preface does not announce any principle of selection of place-name references, one must assume oversights, which seem rather frequent, even for an index which is avowedly preliminary.

The great utility of the *Index* to all who work with the published papers is obvious. Professor Pottle has also foreseen the service which the book can render to those who have not ready access to the limited edition of the papers. The important articles "Boswell, James" and "Johnson, Samuel," prepared by him and arranged in three and four parts respectively, provide a series of conspectuses for which a student quickly finds many uses. Parts II and III of the entries collected under "Boswell" form a valuable supplement to the compiler's own authoritative bibliography. Merely to consult the *Index*, consecutively and not too rapidly, is to gain orientation in the world of the eighteenth century. It is a pity that the extremely high price of the volume will keep it out of the hands of many who could profit by its use.

RICHARD L. GREENE

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*Boswell's Journal of A Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL. D., Now First Published from the Original Manuscript.*  
 Edited by FREDERICK POTTLE and CHARLES BENNETT. New York: the Viking Press, 1936. Pp. xviii + 435. \$5.00.

The editors announce this edition of the *Hebrides*, with its new passages from lately discovered Boswell papers, as an item for



the general reader, promising "more austere editing" with its "elaborate apparatus of brackets and textual notes" later on. However, a public bred to the Strachey-Hackett-Leslie school of biography will not find these revelations of suppressed passages sufficiently shocking to satisfy their tastes; it will be the true Boswellian who savors the implications of the newly printed material, and yet he as well will suffer slight disappointment in that the edition adds no startling contribution to the Boswell canon or legend. I suspect, from the tone of the notes, that the editors intend their readers to join the now popular cry that Malone exercised a crushing domination over Boswell's expression; the accusation does not seem to me borne out by the evidence of this volume. It establishes once more that Boswell was by nature a realist of such photographic and phonographic quality that he could not help a certain vagueness about taste, as his era knew it; as to Malone, we find nothing more damning than that he was a man of his own era in his regard for taste, his desire for brevity of expression, and his wish to avoid the trivial. He had no idea that ages almost wholly given up to worship of the exact and the minute were to follow, and he had a warm intention to keep Boswell's best foot forward in his own day.

In preparing the work for the general public, the editors have disguised a stiff editorial task in a text so smoothly made up of originally printed material and newly discovered MS that it seems familiar and effortless; the meticulous care with which it is done calls for the cordial approval of the most exigent Boswellians, as well. The notes are not equally successful. In an effort to spare the general reader, notes on conjectural emendation, the joining of old and new passages, and the variations in style from earliest jottings to final print are at a minimum; in the effort (somewhat too earnest) to assist him, undue space is given to translating Latin quotations and tracing simple Shakespearean allusions. The one Latin tag in which the layman would gladly receive assistance—the joke about Coll being one who *gaudet canibus*—is left untranslated, as if unfit for ears polite, and hints a priggishness of which the editors are never guilty. For the most part, the bookshop readers of this volume will not be Babbitts; they will, for instance, be quite capable of joining scholars in the wish that Boswell's irregular spelling of Scottish names and his uncertainty as to a title for Johnson had been retained, in notes if not in text. Boswell's decision to use *Mr* as Johnson's title, noted early in the book, is followed by the editors thereafter, with alteration of the MS to suit the accepted style, but without further comment; it is confusing and irritating to read *M* on a page late in the text, without explanation, opposite a facsimile page whereon the *M* is obliterated by a heavy black *D* with Boswell's characteristic energy.

The great value of the new passages is humanistic rather than

bibliographical, and it is a pity that this excellent edition fails to do Boswell justice on these grounds. Minor instances are the lack of appreciation for his effort to render the strong aspiration concluding *macaladh* by spelling it *mackalive*, and the heavy discussion of his neat humor in the phrase "little plump elderly young lady." More important is the omission of his sketches as "of little value from any point of view." These feeble drawings were part of Boswell's constant efforts at authenticity (note his annoyed comment "I have drawn it the wrong way"), an instance of his wish to be, like Johnson, interested in *the little things* and *mechanick arts*; more, they are relics of the Tour-master's busy occupation with his duties. Only one thing seems to the Boswellian's eye a greater error: that is the editorial sentence, "we are now able to read the Tour, not as a book about Johnson, but as one of the best chapters in Boswell's autobiography." This smacks too strongly of accepting as truth the notion created first by the preposterous and irresponsible Percy Fitzgerald, and carried on by Massey—that Boswell was writing about Johnson as a cover for expatiating about himself. Such a view is false to our knowledge of Boswell's naiveté; it is not demonstrable even from the mass of new materials offered in the Isham papers; and though offered in a half jocular manner, it is not properly suited to a scholarly labor otherwise so acute, so clear, so devoted, as this.

MARGERY BAILEY

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*The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift.* By RICARDO QUINTANA.  
New York: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xii + 398.  
\$3.75.

Le livre de M. Quintana diffère de toute la série récente d'études sur l'ensemble de l'œuvre et de la vie de Swift—si nombreuses au cours de ces trois ou quatre dernières années—par un plus grand souci d'objectivité et un scrupule plus constant de précision. Il ne manque pas pour cela de "brillant," ni d'une note vigoureusement personnelle, ce qui permet de conclure une fois de plus que "professional touch" et qualité d'art sont parfaitement compatibles. Il y a une virtuosité de bon aloi, il est bon de le dire tout haut.

Les jugements sur l'homme que fut Swift sont dans ce livre fondés non point sur une intuition soudaine de l'auteur, mais sur l'étude attentive de la correspondance et de l'œuvre de son héros—seule méthode légitime d'ailleurs et la seule efficace. Le récit biographique est mené de front avec l'étude des œuvres, et non dans une alternance artificielle mais selon la ligne essentielle du déroulement chronologique. C'est, croyons-nous, le meilleur pro-

cédé, qui n'empêche nullement le récit d'être clair et lié, et même parfois d'avoir une vivacité d'allure assez grande quoique volontairement contenue, qui, d'autre part a l'avantage de ne pas isoler les œuvres par des cloisonnements toujours gênants, s'ils ne sont funestes. Ainsi le "*Tale of the Tub*" est vu dans son cadre de Moor-Park, et y apparaît comme 'la philosophie du goût, de l'urbanité, de la civilisation' "expounded with breath-taking originality by a conjured spirit *refined to easy insolence by the bland air of Moor-Park.*" On peut discuter sur ce degré d'aise et d'urbanité,—M. Quintana s'efforcera lui-même de le préciser et le réduire en marquant plus loin l'effarement de Londres devant l'impardonnable audace' et le "tone of rank impiety" du livre,—on ne peut que reconnaître l'ingéniosité de la formule reliant l'œuvre à son temps. Ainsi le lien entre Gulliver et l'époque de Swift—entre celle-ci et le tempérament de Swift—est-il simplement mais excellemment défini en fonction du succès des *Voyages*: "Swift had not misjudged the temper of the times." M. Quintana nous montre Swift dans son époque et son époque en lui, et tout ce qui peut être expliqué par cette double et mutuelle référence l'est avec plus de clarté presque sur tous les points importants, que dans aucune étude antérieure. Par exemple, dans le *Conte du Tonneau*, l'auteur apprécie avec un sens très aigu des valeurs psychologiques des différents thèmes littéraires et distingue, comme nul ne l'a fait, ceux qui correspondent au tempérament profond de l'auteur et ceux qui relèvent seulement d'une rhétorique habile, comme l'"esthétomorphisme," dont M. Quintana nous reproche, avec une justesse que nous soulignons avec plaisir, d'avoir exagéré l'importance dans la "Weltanschauung" de Swift. Il est indéniable que le motif 'vestimentaire' n'a pas pour Swift la signification vivante du mythe animal, dont toute son œuvre est remplie, imprégnée, marquée. Cependant le thème du travestissement, bien que plus en surface et plus intermittent, joue un rôle d'une certaine importance encore (*Meditation upon a Broomstick*,—fantaisies costumières des Lagadiens, et même, car l'idée au fond est identique, interversion des vêtements corporels entre Yahoos et Houyhnhnms). Mais le principe même de la hiérarchie psychologique des thèmes est fécond et contribue sans doute à la vision claire de la signification et de la valeur du *Tale of a Tub*, qui est un des mérites essentiels de l'étude de M. Quintana. L'allégresse, la vitalité du *Conte*, l'œuvre intellectuelle la plus parfaite de Swift, sont dégagées avec une vraie maîtrise. La critique de M. Quintana porte en elle une joie alerte et communicative. Les deux chapitres sur Gulliver, très pleins et très neufs, témoignent des mêmes qualités personnelles. Après l'ouvrage fondamental de Professor William Eddy, qui marque jusqu'ici le sommet des études gullivériennes et que, dans deux directions au moins (recherches des sources et analyse des thèmes), on ne pourra vraisemblablement

jamais dépasser—les récents efforts d'une nouvelle école tendent à le prouver,—l'étude de M. Quintana, dans ses proportions limitées, est une des plus pénétrantes, et la mieux informée des travaux contemporains. M. Quintana a tiré habilement parti par ex. de la remarquable édition des lettres de Swift à Ford du Professeur Nichol-Smith (1935) et il est le premier à retracer le développement chronologique de Gulliver de manière complète. Ses jugements sur le contenu de Gulliver, les thèmes narratifs, les idées, son appréciation de la valeur littéraire des différents livres sont toujours intéressants, stimulants, même quand on ne partage pas l'opinion de l'auteur. M. Ricardo Quintana qui parle admirablement de Lilliput et de Brobdingnag, est sévère pour la troisième Partie (Lagado, etc.) qu'il voudrait abolir d'un trait de plume (Les Struldbrugs méritent-ils d'être ainsi sacrifiés?) et il ne rend peut-être pas une parfaite justice à la quatrième Partie qui possède, malgré qu'on en ait, la plus grande puissance de hantise et qui (avec les Struldbrugs) exprime Swift peut-être mieux que tout le reste des *Voyages*. (Des études en préparation—en Amérique—sur la documentation de Part III, nous réservent peut-être, d'ailleurs, sur cette dernière d'intéressantes surprises.)

Mais M. Quintana nous aide toujours, même quand nous différons de lui, à nous former un jugement bien étayé. Il nous aide à comprendre Swift, et même dans les régions les plus obscures—celles des conceptions morales, du problème du mal, par ex. Nous sentons en lui un compagnon averti dont nous aimons à nous rapprocher. Il n'est guère, nous semble-t-il, pour un travailleur swiftien, de plus bel éloge.

E. PONS

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*The Textual History of Richard III.* By DAVID LYALL PATRICK. Stanford University Publications, University Series, Vol. VI, No. 1. Stanford University, 1936. Pp. 153. Paper, \$1.25; cloth, \$2.00.

This work is a thorough study of the vexatious problem of the relation of the first quarto and First Folio texts of Shakespeare's *Richard III*. Its author considers the probable nature of the manuscript which each represents and the comparative authority of the two versions. He first reviews briefly the history of critical opinion in regard to the two texts. He then examines the circumstances surrounding the publication of the quarto in an effort to answer a pertinent question which he raises, namely, whether the quarto text may not be an actor's version as well as an acting version. Adopting an affirmative answer to this question as a working hy-

pothesis, Professor Patrick considers carefully and without prejudice literally all of the quarto variants, seeking even for apparently insignificant phenomena a probable explanation. From this systematic and thorough examination Professor Patrick derives his own theory of the origin of each text.

He agrees with most modern critics in holding that the quarto represents an acting version,—a text cut for economical acting. He also believes that the quarto is an orally transmitted version, bearing, besides “deliberate changes, the accidental errors of memory made by the actors in speaking their lines” (p. 145). The quarto is thus the secondary text and the Folio primary. Of the latter he writes “there is no longer any basis for supposing the Folio to be a revision” (p. 149), but that does not mean that the text now exists “entirely without changes from Shakespeare’s own hand.”

Most of the quarto passages absent from the Folio he thinks are accidental omissions of the printer. He accounts for even the puzzling disappearance of the long clock passage (iv, ii, 107-33) from the Folio in this way. But thus to explain so substantial an omission is unconvincing. The missing lines surely point to an intentional revision. This reviewer once suggested (*Modern Language Notes*, xxi, No. 1, pp. 15-19) that the artfully prolonged gagging between Richard and Buckingham, though effective as stage-business and as ridicule of Buckingham’s ineptitude, obscures the audience’s view of Richard’s state of mind at a crucial moment in the history of his *hubris*. Consequently he suggested that the cut was made by some one, almost surely Shakespeare himself, who was interested above all in keeping clear the nature of Richard’s psychological catastrophe. An excision made for such a reason points to the dramatist’s revision of his manuscript after the prompt copy had been prepared. Professor Patrick’s argument has thus not weakened the probability that the Folio contains some substantial revisions of the first acting version of the play.

Professor Patrick is still less convincing in his assertion that the quarto represents a text that is entirely memorial. It is undeniably true that this assumption furnishes a simple and adequate explanation for many of the verbal variants. But the author neglects to consider other equally satisfactory hypotheses. For example, some of the changes can be most simply accounted for as made to obviate difficulties which the actors encountered in their efforts to make themselves clear to their audience. Some of these emendations rid the actors’ parts of combinations of syllables difficult to enunciate; others, of passages either intellectually too involved to be grasped by auditors or obscuring the dramatic significance of important moments in the story. Changes of this sort, made in the interest of the actor, have always been the most common that occur during the rehearsals of a play. To give but one example, the

variations at I, III, 119-23 (quoted by Patrick, p. 107) are quite as likely to represent amendments made for this reason as to be indications of failure of memory.

However, the most serious weakness of Professor Patrick's theory appears when he seeks to discover a method by which his postulated spoken text could have been transcribed. This quarto of *Richard III* is a much better text than the others which have been supposed to have their origin in the thefts of traitor actors. To account for this superiority, Professor R. W. Babcock ("An Introduction to the Text of *Richard III*," *Studies in Philology*, XXIV, 260) some time ago suggested that "the actor of Richard seems to be the one to whom Andrew Wise was indebted for his copy." Professor Patrick does not wholly reject this idea, which to this reviewer seems absurd. If Burbage did not play the part of Richard, as tradition has it, some one of the principal actors in the Lord Chamberlain's Company certainly did. Professor Babcock is therefore asking us to believe that one of the shareholders entered into a conspiracy with a publisher to cheat and rob himself.

Professor Patrick does not depend solely upon this theory, nor does he fail to recognize that the only known shorthand system of the time is inadequate to account for the virtues of the quarto text. Accordingly he presents a third hypothesis, namely that the copy "may have been made in longhand during rehearsals" (p. 148), when the company needed a new prompt copy, perhaps for a provincial tour. This would have been an extraordinary inefficient and awkward way of doing a rather usual thing. If, in 1597, the company had needed, for any reason at all, a new copy of its acting version, it would have commissioned the bookkeeper to have one made from the prompt copy in his possession.

Indeed, a satisfactory explanation for most of the peculiarities of the quarto may be found in this familiar process of preparing for the printer a text to represent the official prompt copy, which the company would naturally be loath to surrender. If the copyist had been the bookkeeper himself or some one of his assistants,—a natural assumption,—the workman would have himself known, almost by heart, the speeches of the actors and in the form in which they had memorized them. Especially if working hurriedly, he would inevitably have written long passages with only occasional reference to the text before him. He would thus have perpetuated both changes deliberately made in the prompt copy and actors' slips of memory. And he would have added some of his own. This simple theory accounts for the memorial errors which Professor Patrick's penetration has detected, without involving us in his large and improbable assumptions.

However, the value of Professor Patrick's work lies not so much in the theories which he advances as in his careful marshalling of all the evidence. When judged from this point of view, his book

appears to be a sound piece of scholarship. It will prove indispensable to all students who from now on try to understand the puzzling relationship between the quarto and Folio texts of *Richard III*.

OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

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*An Elizabethan Puritan: Arthur Golding the Translator of Ovid's Metamorphoses.* By LOUIS THORN GOLDING. New York: R. R. Smith, 1937. Pp. xii + 276. \$3.50.

Marred but not vitiated by the weaknesses of undisciplined research, Mr. Golding's biographical monument to his famous ancestor is a useful contribution to Elizabethan studies. His industry and zeal have uncovered a goodly store of new documents; and if he fails to produce a rounded portrait or an adequate appraisal of the poet's work, he provides a good guide for further study. The Public Record Office has been his hunting ground. Except in a few cases like the document establishing the probable date of Golding's birth (p. 7), he cites his sources at first hand. By identifying the "Barwicke" from which the translator dedicated his 1567 Ovid with the Manor of Barwicke in Essex (p. 59), Mr. Golding silently denies the visit to Berwick postulated in the *DNB*. This point at least deserved discussion. The Courts of Chancery, Exchequer, and Star Chamber have provided a wealth of documents on the financial troubles which ruined the poet's estate and finally, it now appears, sent him to prison. As usual these lawsuits are annoyingly obscure, but they show the difficulties of Golding's later years. The record of the poet's burial does not complete the list of discoveries, for Mr. Golding has unearthed a royal warrant granting exclusive publishing rights to Golding's son Percival and to Thomas Wilson. The list of works specified throws light on the Golding canon. In dating this document Mr. Golding erroneously synchronizes 5 James I with 1606.

Mr. Golding adds to the Golding canon the *Epitome* of Froissart published in 1608 under the name of his son Percival. This decision, resting on the grounds that the extant manuscript is in the poet's handwriting, has the weighty support of Dr. W. W. Greg. It thus appears that Percival treated his father's manuscripts as freely as George Buck did those of his great-uncle Sir George. The verses ascribed to Golding in Harleian MS. 425 are discarded on the grounds that they are not holograph; the judgment may be correct, but the reason is insufficient. A useful check-list of Golding's works suffers from the author's apparent ignorance of the *Short-Title Catalogue*. The value of the volume is enhanced by reprints of two rare Golding pamphlets, the text of one unfortu-

nately based on a second edition, and by numerous illustrations. Tucked in an appendix (p. 227) is a claim that the puritan Golding was first cousin to the Catholic controversialist Nicholas Sanders. If possible this point should be verified, for even in Dr. T. M. Veech's recent monograph Sanders's mother remains an obscure figure.

Although a rigid standard of accuracy may not be expected in a volume of this nature, a warning is necessary. With a photograph of the rare Golding memorandum in the Folger Library, Mr. Golding prints a six-line transcript which not only misreads a word and many letters, but mistakes both the date and the amount of money involved (and this despite the fact that an accurate transcript was available in Greg's *English Literary Autographs*). This example forces one to approach the other transcripts in the volume with suspicion; one could wish assurance that they were copied by professional searchers. Fortunately the full references will direct students to the originals to check critical points. Indeed in his effort to make his footnotes complete, Mr. Golding has inadvertently transferred the wills at Somerset House to the Public Record Office (pp. 74, 95). Aside from typographical errors, slips such as *viscount* for *sheriff* (p. 223) and *Lord of Docwra* for *Lord Docwra* (p. 105) show that Mr. Golding is not fully at home in the period. His habit of describing octavos as "16 Mo." (both formats are assigned to one book at pp. 67 and 154) is symptomatic of his poor bibliographical methods.

FRANKLIN B. WILLIAMS, JR.

*Harvard University*

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*The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, The Middle Years* [1806-20]. Edited by ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1937. 2 vols., xx + 932 pp., \$14.00.

"Coleridge's *Dejection: an Ode*." By ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. In *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*. Vol. xxii, Collected by HELEN DARBISHIRE. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1937. Pp. 158. \$2.75.

At least half of the material in the two new volumes of Wordsworth correspondence has never before been published. Knight seldom printed all of a letter and 185 of the 419 included here he omitted entirely or failed to discover. Thirty years ago he declared that the manuscripts of most of those he published had disappeared; yet Professor de Selincourt has had access to the originals of all but 77 (most of them unimportant) of those here pre-



sented. This is a matter for congratulation since in the case of any letter it is likely that Knight has the date or the addressee or some part of the text wrong.<sup>1</sup> One who merely dips into the volumes will probably find them dull but the reader who goes steadily through them becomes interested in the domestic drama, the comings and goings, the frequent sicknesses, the births and deaths with which they treat. It is like living in the family. In consequence he wishes he knew more of the later history of the children of whom he has read so much. Wordsworth disliked writing letters and was "painfully conscious of how poor a genius" he possessed for composing them: "Neither Cupid nor Minerva, nor Phoebus, nor Mercury, nor any of the Pagan Gods who presided over liberal and kindly inventions, deign to shed their influence over my endeavours in this field" (p. 704). Accordingly his letters gain vigor, interest, and firmness of texture as they approach political tracts or critical essays.

One lays down the volumes with increased admiration for Wordsworth's mind, for his critical powers, and his honesty. About Coleridge, on the other hand, one learns a good deal that is unpleasant. While Wordsworth collects money to send Hartley to Oxford the boy's father, not having "mustered courage to look this matter fairly in the face," apparently does nothing. There is a reference to Keats, not included in Knight's edition, as "a youth of promise too great for the sorry company he keeps" (p. 861). The index is full but the annotation meager; many references will be clear only to those who read carefully the entire work.

There is less novelty in the letters than in the other important and previously-unpublished manuscripts which Professor de Selincourt has been making available in recent years. The latest of these is the original form of Coleridge's "Ode to Dejection," addressed not to Wordsworth but to Sarah Hutchinson, with whom Coleridge, though married, was deeply in love. Professor de Selincourt points out that "the root idea" of the Ode is the contrast between Wordsworth's happiness, present and prospective, and Coleridge's misery. The early form of the piece is decidedly inferior to the final version and two and a half times as long. In revision Coleridge made very few additions and not a great many verbal changes, but he shifted the order of the paragraphs considerably and with excellent results. The superiority of the later text is, however, due chiefly to the omission of whole pages of diffuse, invertebrate, and undistinguished verse. Yet strangely enough the omitted lines are the most personal and presumably the most deeply felt of all.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

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<sup>1</sup> See review of the first volume of this edition, *MLN.*, June, 1936.

## BRIEF MENTION

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*Guide pratique des Bibliothèques de Paris.* Par EMILE LEROY, Secrétaire-trésorier de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris, Editions des Bibliothèques Nationales, 1937. Pp. VIII + 283. Fr. 30. Voici un petit livre dont le besoin se faisait vivement sentir et qui constitue un vade-mecum indispensable à tous les travailleurs que leurs recherches conduisent à Paris. On y trouvera tout d'abord une étude historique, succincte mais suffisante, sur les bibliothèques parisiennes et une liste précieuse des bibliothèques nationales, des bibliothèques d'enseignement supérieur et des corps savants (Institut, différentes académies et fondations qui en dépendent), des bibliothèques des administrations de l'Etat, de la ville de Paris, des sociétés savantes libres et des nombreuses fondations particulières dont plusieurs sont récentes et presque ignorées du public. Le plan même du guide interdisait une énumération complète des documents qui peuvent être utilisés par les chercheurs. Dans la plupart des cas, cependant, les collections essentielles sont indiquées et ces indications épargneront du temps et de la peine à des travailleurs qui ne songeraient guère par exemple à aller chercher la bibliothèque de Morel-Fatio ou la collection du Fonds Gouget sur les poètes français du seizième et du dix-septième siècle à la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Versailles. Des renseignements pratiques sur les conditions d'admission, dates et heures d'ouverture, sur l'établissement des fiches et le maniement des catalogues faciliteront également les recherches. L'ouvrage tout entier est établi au point de vue du lecteur et c'est là un de ses principaux mérites. Il est tout entier empreint de cet esprit nouveau qui se manifeste depuis quelques années dans les bibliothèques de Paris. M. Julien Cain, le distingué et dévoué administrateur général de la Bibliothèque Nationale reconnaît avec une remarquable loyauté, dans la préface de l'ouvrage, les insuffisances et les lacunes de certaines collections et la justesse des "impatiences" et de l'irritation que manifestent souvent les usagers des grandes bibliothèques françaises. Le guide de M. Leroy servira à faire comprendre aux lecteurs quelques-unes des difficultés auxquelles se heurtent les bibliothécaires eux-mêmes. Il rendra plus faciles et moins "rebutantes" aux novices "les premières démarches dans ce domaine immense et si complexe." On ne saurait trop remercier l'aimable secrétaire de la Nationale de l'avoir mis à la disposition du public.

GILBERT CHINARD

*Princeton University*

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CORRESPONDENCE

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BOETHIUS. One or two points have arisen in connection with reviews of my book on *THE TRADITION OF BOETHIUS* which it seems worth while to discuss. With reference to my remarks (p. 35) on the influence of Porphyry in the controversy over realism and nominalism, one reviewer says: "Scholars have likewise abandoned the aged myth that the Middle Ages was set debating the problem of the universal by a sentence in Porphyry." The comment implies that no reputable scholar would any longer put things in this way. Aside from the fact that I included the commentary of Boethius with the translation of the *Isagoge*, I may mention the discussion of the problem by several scholars whose words have weight to show that, for better or for worse, the matter is not yet cleared up: A. E. Taylor, in Eyre's *European Civilization*, III, 813: "The ninth century sees the beginning of the famous dispute, originated by a passage in Porphyry's *Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle*"; C. H. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 352: "The debate respecting universals has its roots in Boethius and Porphyry"; incidentally this statement is almost literally parallel to one in the new edition of the Geyer-Ueberweg *Geschichte, Patr. und scholast. Zeit*, 205; apparently without disapproval E. K. Rand, in *The Founders of the Middle Ages*, 145 says: "There is also a passage in his commentary on Porphyry that has often been cited as the starting-point for the most important discussion that agitated the earlier period of scholastic philosophy in the Middle Ages"; De Wulf in the new edition of his *Histoire*, I, 145, says: "il importe de se rappeler qu'il n'est pas né spontanément, mais qu'il a été amorcé par des textes de Porphyre et de Boèce." There is, however, no space here to consider the merits of the case.

I regret that my book did not include full reference to Dolson's work. Unpublished theses are of doubtful value in a manual of this kind, but there are references to two of his articles included: pp. 159 and 168. That Lane Cooper's *CONCORDANCE* is not cited is a pity, considering its enormous usefulness. But reference to it is hardly *apropos* of anything in the book, which does not aim to give a complete Boethius bibliography (available, as such things go, elsewhere).

HOWARD R. PATCH

Smith College

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

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# Modern Language Notes

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## MILTON AND THOMAS YOUNG, 1620-1628

In Milton studies since Masson it has been assumed that Thomas Young, Milton's tutor, departed for his pastoral duties in Hamburg in 1622. Recently, Arthur Barker discovered that Young "returned to England from Hamburg" at some time before 24 March 1621, and attended the commencement at Cambridge later in the same year.<sup>1</sup> Obviously we need additional light on Young's activities in Hamburg.

Whence came the idea that Young left for Germany in 1622? Masson, in a footnote of explanation, called attention to the letter to Young, dated 26 March 1625, in which Milton says that it is "more than three years" since he last wrote to his tutor.<sup>2</sup> But this is strange logic. Three years before 26 March 1625 puts us at 26 March 1622, and "more than three years" puts us probably in 1621. Milton also says: "You complain, as well you may, that the *letters* you have received from me are far *too scarce*" (my italics). Evidently before the last letter there were other letters ["*litteras*"] which were "scarce."

The fact is that Thomas Young arrived in Hamburg in 1620. Fortunately the Church Register of the Merchant Adventurers is

<sup>1</sup> "Milton's Schoolmasters," *MLR*, xxxii (Oct. 1937), 517. The evidence lies in two letters from Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated 24 March and 7 July 1621, printed in *Birch's Court & Times of James I*, 1849, pp. 240-1, 266-7. But Barker ignores two further facts about Young given in the first letter. Young had been "beneficed near Ware" and early in 1621 "returned to his friends about Ware," having preached for a time in Hamburg "anon by dispensation" (p. 240). Moreover, Young had preached in Hamburg before Frederick V, king of Bohemia, and had received "a chain of gold with his own image upon it." The latter event doubtless occurred early in 1621. But when was Young beneficed near Ware?

<sup>2</sup> *Life*, I (rev. ed.), 72.



today part of the Hamburg *Staatsarchiv*,<sup>3</sup> and from it we can learn something of the movements of Milton's tutor. The Merchant Adventurers were granted freedom of divine service in 1611. Their first pastor, John Wing, seems to have been installed in 1612. The first entry that has come down to us is from 1616. The notices from 1616 through 1619, however, are not preserved in the original, but copied into a new book (the above-mentioned Register), which has on its title-page:

A perfect extracte: Of the former registers of the names of the Communicants of the English Church at Hamborough. Together with the baptisimes and marriages. Taken the 24 of April 1620 by the appointment of William Loe D. of Divinity and pastor of the said Church.

Loe was Wing's successor in Hamburg; clearly he was there on 24 April 1620; during 1620 he also published, in Hamburg, his *Songs of Sion* and *The Merchant reall*. He apparently came over in 1618.<sup>4</sup>

The entries from 1616 through 1619 are copied into the new book in a careful round book-script; later (up to 1629) entries are in a small cursive script. After 1629 the hands are distinctly different. The Register begins with the list of communicants: first "Deputie" Richard Gore and family, second "Pastor" William Loe and family, and third "Secretary" Joseph Avery and family. Between Loe and Avery is the entry:

1620 Thomas Young. Pastor  
Rebecca Young

squeezed in, in a small cursive hand. The cursive additions in the list of baptisms begin 21 January 1621; in the list of marriages, 7 February 1621; in the list of bachelor communicants, March [no day] 1621.<sup>5</sup> It is evident that Young arrived in Hamburg between 24 April 1620 and 21 January 1621 (New Style).

<sup>3</sup> Cb viii, no. xi<sup>d</sup>, Vol. I. I am grateful to Professor Marie Schütt of the University of Hamburg for supplying me with transcripts from and information about the Register, and for graciously responding to my various inquiries. Unfortunately all documents concerning the relations of the Merchant Adventurers with the Hamburg authorities were burnt in the great fire of 1842; so this possible source of information is closed.

<sup>4</sup> So *DNB*, article on William Loe. If this is correct, it was doubtless after 8 July 1618, when he received his D. D. from Merton College.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Schütt wrote: "A handwriting expert might perhaps dis-



	*	"	14	"		*	"	28	bap.
		"	25	mar.			"	29	"
[1625]	Jan.	1	com.			Jul.	1	com.	
		"	4	mar.			"	4	bap.
	*	"	9	bap.		*	Aug.	20	"
	*	"	23	"			Sep.	2	com.
		"	28	"		*	"	24	bap.
		Apr.	30	com.		*	Oct.	15	"
	*	May	22	bap.		*	Nov.	5	"
	*	"	29	"			"	29	mar.
		Jul.	2	com.		*	Dec	31	bap.
	*	"	10	bap.	[1627]	Jan.	6	com.	
	*Aug.	7	"			*	Mar.	4	"
		Sep.	3	com.			"	26	mar.
	*	"	18	bap.			Apr.	24	"
		Oct.	6	mar.		*	May	13	bap.
	*	"	16	bap.		*	"	20	"
		Nov.	5	com.		*	Jun.	3	"
		Dec.	31	"			"	30	com.
[1626]	Jan.	3	mar.				Jul.	2	bap.
		"	16	bap.		*	Sep.	9	"
	*	Feb.	19	"			Nov.	3	com.
		Mar.	4	com.			"	15	bap.
		Apr.	10	mar.			Dec.	4	mar. [by Rutt]
	*	"	23	bap.	[1628]	Jan.	5	com.	
	* May	7	com.						

On the evidence of this list alone Young had about three months free for travel between 6 May and 5 August 1621. If William Loe remained in Hamburg until Young was ready to begin permanent residence there, and if (as I conjecture) the communion administered in March and May (no day named) represents Loe's activity in Young's absence, then there was also a three months' period between 7 February and 6 May. The list ends with the note: "Memorand that from the time of Mr. Young his departure from Hamboroh to England in the yeare 1627 [Old Style?] unto the yeare 1629 this Register was neglected." But before the note, in a distinctly different hand from the other entries, we find:

1627      Mr. Richard Blackwell      Dec. 4th were married by me Tho. Rutt.  
             Anne Bayly

Evidently Young left Hamburg only after seeing his successor installed; and it is more than probable that he left between 5 January 1627-8, the last communion listed in the cursive hand,

and 27 March 1628, when he was presented by John Howe to the vicarages of St. Peter and St. Mary in Stowmarket.

The fact of Young's visit, or visits, to England in 1621 makes one wonder about other possible journeys. In the Register entries there are only two other gaps of comparable length. One is between 4 January and 6 April 1623; the other is between 28 January and 30 April 1625. The second is of considerable interest to students of Milton.

In the *Elegia Quarta*, addressed to Young in Hamburg, and written *Anno aetatis* 18—that is, in 1627—occur the following difficult and often-discussed lines:

Primus ego Aonios illo præeunte recessus  
Lustrabam, & bifidi sacra vireta jugi,  
Pieriosque hausî latices, Clioque favente,  
Castalio sparsi læta ter ora mero.  
Flammeus at signum ter viderat arietis Æthon,  
Induxitque auro lanea terga novo,  
Bisque novo terram sparsisti Chlorigen senilem  
Gramine, bisque tuas abstulit Auster opes:  
Necdum ejus licuit mihi lumina pascere vultu,  
Aut linguae dulces aure bibisse sonos. [29-38]

The passage is usually translated somewhat as follows:

Under his guidance I first visited the Aonian shades and the sacred groves of the cloven hill, drank the Pierian waters, and by the favor of Clio wet my happy lips three times with Castalian wine. But flaming Aethon has three times seen the sign of the Ram and covered its fleecy back with new gold; and two times, Chloris, have you covered the old earth with new herbage; and two times has Auster swept your riches away. And not yet have my eyes been allowed to feast on his face, or my ears to drink in the sweet sounds of his voice.

The usual interpretation is: Milton was introduced to classical studies by Thomas Young,<sup>6</sup> but three vernal equinoxes, two sum-

<sup>6</sup> So in the translations of Cowper, Strutt, Masson, Moody, MacKellar, McCrea, Knapp, Skeat, and Hughes. But this is very strange, for in classical Latin it would read, "I was the first under his guidance," and we have Milton's own word (in the *Defensio Prima* and *Reason of Church Government*) for the existence of more than one private tutor. When I put the question to Professor E. K. Rand, he was kind enough to reply: "Primus ought to be translated 'I was the first under his guidance to visit Castalia,' or, possibly, 'I was his foremost pupil.' Surely the phrase does not mean that Young was Milton's first tutor."

mers, and two autumns have passed <sup>7</sup> since the pupil last saw his tutor.

The chronological allusions here are surprisingly definite. The fact that Milton speaks of *three* vernal equinoxes, but only *two* autumns, enables us to date the composition of the poem with considerable accuracy. Even if he meant us to take his references figuratively, the poem must have been written between March and September 1627. But if he intended them to be taken literally—as seems more than likely—the poem must have been written between 21 March (the approximate date of the vernal equinox) and 28 April (the beginning of the festival of Chloris). Milton's statement of his age at the time of composition I see no reason to doubt.<sup>8</sup>

It follows that we can likewise discover the approximate time at which Milton last saw and talked with Young.<sup>9</sup> Three vernal equinoxes and two autumns before April 1627 put us between September 1624 and 21 March 1625. We may now recall that in the Hamburg church Register there is a noticeable gap between 28 January and 30 April 1625. If the Register is to be trusted as an index to Young's activities, Young could not have been in England during the months of October or November 1624, or January 1625. December, for which there are no entries in the Register, was clearly a bad month for travelling by water; the Thames was twice frozen over in the unusually severe winter of 1620-21. The date of the reunion seems, therefore, to be narrowed to February or March 1625.

<sup>7</sup> Professor Rand (see preceding note) writes: "The date, I believe, may be made more specific. The three visits of the sun to Aries means the month of March. The festival of Flora (Chloris) was held on April 28-May 3. The south wind (Auster) steals the wealth of Flora, i. e. betokens the gathering of summer's crops in the month of September when the sirocco blows."

<sup>8</sup> It has, however, been occasionally questioned, for reasons which I shall discuss. My own conviction is based on both poetic style and internal evidence. Milton's various allusions to the peril in which Hamburg was reported can scarcely refer to any date earlier than 1626-27.

<sup>9</sup> That the allusion is to their last meeting seems clear. Nevertheless, Masson unexpectedly and inconsistently remarks: "It seems also to be conveyed (lines 33-38) that Young's tutorship of him had lasted between two and three years (*Poetical Works*, 1890), I, 262, compare *ibid.*, III, 307). In the opinion of Professor Rand such an interpretation would be "an act of torture."

This obvious inference involves, however, an additional consideration. In Milton's private correspondence there is a prose letter to Young dated 26 March 1625, which offers not the slightest suggestion of a recent reunion. On the contrary, it speaks of long separation and the miles that divide them. We have no manuscript of this letter, and it was published only once, in the last year of Milton's life. The edition was badly printed; there are seventeen lines of errata noted; Tillyard has listed others; on the very page on which this letter is printed, signature A 4 is misprinted A 7. Could the date, after all, be an error?

The following facts suggest that it is: First and least weighty, the letter was written from London, whereas Milton, who entered Christ's College 12 February 1625 (a month after the Lent Term started) and matriculated in the University 9 April (the day after the Lent Term ended), might reasonably be supposed to be in Cambridge on 26 March. Second, Milton says nothing in his letter of an event about which all London was talking and in which Young would certainly be interested: King James was dying. He had been ill since 5 March, and he died the day after the date of Milton's letter. It is a small point, but I find it incredible that Milton, writing from London to a fellow-countryman abroad, could fail to mention an event of such obvious significance. Third and, I think, most telling: Milton says not a word about going to Cambridge. He has presumably registered as a student just a month before, and is presumably returning within a month to settle down to work; but, writing to his own former tutor—whose interest in this experience would be obvious—he says nothing about it. On the contrary, although he has presumably not written to Young since 1621, he writes in a fashion which assumes Young's familiarity with his Cambridge life. "I write this in London," he concludes, . . . not, *as usual*, surrounded by books." If he had not been some time at Cambridge, and if Young did not know about his being there, the phrase "as usual" would not make sense. His last sentence is a half-promise to write again "as soon as I return to the haunts of the Muses."<sup>10</sup>

If the date of the letter is an error, what is the correct date? The second letter in the collection was written 20 May 1628, and

<sup>10</sup> Tillyard, Phyllis B. (transl.) *Milton: Private Correspondence & Academic Exercises* (1932), pp. 5-6.

Young was back in England earlier the same year. Let us remember that the first letter was written from London, at a time which often falls within the Lent Term at Cambridge. During all the years that Milton was at the University, 26 March came during vacation only in 1627, 1630, and 1632. Are we not justified in altering the date of the letter to 26 March 1627?

But we have already seen that, if we interpret Milton's allusions literally, the *Elegia Quarta* must have been composed between 21 March and 28 April 1627. Can there be any connection between the poem and the letter? As it happens, the letter explicitly promises a companion poem which, unless it is the *Elegia Quarta*, has not survived. To be sure, the letter begins: "my intention was, my dearest Master, to send you a letter carefully composed in metrical form"; and this allows of his changing his mind; but he continues: "Although my intention was . . . yet I *did not feel satisfied* without writing *another as well* [*"aliud insuper"*], in prose." There is nothing ambiguous about this. The poem-epistle was written; unsatisfied, Milton composed a prose-epistle to go along with it. The letter is devoid of news; like the poem it contains expressions of gratitude to Young, and apologies for not writing more frequently. There is one difference: the letter states: "I received some time ago your most welcome gift of a Hebrew Bible."<sup>11</sup>

To summarize: Young departed for Hamburg in 1620, and his influence over Milton as a child ended, consequently, when the poet was only eleven. If Milton really entered St. Paul's School in 1620—another conjecture which seems to be taking on the air of fact—then it may have been immediately after his private tutor left England. Certainly Young returned for a time in 1621; it may be that there were two separate journeys. During his subsequent absence, his pupil wrote to him at very infrequent intervals. There was apparently a letter late in 1623 or early in 1624. Young may have visited England between January and April in 1623; almost certainly he was there in February or March 1625, while Milton was entering the University. Early in 1627, I conjecture, he sent his young friend a gift of a Hebrew Bible. Milton was slow in acknowledging it, but during the vacation period,

<sup>11</sup> If this Bible can be found, the problem of the letter's date may finally be solved.

prompted anew by rumors of war near Hamburg, he composed a poem to be sent to Young. Having failed to mention the recent gift in the poem, he probably wrote a covering letter, expressing his thanks. Early in the following year, Young returned to England permanently—and the ensuing relations between him and his pupil become the subject of another series of conjectures.

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### BORROWINGS IN GRANGE'S "GOLDEN APHRODITIS"

In a recent article on John Grange's *Golden Aphroditis* (1577),<sup>1</sup> it was pointed out among other things that Grange had borrowed without acknowledgment many passages from popular books of the period. Near the end of the article it is stated that, "No doubt other borrowings by the well-read Grange await detection." The purpose of this note is to record the finding, as predicted, of "other borrowings by the well-read Grange." They are from James Sanford's *The Garden of Recreation*, which appeared for the first time in 1573,<sup>2</sup> five years before the publication of *The Golden Aphroditis*.

On the title-page of the 1573 edition of Sanford's book, "containing most pleasant Tales, worthy deeds and witty sayings of

<sup>1</sup>Hyder E. Rollins, "John Grange's *The Golden Aphroditis*," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xvi (1934), 177-198.

<sup>2</sup>The title-page of a photostat of the British Museum copy of the 1573 edition reads: "The Garden of Pleasure:/Contayninge most pleasante Tales,/worthy deeds and witty/sayings of noble Princes/and learned Philosophers,/Moralized./No lesse delectable, than profitable./Done out of Italian into English, by/*Iames Sanforde*, Gent./Wherein are also set forth divers Verses and/Sentences in Italian, with the Englishe/to the same, for the benefit of/students in both tongs./Imprinted at London, by Henry Bynneman./Anno 1573./" Grange may have read a copy of the second edition of Sanford's translation, which is recorded in *The Short Title Catalogue* as printed in 1576: "Houres of recreation, or after dinners. Which may aptly be called the Garden of Pleasure." I have not seen this edition. In referring to Sanford's book, I have used the title of the second edition rather than that of the first, to connect it with its source, Guicciardini's *L'Hore di recreatore*.



noble Princes and learned Philosophers," it is stated that it is "done out of Italian into English by Iames Sanforde, Gent.," without mention of Sanford's Italian source. Sanford's work is a literal translation of Ludovico Guicciardini's *L'Hore di recreatore*, as Professor Max Förster has pointed out.<sup>3</sup>

The anecdotes borrowed by Grange, together with the original passages from Sanford's *Garden of Recreation*, follow. It will be noticed that Grange's borrowings accord, in the main, with his purpose, as stated at the beginning of his *Epistle Dedicatorie*, "to intreate of the eleuation or declination of the Mount of Venus."<sup>4</sup>

*GOLDEN APHRODITIS* (1577)<sup>5</sup>

[1] He oft reparde before the Goddes, with great complaynt, and mone, For that *Cibile* had transformde into a Lions shape *Hyppomenes* his cosin deare. for taking yeelded rape, VVithout a reuerence of the place: when beautie prickte his harte, His lust to serue (alas to soone) his hony waxed tarte. A Nymphe likewise of *Scyros* Ile, adornde with beautie rare, Before the Goddes with earnest sute, full oft she did repare: As for to haue *Atalanta* fayre to be restorde againe Vnto hir former shape, which once *Cybele* (to hir payne) Together with *Hyppomenes* transformde to Lions route, And set them both at once to drawe hir chariot wheles aboute.<sup>6</sup> (Sig. B<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>)

*GARDEN OF RECREATION* (1573)

[1] Wherefore he not being able to endure the loue hee [*Hippomenes*] bare hir [*Atalanta*], in carying hir into his countreye, brought her into y<sup>e</sup> holy wood of *Cibel* mother of the gods, and there without reuerence of the place, had to do with hir. Wherwith *Cybele* being offended, turned them both into Lions, and sette them (as it is also scene) to drawe hir charyot. (Pp. 30<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>)

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, XLII (1918-19), 363, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Grange's purpose in writing his book is stated more fully on the second page of his "Epistle Dedicatorie" (A2<sup>v</sup>) as, "to paint, as wel the pleasure as displeasure of Loue . . . (mingling the sweete with the soure) not only to discourse of the eleuation, but also of the declination of the Mount of Venus, for that they are dependant (as fellow *Fabians*) the one to the other."

<sup>5</sup> I have used the convenient facsimile edition of *The Golden Aphroditis* issued in the first series of the *Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints*, New York, [1937].

<sup>6</sup> Grange did not, of course, have to go to Sanford for the mythological account of the punishment of *Hippomenes* and *Atalanta* by *Cybele*. He

## GOLDEN APHRODITIS (1577)

[2] I wil not say she would willingly haue bene reuenged, but yet I dare say it rubbed hir on y<sup>e</sup> gall as muche as the strokes greeued *Venus* which *Diomedes* gaue hir, when with weapon she woulde haue bene reuenged upon him, but that *Iupiter* calling hir aside, sayde: Daughter mine, thine office is not to be occupied in warlik affaires, but aboute toyers and louers, wherfore attende about loue [,] kisses, embracings and pleasures, and as for martiall Princes, *Mars* and *Bel-lona* haue the charge thereof.<sup>7</sup> (Sig. E<sub>2</sub>r)

[3] If this be true whiche stories make plaine, what maruell is it then (faire Ladye) that I with the sight of thee am rauisht? whose liuely countenance feedeth as well myne eye, as did the disputations of learned men in schooles feede the eares of the worthy Emperour *Charles* the fourth, who seemest in my sight faire *Helen* of *Troy*, *Poliacene*, *Cahope*, yea *Atlanta* hir selfe in beautie to surpassse, *Pandoras* in qualities, *Penelope* and *Lucretia* in chastenesse to deface. (Sig. F<sub>1</sub>r)

[4] and yet what make you then of beautie by this (quoth she?) *Plato*

## GARDEN OF RECREATION (1573)

[2] *Venus* being beaten of *Diomedes*, woulde with weapon bee reuenged: but *Iupiter* calling hir, sayd: Daughter myne, thy office is not to be occupied in warlyke affaires, but about women, and louers. Wherfore attend about loue, kisses, embracings, and pleasures: And as for warlike affaires, *Mars* and *Minerua* haue the charge thereof. (P. 32r)

[3] The Emperour *Charles* the fourth, taking great delite in learning, went to the schooles of *Prague*, and hauing stayde there more than foure houres to heare woorthie men dispute, perceined that some of his nobles sayd that supper tyme passed away: wherfore he nobly answered: Lette hym sup that will, as for mee, I feede me more with thys, than with a supper. (P. 35r)

[4] *Socrates* called beautie a tyrannie of shorte tyme; *Plato* a priui-

may, however, have been struck by the usefulness of the incident for his story when reading *The Garden of Recreation*. Grange's hero, N. O., and his heroine, Alpha Omega, are brought together for the first time while petitioning Cybele in behalf of the transformed Hippomenes and Atalanta. (Sigs. C<sub>2</sub>v-C<sub>8</sub>r).

<sup>7</sup> For poetic reworkings and other allusions by Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe, Lyly, and others to this advice of Jupiter's to Venus, see *MLN.*, L(1935), 354-355. The ultimate source of this incident is Homer's *Iliad*, v. 426-430. In *The Iliad of Homer*, by A. Lang, W. Leaf, and E. Myers, 1925, the passage is translated as follows (p. 95): "So spake she [Athene] and the father of gods and men smiled, and called unto him golden Aphrodite and said: 'Not unto thee, my child, are given the works of war; but follow thou after the loving tasks of wedlock, and to all these things shall fleet Ares and Athene look.'"

## GOLDEN APHRODITIS (1577)

defined it lady (quoth he) to be a priuiledge of nature: *Carneades* a solitary kingdome: but *Domitius* sayde, that there was nothing more acceptable in an honest woman: *Aristotle* affirmed, that beautie is more worth than all the letters of commendation: *Homer* commended it for a glorious gifte of nature, and *Ouid* called it a grace of God. You seemed me thought (sayed A. O.) to define this upon the beautie of an honest woman: but what thinke you of a Curtisan? who answered their beautie (sayeth *Socrates*) is a tyrannie of shorte tyme: *Theophrastus* a secret deceyte: and *Theocritus* a delectable damage. (Sig. F<sub>1</sub><sup>v</sup>)

[5] . . . doing eyther as *Iulius Caesar* did, who valiantly and moste victoriously conquering his enimies wrote upon his shield as followeth, *Veni, vidi, et vici*, or else as the Emperour *Charles* the fite, who taking *Iohn Fredericke* duke of Saxonie prysoner, though in deede with great difficultie by reason of his valiantnesse, *Veni, vidi, et dominus Deus vicit*. (Sig. I<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>)

[6] or what should we thinke of . . . hir in England in the raigne of *Henry* the eight, who hauyng twelue sonnes, and lying sore sicke, confessed to hir husbände that after the firste yeaere shee was neuer true vnto him? (Sig. K<sub>2</sub><sup>r</sup>)

## GARDEN OF RECREATION (1573)

ledge of nature: *Theophrastus* a secrete deceyte[:] *Theocritus* a delectable damage: *Carneades* a solitarie kingdom: *Domitius* sayd, that there was nothing more acceptable: *Aristotle* affirmeth, that beautie is more woorthie than all the letters of commendation: *Homere* sayd, that it was a glorious gifte of nature: and *Ouide* alluding to him, calleth it a grace of God. (Pp. 26<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>, for "18<sup>r</sup>" "18<sup>v</sup>")

[5] When the Emperour *Charles* the fith, had discomfited and put to flyghte the mightie league of the *Almaine*, he dyd also finally discomfite the .xxiii. day of April, in the yeaere of our Lord .1547. neare to the famous ryuer of *Albu*, the valiant Duke *Iohn Frederick* of *Sawonie*, and toke him prisoner, with manie of his confederates, which great difficultie when he had ouercome, he modestly vsed these words, saying: I may not say as *Iulius Cesar*, *veni, vidi, vici*, but I will saye, *veni, vidi, et Dominus Deus vicit*. (Pp. 65<sup>v</sup>-66<sup>r</sup>)

[6] When *Henry* the eyghte reigned, there was in London a gentlewoman, poore in goods, but riche in beautie, and very wanton. She had twelue sonnes, the first was hir husbands, the residue other mens. Nowe she falling grievously sick, and waxing worse and woorse, was sodeynly in daunger of deathe: Wherefore vpon a tyme she causing hir husband to be called to hir, sayd vnto him: *William* (so was he called) I must

## GOLDEN APHRODITIS (1577)

[7] when the Emperour *Sigismunde* was dead, one of his kinned persuaded the Emprise to remayne a widdowe: shewyng hir at large a greate circumstaunce of the Turtle, who lesing hir mate, aboue all other birdes liueth chaste euer after; but she smyling hereat, answered: sithe that you counsell me to followe an vnreasonable birde, why do you not rather set before me the doue or the sparrow which haue a more pleasant nature for women? (Sig. K<sub>2</sub>r)

[8] But yet further to proue the lightnesse of womē: do we not read that in a company of Gentlemen and Gentlewomen there befell a discourse of a noble woman of *Siena*, cōmonly accounted fayre and honest, and albeit she were praysed in a manner of all mē (as she that deserved it) there were some who eyther for desire they had to speake against womenkynde, or else to haue a repulse at hyr hande, reproved hyr of vanitie and lightnesse? the honorable Lady the *Pecci* hearyng this, answered: why sir, if you will take vanitie and lightnesse from vs, what shall we haue lefte? as though vanitie and lightnesse were their proper and peculiar indewments. (Sigs. K<sub>2</sub>r-K<sub>2</sub>v)

## GARDEN OF RECREATION (1573)

nowe mocke thee no longer, vnderstande that of all these sonnes there is none thine but the eldest: bicause I was true to thee but the first yere. (Pp. 23r-23v)

[7] When the Emperoure *Sigismunde* was dead, a curiouse kinsman of his exhorted his wife to remayne a widdowe, and followe the turtle: shewing hir at large, howe that birde (when hir make is dead) liueth chast euer after. But the woman smyling, aunswered him: Sith that you counsell me to followe an vnreasonable birde, why doe not you rather sette before me the doue or the sparowe, which haue a more pleasaunte nature for women? (Pp. 63r-63v)

[8] In a companie of gentlewomen and gentlemen of nobilitie, there befell a discourse of a noble woman of *Siena*, commonly accompted faire and honest: and albeit she were praised there in a manner of all men (as she that deserved it) there was one, who eyther for desire to speake agaynst, or for some repulse receyued of hir, reproved hir of vanitie and lightnesse. Wherefore the honorable lady the *Pecci*, which was present, foorthwith said: Nay if you take vanitie and lightnesse from women, what shall they haue left? (P. 22v).

Six\* of the eight anecdotes borrowed from Sanford turn upon love between the sexes. Grange chose these from the several hundred anecdotes on other subjects in *The Garden of Recreation* because they helped him in his plan "to paint as well the pleasure

\* Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, and 8.

as the displeasure of loue." And of the six, three,<sup>9</sup> which gibe at "the vanitie and lightnesse" of women, are to be added to Grange's other thrusts at women that run like a lighter thread through the texture of the narrative. The two remaining borrowings<sup>10</sup> do not deal with love, but turn upon incidents in the lives of eminent men in classical times. These, along with much other classic embroidery from other sources, Grange neatly condensed into similes, sentences, and exempla, because of his and his fashionable readers' fondness for the anecdotal and other riches of the ancients presented in this way.<sup>11</sup>

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### THOMAS BEEDOME

Thomas Beedome, whose *Poems Divine and Humane* attracted some attention when they were reprinted a few years ago, was, if several of his contemporaries may be credited, a youth of promise. But, although one of his poems has been deemed worth including in a recent anthology of seventeenth-century verse, he will probably be remembered less for his poetry than for his admirers and his admirations. These, nevertheless, can hardly be thought unimportant, for a poet who called Donne "honoured friend" and who addressed two poems to Donne's friend Wotton is not without interest. It may be useful, therefore, to supplement what is known of him with certain data hitherto overlooked.

First, to the list of his authenticated work given by Bullen in the *Dictionary of National Biography* should be added a series of

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

<sup>10</sup> Nos. 3 and 5.

<sup>11</sup> In his use of these figures of speech, Grange anticipated Lyly's more frequent and better known use in *Euphues*, a year later, of the same figures for the same purpose. The intimate and frequent intercourse between the main characters of Grange's story and their mythological relatives, culminating in a gathering of the gods and goddesses at the wedding feast of Alpha Omega and of N. O., finds no counterpart in *Euphues*, but does anticipate a similar mingling of mortals and of immortals in Lyly's comedies.

complimentary verses which he wrote for Lewes Roberts' *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce*, published at London in 1638.<sup>1</sup>

Second, it is very likely that he was born on the tenth of either March or May, 1613, and that he entered Merchant Taylors' School in 1621/2.

This twofold assumption is based partly upon the contents of *Poems Divine and Humane*, partly upon the records of Merchant Taylors' School.

Prefixed to *Poems*, which was brought out posthumously in 1641 under the editorship of the dramatist Henry Glapthorne, is a sequence of elegies contributed by Beedome's well-wishers, the final item being a threnody by his brother, Francis. Among the persons whom Beedome complimented was William Scott, to whom he also directed lines headed: "To William Scot on the Death of his Brother Gilman Scot."

Taken by themselves, these facts mean little; seen in the light of registrations at Merchant Taylors' School, they have surprising congruence. William Scott, born February 3, 1612, entered in 1626; Gilman Scott, born October 3, 1615, and Francis Beedom (Beedome), born February 22, 1615, were enrolled in the same year; Thomas Beedom (Beedome), born March or May 10, 1613, entered in 1621/2.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, then, it is safe to say that the two Beedomes and the two Scotts were schoolfellows and to fix the date of Thomas Beedome's birth as that given in the enrolment entry.

If this hypothesis is correct, Beedome cannot have been more than twenty-eight years old when he died, for when *Poems* was licensed on January 22, 1640/1, the author was styled "deceased."<sup>3</sup> Twenty-eight is not, to be sure, an advanced age, but Glapthorne's words should not be interpreted too literally when he rhapsodizes:

Et vix ingressus teneros lanuginis annos;  
Corruis ante diem, blande Beedome, tuum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Facing page 4.

<sup>2</sup> Charles J. Robinson, *A Register of the Scholars Admitted into Merchant Taylors' School from A. D. 1562 to 1874* (2 vols., London, 1882-1883), I, 106, 119. Beedome also eulogizes Galiel Scott, possibly a brother of William and Gilman, but the name does not appear in the *Register*.

<sup>3</sup> G. E. B. Eyre, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708 A. D.* (3 vols., London, 1913-1914), I, 438.

<sup>4</sup> *The Plays and Poems of Henry Glapthorne*, ed. Pearson (2 vols., London, 1874), II, 231.

Whether or not English poetry suffered through Beedome's untimely end is a question for critics to answer. If he should prove to be the Thomas Bedum, apothecary, who on September 21, 1637, married Katherine Watson at St. Peter's, Cornhill, and whose infant son was buried there on November 18, 1639,<sup>5</sup> they might find in his career a parallel to that of Keats, who also, wielding both pestle and pen, died young.

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### 'THE HERO; OR, THE ADVENTURES OF A NIGHT'

Professor A. B. Shepperson, in *The Novel in Motley* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), describes Eaton Stannard Barrett's well known burlesque, *The Heroine*, and then continues:

Barrett's final work was *The Hero; or, the Adventures of a Night* [1817], a companion piece to *The Heroine* [1813]. . . . It has never before been recognized as Barrett's although its style and burlesque method are very like his. However, in the 1815 edition of *The Heroine* appears a hitherto unnoticed advertisement of *The Hero*, as a forthcoming publication "by the author of the Heroine." (P. 173.)

The advertisement is interesting as showing that the publisher wished to take advantage of the success of *The Heroine* when he launched *The Hero*, but Barrett's authorship of the latter story is out of the question. It was announced in 1817 as "a Translation, from the Pen of a Lady, of a French Work (which met with an extensive sale on the Continent some time back)."<sup>1</sup> The lady was Mrs. Sophia Elizabeth Shedden or Sheddou, a sister of 'Monk' Lewis; in a letter to Walter Scott, January 24, 1819, she acknowledged the translation and named the original, "*La Nuit Anglaise*—a very witty French work."<sup>2</sup> Lewis's biographer tells us that Sophia Lewis made this translation "in early womanhood," and "filled up a few pages in vindication of the 'Monk,'" but that her

<sup>5</sup> G. W. G. Leveson Gower, *A Register . . . of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill* . . . (2 vols., London, 1877-1879), I, 88, 198, 256.

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXVII (May, 1817), 443.

<sup>2</sup> *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Wilfred Partington (London, 1930), pp. 229-30. See also *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, V (London, 1933), 365, n. 2.

brother did not approve of the project.<sup>3</sup> We may perhaps date it not long after 1800, at a time when people were still excited about *The Monk*. *La Nuit Anglaise* (2 vols.; Paris, 1799) is described by Alice M. Killen, *Le Roman Terrifiant ou Roman Noir* (Paris, 1923), pp. 98-100, and attributed to Louis François Marie Bellin de La Liborlière. The hero is the bourgeois M. Dabaud—Mr. Dob in the English version—who delights in Radcliffian romance and goes through a series of adventures parallel to those in the stories he has read. Footnotes give exact references to the novels quoted and parodied. The whole affair turns out to be an elaborate practical joke. Finally M. Dabaud is forced to sign a compact with the devil renouncing the French translations of Mrs. Radcliffe, as well as works falsely attributed to her, and promising never to read any English novels except those of Richardson, Fielding, Miss Bennett, and their followers. The list of authors which Mr. Dob is permitted to read is revised and brought up to date: "those of Fielding, Smollett, and Miss Edgeworth; Waverley, and others of the same author; Sketches of Character,<sup>4</sup> and *Pride and Prejudice*, with others by the same author." (II, 133.)

It may be added that on the strength of a Philadelphia edition of 1817 *The Hero* has been listed as an early American novel.<sup>5</sup>

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## AN UNKNOWN CHILD OF LANDOR'S

The *London Quarterly Review*, in its notice of the death of Walter Savage Landor (vol. xxiv, April, 1865, pp. 178-9), describes the poet's sojourn in South Wales after his rustication from Oxford with a quotation from his *Imaginary Conversation* with the Abbé Delille (1846 ed.), where Landor tells how he there first learned to admire Milton: "and even the great hexameter sounded to me tinkling when I had recited aloud, in my solitary walks on the sea-

<sup>3</sup> [Margaret Baron-Wilson,] *The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis* (London, 1839), I, 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Sketches of Character; or Specimens of Real Life*, London, 1808.

<sup>5</sup> Lillie Deming Loshe, *The Early American Novel* (repr. New York, 1930), pp. 56 n., 114; Oscar Wegelin, *Early American Fiction 1774-1830* (revised ed.; New York, 1929), p. 7.



shore, the haughty appeal of Satan and the repentance of Eve." The poet's younger brother, reading this article, jotted in the margin: "He too should have repented then—having seduced a girl at Tinby [*sic*] the year before, with whom he lived at Swansea till the birth of a Child." This copy of the *London Quarterly* is preserved in the Forster Collection, South Kensington Museum, and Robert Eyres Landor's note was written, of course, over seventy years after the event to which he refers. The asperity is in keeping with his other marginal remarks in the same article (see *MLN.*, 1937, 505-6), for he apparently had little love for his older brother; but it is none the less unlikely that the high-principled clergyman would have invented such a story.

The records of Trinity College, Oxford, and especially the recently discovered buttery books for 1792-4, fix quite exactly the period of Landor's residence in Oxford, though they do not throw light on the reason for his departure. He matriculated on November 13, 1792 (University Matriculation Register, Subscription Register [autograph], College Admission Register B [autograph]), and paid his caution money at that time. He did not come into residence, however, until the last week in January, 1793, and remained in Oxford until the middle of July, when he departed for a vacation that lasted until the third week of September. The next volume of the butler's accounts is lost, but we find Landor in Oxford from the end of March, when another volume begins, until the week of June 20, 1794, after which time he was never again in residence. His rustication, therefore, must have occurred in June, and not November, as Forster implies. Leeds, at whose shutters Landor is said to have fired a charge of shot, was also not at the university in the autumn of 1794. Landor's name continued on the books until the week of December 19, when it was written in by the butler, then crossed out, and not again placed in the college list. This was the week, then, in which he definitely severed his connection with the college. His caution money was apparently refunded in February, 1795, according to a letter from the present President of Trinity.

After his rustication, Landor went to South Wales, if he dates correctly his poem, *Voyage to St. Ives, Cornwall, from Port Eimon, Glamorgan, 1794*, published in *Dry Sticks* (1858, p. 52). On his return home, he quarrelled with his father because he gave up his

room in college, and went to London, according to Forster. This must, then, have been late in December, 1794, when his name was removed from the college books. In London, he supervised the publication of his first volume of poetry, and Forster quotes a letter of April 12, 1795, dated from that city, adding that Landor soon afterwards departed for Tenby. There, and in Swansea, he seems to have spent most of the next three years.

Landor's first love in Wales was apparently Nancy Jones. To her, as "Ione," is addressed a poem headed *Written in 1793*; but the existing manuscript of this poem, in the British Museum, was written about 1860, and may or may not have been dated accurately. Ione figures in *Gebir* (1798) and *Crysaor* (printed 1800, published 1802), while the volume *Simonidea* (1806) contains a poem on her death, referring to her as both "Nancy" and "Ione." The Swansea parish baptismal registers show no trace of a child of Landor's, but the burial registers show the interment of a nine-months' infant, Anne Jones, on May 9, 1796, and a twenty-two year old girl of the same name on November 15, 1801. Nothing but the name, by no means an uncommon one, serves to connect the older girl with Landor's "Ione" ("Nancy" being probably a familiar name for "Anne"), nor is there better evidence that she and the infant were related. It is impossible at present, therefore, to elaborate on Robert Landor's terse note.

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## THE CARTLOAD IN THE GATE

An Italian scholar, G. Pitre, has collected various medieval versions, and one modern North-African variant, of the story concerning certain besieged citizens who persuaded their enemies to lift the siege by making them believe they had plenty of food to offer them resistance for an indefinite period. They threw over the walls, or let out of the gate, some domestic animals fed on the last scrapings from their granary, or, according to other versions, they threw across to the enemy's camp loaves of bread or cakes that had been baked of the last flour that was left to them mixed with the scanty supply of milk extracted from their cattle or their women's breasts. Or they showed prisoners of war huge piles of sand or

stone covered with a thin layer of grain, and returned them, either hale or maimed, to the camp of the besiegers to tell of the abundant provisions within the town.<sup>1</sup>

The ruse is much older than the Middle Ages. Pitre quotes similar stories from Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, Thucydides, and Herodotus. It is, of course, possible that similar ingenious ideas occur to different people under the stress of similar circumstances. The large number of these stories, however, makes the assumption of spontaneous invention highly improbable. But there is no reason to dismiss all of them as mere legends. It may well be that the literary tradition was turned to practical use in a beleaguered city's extremity. Some scholar may have suggested to his hard-pressed fellow citizens that they resort to the stratagem he had read of in classical literature. Frontinus had compiled his book for the very purpose of furnishing commanders *consilii quoque et providentiae exemplis . . . unde illis excogitandi generandique similia facultas nutriatur*. And the commander of a garrison who saw his provisions dwindle could find in Book III, Chapter 15, of the *Strategematon*, a number of solutions to his problem, *Quemadmodum efficiatur ut abundare videantur quae deerunt*.

In another chapter, Frontinus has collected various examples of stratagems by which not the besiegers but the besieged were duped by their enemies. He tells, amongst others, of Antiochus capturing the fortified town of Suenda in Cappadocia by dressing his own soldiers in the clothes of the men who used to bring provisions into the town:

Antiochus in Cappadocia ex castello Suenda, quod obsidebat, iumenta frumentatum egressa interceptis occisisque calonibus, eorundem vestitu milites suos tamquam frumentum reportantes summisit. Quo errore illi custodibus deceptis castellum intraverunt admiseruntque milites Antiochi.

In the Scottish epic poem *Wallace*, by Henry the Minstrel, nicknamed Blind Harry, occurs a similar incident. Sir William, Lord of Douglas Dale, is anxious to aid Wallace by taking Sanquhar Castle from the English. One of his men, Thomas Dickson, is a cousin of a certain Anderson, who supplies Sanquhar Castle with wood. Dickson easily persuades his cousin to lend him his horse

<sup>1</sup>G. Pitre. *Strategemmi Leggendarî di Città Assediate*. Palermo: 1904. See also N. Zingarelli, *Archivio per le tradizioni popolari*. Vol. xxii.

and his clothes. He drives the cart to the castle, while Sir William and his men are lying in ambush in a nearby wood.

The yet yeid wp, Dicsen gat in but mar;  
A thourtour bande, that all the drawcht wpbar,  
He cuttyt it; to ground the slyp can ga,  
Cumryt the yet, stekyng thai mycht nocht ma.<sup>2</sup>

In Thomas Walker's modern prose translation,<sup>3</sup> these lines are rendered as follows:

The gate went up and Dickson got in without further parley. He then cut the cross-band which upheld all the drawbridge; the slip then went to the ground and encumbered the gate, which now stuck fast so that no more could be made of it.

But this gives a wrong impression of what actually happened. Dickson did not cut the cross-band which upheld all the drawbridge. What sort of a band would that be? The *drawcht* is not the drawbridge, but the cartload, and the *thourtour bande* was the strap that held the pile of wood together on the cart. When the strap was cut the wood slipped down and encumbered the gate so entirely that "there might not be a greater stoppage."

Blind Harry's story seems a combination of two stratagems taught by Frontinus, the one just quoted about Antiochus in Capadocia, and another resorted to by Philip of Macedonia. Here the commander of the besieged is bribed by Philip to block the open gate with a cartload of cobbles, thus giving the besiegers an opportunity to enter the town:

Philippus, oppido Saniorum exclusus, Apollonidi praeffecto eorum ad prodicionem corrupto persuasit ut plastrum lapide quadrato oneratum in ipso aditu portae poneret. Confestim deinde signo dato insecutus oppidanos circa impedita portae claustra trepidantis oppressit.<sup>4</sup>

A similar scene occurs in *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden-Barnaveit*, commonly attributed to Philip Massinger and John Fletcher. Modesbargen, a Dutch fugitive from justice, is hiding in a castle on German territory, where he thinks himself safe from

<sup>2</sup> *Wallace, or The Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace, of Ellerslie*, by Henry the Minstrel, ed by John Jamieson, 1820, p. 271, ll. 1631 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir William Wallace, His Life and Deeds*, by Henry the Minstrel (Blind Harry) in modern prose by Thomas Walker. Glasgow, 1910, p. 255 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Strategematon*, III, iii, 5.

arrest. While he is hunting in the neighboring woods, soldiers in the pay of the Prince of Orange secure the drawbridge to the castle:

They that are left behind, instead of helping  
A Boores Cart ore the Bridge, loden with hay,  
Have crackt the ax-tree with a brick, and there it stands,  
And choakes the Bridge from drawing.<sup>5</sup>

Here, as in Frontinus's story about Philip and the Sanii, the ruse succeeds with the aid of an inside traitor. For "they that are left behind" are men whom Modesbargen left in charge of the castle.

A hay cart that chokes drawbridge and gate also figures in an episode related by John Barbour in *The Bruce*. Linlithgow was in the hands of the English. A farmer, William Bunnock, who used to cart hay into the fortress, decided to wrest it from them. He advised his friends to set an ambush while he drove his hay into the town. Eight armed men were concealed under the load, he himself would stroll along beside the wagon, and on the box-seat would sit a brave yeoman with a hatchet under his belt. When the cart had crossed the bridge and was inside the gate, Brunnock gave a signal, and cut the rope that held the hay load. The eight armed men jumped off the cart, the men in ambush ran towards the gate, which the defenders were unable to close, and thus the castle was taken.<sup>6</sup>

In Blind Harry's *Wallace* the use of the hayload that brings armed men into the fortress is combined with the stratagem which Frontinus fathers on Antiochus.<sup>7</sup> Wallace had heard that the town of St. Johnston used to send out servants to bring in cartloads of hay. One morning they were seized by Wallace's men and put to death. Five, including Wallace himself, donned the outer garments of the slain men; and thus disguised, they drove the three carts back to town, five men being hidden under the hay in each wagon. Sir John Ramsay, meanwhile, was lying in ambush to rush to the fray as soon as the fighting should begin. The disguise misled the gate-keepers; the carters were admitted without hindrance, Ramsay's men ran from ambush towards the open gate, and the town was taken.

<sup>5</sup> *A Collection of Old English Plays*, by A. H. Bullen, II, p. 271.

<sup>6</sup> *The Bruce*. Ed. by W. W. Skeat, Scottish Text Society. Book x, 137-250.

<sup>7</sup> See the passage quoted above.

There is a Dutch version of this incident that is familiar to every school child in Holland. For it is a famous episode in the Eighty Years' War against Spain. Van Meeteren tells the story under the year 1590. One morning the town of Lochem, in the County of Zutphen, opened its gates to let in three hay wagons, each attended by two or three soldiers disguised as peasants with forks in their hands. When the first had crossed the drawbridge, the porter's son and another boy began to pluck hay off the load, for it is an ancient custom there that while the carts are between the two gates you may pull off as much hay as you can. Suddenly the porter's son seized a leg instead of hay. "Treason!" he yelled, "treason!" The men jumped out from under the hay, the Spaniards who lay in ambush near the gate came to their rescue, and a fight with the garrison ensued in which the Spaniards were the losers. They were driven back across the bridge, and Lochem was saved.

Van Meeteren concludes his account of this incident with the statement, "It was the sergeant major at Zutphen who, with the parish priest of that town, had contrived this attempt." The parish priest may have been a reader of Frontinus.

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## AN EARLY USE OF DONNE'S FOURTH SATIRE

Among the problems which confront students of John Donne is the extent of the diffusion of those early poems which circulated in manuscript for many years before their publication in 1633. None of the miscellanies which appeared toward the end of the sixteenth or at the beginning of the seventeenth century contains poems by Donne, and although Francis Davison, in notes made "at some date after 1608," was "inquiring for 'Satyres, Elegies, Epigrams by John Don,' and querying whether they might be obtained 'from Eleaz. Hodgson and Ben Johnson,'" the earliest manuscript collections of Donne's conceits and of extracts from his poems date from the second quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> The injunctions of secrecy<sup>2</sup> which Donne imposed upon those friends to whom

<sup>1</sup> *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Grierson (Oxford, 1912), II, lvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, lxxvi.

he sent poems were well observed. An exception, however, represented by a printed extract of an early date, has hitherto apparently escaped attention. It is to be found in Joseph Wybarne's (or Wibarne's) *New Age of Old Names* (p. 113), entered in the Stationers' Register on August 25, 1609, and published in the same year with a dedication to Sir John Wentworth. To illustrate the incredibility of the legend of Antichrist he quotes ll. 18-23 of the fourth satire:

But because I cannot in prose expresse it, you shall heare the tenth Muse  
her selfe, utter it in her owne language thus,

A thing more strange, then on Niles slime the Sunne  
Ere bred, or all which into *Noahs* Arke came:  
A thing which would have posed *Adam* to name,  
Stranger then the seven Antiquaries studies.  
Then Affricks monsters, Guyanes rarities,  
Stranger then strangers.

A marginal note reads "Dunne in his Satyres." Whatever relationship existed between Joseph Wybarne, a Trinity College, Cambridge, man who had been ordained deacon (Lincoln) in 1607,<sup>3</sup> and John Donne is unknown.

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### A CHAUCERIAN FISHERMAN(?)

Disciples of Izaak Walton have followed their master in praising *The Secrets of Angling* (1613) by J[ohn] D[ennys]. Little attention, however, seems to have been paid to some of the poem's literary qualities. It opens in a Virgilian strain: "Of Angling, and the Art thereof I sing," and continues with stanzas of invocation to the Nymphs and the "sweet Boyd," that "Thy mother Auon runnest soft to seeke." In the Second Booke are several stanzas in which fish are catalogued. Obviously Dennys was familiar with poetic conventions. Of greater interest, for the moment, are portions of the third, fourth and fifth stanzas of the First Booke.

<sup>3</sup> Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-27), iv, 481.

First, when the Sunne beginneth to decline  
 Southward his course, with his fayre Chariot bright,  
 And passed hath of Heauen the middle Line,  
 That makes of equall length both day and night;  
 And left behind his backe the dreadfull signe,  
 Of cruell Centaure, slaine in drunken fight,  
 When Beasts do mourne, and Birds forsake their song,  
 And euery Creature thinkes the night too long.

And blustering Boreas with his chilling cold,  
 Vnclothed hath the Trees of Sommers greene;  
 And Woods, and groues, are naked to behold,  
 Of Leaues and Branches now dispoyled cleane:  
 So that their fruitfull stocks they doe vnfold,  
 And lay abroad their of-spring to be seene; . . .

Then goe into some great Arcadian wood . . .

The Chaucerian effect is readily observed. In fact, Dennys's allusions to the Zodiac, to the silence of birds that think "the night too long," and to "blustering Boreas with his chilling cold" seem a conscious echo and adaptation of phrases from the first twelve lines of the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

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## THE FUTURE AUXILIARIES GOTHIC 'HABEN' AND OLD NORSE 'MUNU'

In Gothic the durative future is sometimes expressed by means of the periphrastic auxiliary *haban* plus the infinitive. The apparent sense of *haban* in this function is 'to have [the privilege, right, duty, destiny, intention, etc.] to do something.' Examples are: J. XII, 26 *þou eip̃i ęgō, ękēi kai ę diákonoš ę ęmōš ęstai, þarei im ik, þaruh sa andbahts meins wisan habaiþ*, 'where I am, there also my servant shall be [= has the right, privilege, opportunity to be]'; k. XI, 12 *ę dē poiō, kai poiōšw, þatei tauja jah taujan haba*, 'what I do and shall do [= have the intention, am going to do].' That *haban* as a future auxiliary may imply 'intention' is supported by the fact that *haban* often translates Grk. μέλλειν 'to intend, be destined' (cf. J. VI, 6 *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦδει τί ęμελλεν, ęþ*



*silba wissa patei habaida taujan*, 'for he himself knew what he intended to do'). Otherwise Grk. μέλλειν is rendered by Goth. *munan* (cf. J. 6, 15, Ἰησοῦς οὖν γινὼς ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι, *iþ Jesus kunnands patei munaidedun usgaggan*, 'now Jesus knowing that they intended to go'). ON *munu* (< Goth. *munan*) came to be used as the auxiliary of pure futurity (= Germ. *werden*). Its original sense of 'have in mind, intend,' however, is often present<sup>1</sup> (e. g., *Sk.* 19 *epli ellifu hér hefik algullin, þau mun ek þér, Gerðr! gefa*, 'eleven apples all-golden I have here, these I shall [intend to, am going to] give thee, Gerth').

ON *munu* then represents a semantic parallel to Goth. *haban* = *munan*. Since *haban*, however, is so seldom used in the function of a future auxiliary we may assume that the original sense of 'intention' had not yet entirely passed over into a purely temporal function as could be the case with ON *munu*. Behaghel<sup>2</sup> (*Deutsche Syntax*, II. § 686) assumes that the use of Goth. *haban* as a future auxiliary developed under the influence of ecclesiastical Lat. *habēre* and Grk. μέλλειν in the same function. As regards the influence of Lat. *habēre* in this function there can hardly be any doubt.<sup>3</sup> It was the congruity<sup>4</sup> of form and meaning 'to have' between Lat. *habēre* and Got. *haban* which led to the parallel usage of Goth. *haban* as a future auxiliary.

As regards the influence of Grk. μέλλειν 'intend, be destined,' it does not seem plausible that Goth. *haban* could have acquired this sense if Lat. *habēre* had not existed. Rather we may infer that after Goth. *haban* had acquired this sense of 'intention' under the influence of Lat. *habēre*, the Goth. verb *haban* naturally likewise served to translate Grk. μέλλειν in the same sense. Wherever

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nygaard, *Norroen Syntax*, § 177, Anm. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Es kann kaum einem Zweifel unterliegen, dass diese Fügungen [*duginnan, haban*] angeregt sind durch das Vorbild des älteren kirchlichen Lateins, das *incipere* oder *habere* mit Inf. zum Ausdruck des Futurs oder des gr. μέλλειν mit Inf. verwendet."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. OHG *ci arstandanne eigan* = Lat. *resurgere habent* 'shall arise,' *Dkm.* 56, 97; see Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, I. § 142, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Goth. *haban* = εἶχειν, *habēre* 'to consider as'; Mk. XI, 32 *habaiedun Johannan patei praufetes was, εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὅτι προφήτης ἦν*, 'they considered John to be a prophet'; OS *habdun ina for wārsagon* (*Hel.* 2727), OHG *habent Johannem samaso wīzagon* (*Tatian* 123, 2), Lat. *habent Johannem sicut prophetam*.

Grk. μέλλειν was rendered by Goth. *munan*, the Goth. employed the purely native idiom parallel to ON *munu*. Grk. μέλλειν therefore simply served to contribute to the already established sense of *haban* 'intend' as a future auxiliary. Grk. μέλλειν: Goth. *munan*: ON *munu* represent semantic analogues, whereas Goth. *haban*, as a future auxiliary, represents a semantic 'Kontrafaktur' of Lat. *habēre*.

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#### AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF MATHURIN DE LESCURE

The letter here reproduced is in the possession of the library of The University of Texas and was found in a copy of the "seconde édition, revue et augmentée d'une préface," of *Eux et elles: histoire d'un scandale* (Paris, Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1860) by M. de Lescure.<sup>1</sup> The letter is addressed to "Mon cher Ami," undoubtedly Poulet-Malassis, who had brought out the first edition of *Eux et elles* earlier in the same year, and it was written the day after the composition of the preface to the second edition to which it makes reference; it is written in a very neat hand which, after almost eighty years, would still be entirely legible but for the fact that it is so microscopic as to render some words not easily decipherable. The interest of the letter is two-fold: it is an eminently practical document, with nothing about it of the visionary character which writers are popularly supposed to possess; and it bears directly upon one of the most notorious episodes in the history of French literature. The book with which the letter is chiefly concerned, *Eux et elles*, is an honest, highly acrimonious review of three volumes on the Musset-George Sand *liaison* which were comparatively fresh from the presses: George Sand's *Elle et lui*, Paul de Musset's *Lui et elle*, and Louise Colet's *Lui*. The letter follows:

<sup>1</sup> Matthieu-François-Adolphe-Mathurin de Lescure, born at Bretenoux (Lot), 1833, died at Clamart, 1892. He served the government in posts of distinction, occupying, at the time of his death, that of "chef des secrétaires rédacteurs du Sénat." He was the author of a number of historical works and of a study of the life and writings of François Coppée to the year 1889, when it was published.

Paris, le 27 avril, 1860

Mon cher Ami

Je vous adresserai demain ou après demain le prospectus Marais.\*

Je compte sur la suite du succès de *Eur et Elles*, parce que la critique n'a pas encore parlé, et que la veine n'a été qu'effleurée.—(on en a demandé hier devant moi en plusieurs endroits) parce que le livre est adorablement imprimé, parce que les 3 éditeurs de *Lui, Elle et Lui*, et *Lui et Elle* ne demandent pas mieux que de le pousser, puisqu'il pousse les leurs—enfin parce que je compte sur la préface. Voilà.—Je suis bien aise de vous voir tirer à 1000 à la condition que vous ferez très vite, et que nous essaierons de faire un peu de publicité. 3 annonces à 10 f. pièce peuvent faire beaucoup pour une vente.

Si vous vendez 1000 ex. il est évident qu'il y aura pour nous quelque profit, n'est-ce pas?

Je pose la question, toute accessoire qu'elle est.

Je vous renvoie un exempl. corrigé, seulement du point de vue typographique.

Je n'ai rien trouvé à supprimer ou à augmenter.

Voyez vous-même, je vous donne plein pouvoir à cet effet. J'essaierai pour pousser cette 2me éd. de soulever une polémique. Sitôt que vous m'aurez donné le signal, paraîtront à la Gazette, à 2 jours d'intervalle, ma préface et un article de Guttinguer, ancien ami de Musset.

~~Nous essaierons de~~ (sic)

Je vous apporterai le Lonay\* qui m'occupe exclusivement avec le Marais, quand je viendrai, mais je crains que ce ne soit que dans les premiers jours de juin. Il s'agit de louvoyer, d'avoir un congé, de le demander au bon moment, d'éviter les ordres de voyage, les occasions de remplacement, etc. C'est toute une affaire.

Vous aurez pour la 2me édition un correspondant à

Mézières

Charleville

Montmédy

Rocroi

Givet

Sedan

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\*This is an allusion to what was to be Lescure's edition, with introduction and notes, of the *Journal* and *Mémoires* of Matthieu Marais (1664-1737), the friend and collaborator of Pierre Bayle (4 vols, Paris, Didot frères, 1863-68). Lescure was trying perhaps, at the time of his letter, to interest Poulet-Malassis in the publication of this work.

\*This is the only word in the letter which I have been unable to make out with some degree of certainty. It obviously refers to a book on which Lescure was at work, but I find no such name or any other like it in the Lescure bibliography given in Thieme's *Guide bibliographique*.

~~Rethel~~ (sic)

Je négocie tout cela.

Il a fait hier une très belle journée à Paris.—Aujourd'hui temps gris et froid.

Votre

M. de Lescure (signed)

AARON SCHAFFER

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## SOME FORGOTTEN WORKS OF PEDRO ANTONIO DE ALARCÓN

In *La Ilustración, Periódico Universal*<sup>1</sup> are found four short compositions of Alarcón not mentioned in biographies or criticisms of this author. It is very possible that they were written during the author's youth and were included among the "prohibidas," for in his *Historia de mis Libros* Alarcón says:

Si además de las Novelas Cortas contenidas en los tres tomos publicados por la *Colección de Escritores Castellanos*, aparecen algunas otras de mi juventud, conste que reniego de ellas y que prohibo absolutamente su reimpresión, por considerarlas insustanciales y de mal gusto.<sup>2</sup>

These *novelas cortas* are:

1. *La Portera de Victor Hugo* (Fragmento copiado de mi cartera). (1855, 478.) The author visits Hugo's old residence and the latter's janitress shows him the house where the author of *Hernani* lived. Ends with a eulogy of Hugo.
2. *La Tumba de Balzac* (1856, 11). Quotes part of Hugo's "Discurso en los funerales de Balzac." A visit to Balzac's tomb and a short review of his major works. High praise for his *Comédie Humaine*.
3. *Napoleón en Santa Elena* (1855, 131). A fantastic picture of Napoleon, his downfall and exile.
4. *Mañanas de Abril y Mayo* (1856, 215). A mixture of dialogue and

<sup>1</sup> Published in Madrid by Angel Fernández de los Ríos, between 1849-1857. Each volume is referred to by its corresponding year. This publication should not be confused with *La Ilustración de Madrid* (1870) or with any other of similar title.

<sup>2</sup> *Obras*, vol. of *El Capitan Veneno* (Madrid, 1900, 212).

description, a congeries for which the author apologizes at the end. The slight plot is the love affair between Enrique and Antonia, with the final marriage of the latter to Arturo, intimate friend of Enrique

Concerning *Mañanas de Abril y Mayo* the editor of the *Ilustración* says, in introducing the work: "Este es el título de un delicioso librito que acaba de ver la luz pública: todos o casi todos nuestros jóvenes escritores, han contribuido con algún trabajo a esta obrita, de la cual tomamos como muestra, los dos siguientes artículos." These two articles are *Celebridades Contemporáneas*, by José de Castro Serrano, and *Mañanas de Abril y Mayo*.<sup>3</sup> This work of Alarcón, then, gives title to the collection of short novels. The only record I have found of this book is in Hidalgo's *Diccionario General de Bibliografía Española*.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that this work was also consigned to the "prohibidas" class, as Alarcón advised.

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### THREE UNRECORDED ROUSSEAU EDITIONS

I have recently acquired three editions of Rousseau texts which seem to have escaped the researches of Dufour and other bibliographers: a 1761 edition of *la Nouvelle Héloïse*, the *Lettre à M. de Beaumont* and the *Discours sur l'économie politique*.

The *Nouvelle Héloïse* is obviously a *contrefaçon*, to be added to the five that Dufour lists (*Recherches bibliographiques sur les œuvres imprimées de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, I, 92 ff.). Its distinguishing marks: it is in 6 tomes, 12mo; it has the *cartouche* of the *princeps* (Dufour no. 87) but the red and black of the title-page are reversed; it has all the readings and mistakes of the

<sup>3</sup> Two more articles from *Mañanas de Abril y Mayo* appear in the same volume of the *Ilustración* (1856): *En el Retiro*, by Antonio Hurtado, and *A una Ciega, Improvisación Inédita*, by Espronceda. With regard to this last mentioned work J. Moreno Villa says in his *Clásicos Castellanos* edition of Espronceda (p. 207): "Esta composición improvisada vió la luz pública, en concepto de inédita, en *La Ilustración*, el año de 1853." *A una Ciega*, however, is found in the *Ilustración* of 1856 and not of 1853.

<sup>4</sup> Madrid, 1862-72; 7 vols.

*princeps* noted by Mornet in his edition; and the first two half-titles read "Tome premiere" and "Tome seconde."

The *Lettre à M. de Beaumont* alleges "A Amsterdam, chez Marc Michel Rey, MDCCLXIII." It has 107 pages, 12mo, and ends with an *Avis de l'Imprimeur*: "L'Auteur de cet Ouvrage ne s'étant pas trouvé à portée de revoir les épreuves, on ne doit point lui attribuer les fautes qui peuvent s'y être glissées malgré tous mes soins pour la correction."

The *Discours sur l'économie politique* is a "nouvelle édition" of Geneva, 1760, 12mo, with the same cut as in Dufour no. 68 (1758). Dufour no. 69 reads: "Le Catalogue de la Bibl. de Zurich indique une 'Nouvelle Edition, Genève, 1760, in-8°.'" Unless there was a mistake in recording the format of the Zurich copy, this is a different edition.

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# RACAN AND MOLIERE

Writing to Madame de Thermes under the name of Arténice in Burgundy Racan says

Plus je pense au sujet qui vous retient à la compagne, et plus je trouve de raisons qui vous obligent à revenir voir Paris, hors duquel il n'y a point de salut pour les belles, ny pour les honnêtes gens. (I, 315.)

Mascarille (*Précieuses Ridicules*, Sc. ix): "Pour moi, je tiens que hors de Paris, il n'y a point de salut pour les honnêtes gens."

The edition Tenant de Latour (Bibl. Elzévérienne) of Racan's *Œuvres* 1:301 says that this letter is one which appeared in the Faret edition of Racan (1627), to which I have not access. If this is true, may not Molière have seen it before the *P. R.* (1659) and used the gallant badinage of Racan to express the comic complacency of Mascarille?

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## AN UNCOLLECTED QUATRAIN BY BERTAULT

Perhaps the future meticulous editor of a critical edition (which we still lack) of Jean Bertaut's verse will be pleased to include, for the sake of completeness, an insignificant quatrain overlooked by Chenevière. It is one of the congratulatory preliminary poems in Gabriel Robert's *Violier des Muses*, A Poitiers Par Charles Pignon Et Catherin Courtoys, 1614 (*privilege* granted September 15, 1612), of which the Arsenal has a copy (8° B. L. 9025):<sup>1</sup>

*Sur les œuvres de Monsieur Robert. Quatrain*

Si ie manque a loïer dignement les beaux vers  
D'vn chery d'Apollon & favory des Muses  
Comme toy mon Robert on veria mes excuses  
Dans le rauissement de tes poemes diuers.

Bertault

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## SOME HEINE NOTES

The fortunate prospect of seeing Elster's second edition of Heine's works completed prompts the publication of a few proposed *addenda* and *corrigenda* to the first volumes of that edition and to the material of the earlier edition<sup>1</sup> still awaiting inclusion in the new series.<sup>2</sup> My list is by no means intended to be exhaustive; rather it is to be hoped that recent events in Heine scholarship may stimulate others to further offerings.

1) In his notes on *Almansor* Elster<sup>2</sup> (III, 435) raises a not

<sup>1</sup> The volume contains also an interesting reference to various ballets performed at Poitiers (?) in 1610, including *Armide*, *les Dicux*, *les Gueux* (pp. 44 sqq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Sämtliche Werke*, hrsgg. v. Ernst Elster. Kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe. Leipzig-Wien, Bibliographisches Institut. (1893) 7 vols.

<sup>3</sup> *Heines Werke*, hrsgg. v. Ernst Elster, Zweite kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe. Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut, 1924. 4 vols. This fragmentary edition is now being completed by Professor Walter Wadepuhl of West Virginia University.

uninteresting point, though obviously of secondary importance so far as Heine research is concerned, namely the outgoing influence of that work upon Richard Wagner. Nevertheless, in view of the parallel drawn by Elster between line 1091 and *Parsifal* II, 2, it seems advisable, if merely for the sake of greater completeness and exactitude, to call attention to a much earlier parallel: that between line 1100 f. and *Die Walküre* II, 4. Heine's Almansor, influenced by Byron (as Elster, *loc. cit.*, after Ochsenbein, points out), would not forego Zuleima "Und ständen offen Allahs goldne Hallen,/ Und Huris winkten mir mit schwarzen Augen. . . ." This speech in its turn has acted formatively upon Siegmund's rejection of Walhall if it means separation from Sieglinde: "So grüsse mir Walhall,/ grüsse mir Wotan,/ grüsse mir Wälse / und alle Helden —/ grüss auch die holden / Wunschesmädchen: / zu ihnen folg' ich dir nicht." The connection with *Walküre* seems at least as convincing as that with *Parsifal*; it belongs, in any case, along with other instances of the same general current of influence,<sup>3</sup> to the chapter of Heine-Wagner relations.

2) *Reise von München nach Genua*, Chapter XVI, contains the following description of the *Obstfrau* (whom some readers will remember as having, two chapters previously, enabled Heine to make his far-fetched pun on *Ohrfeige* by throwing a few figs at his ears!):

Die Frau hatte auch keineswegs ein übles Aussehen. Sie war freilich schon etwas in jenem Alter, wo die Zeit unsere Dienstjahre mit fatalen Chevets auf die Stirne anzeichnet . . .<sup>4</sup>

Elster explains *Chevets* by the phrase "Mit peinlichen Stiften":<sup>5</sup> an explanation rendered scarcely more satisfactory by his longer note deriving the word from *caput*, connecting it with *épée de chevet*, whereby, to be sure, he characterizes the passage as "auffallend und schwer zu erklären" and confesses himself not satisfied with his own solution.<sup>6</sup> His remark: "Irrtum nicht ausgeschlossen"<sup>7</sup> is decidedly to the point and calls for a reexamination of the manuscript before reaching a positive conclusion, yet the fairly obvious tentative suggestion which the present writer should like

<sup>3</sup> See further Elster's note on line 1091 (*loc. cit.*)

<sup>4</sup> Elster<sup>2</sup> IV, 182.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Elster<sup>2</sup> IV, 523 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 524.



to offer is that Heine wrote or intended to write *Chevrons*. This fits the sense of *Dienstjahre* without abstruse or tenuous hypothesis.

3) Elster's note on a satiric passage in *Die Bäder von Lucca*, Chapter VIII, of which other editors have not too courageously fought shy, strikes me as containing at least one error. Hirsch Hyacinth describes one of the children at a certain "famous" children's fancy-dress party: "—sogar ein ganz klein Kind . . . trug einen Elefantenorden."<sup>8</sup> Elster remarks: ". . . beim Elefantenorden an Siam zu denken."<sup>9</sup> The Siamese order in question, however, was not founded until 1861, more than thirty years after our passage was written. Siam had little European importance when the *Reisebilder* appeared. Rather is the reference to the Danish Order of the Elephant and the very small child represents Denmark. This difference is not trifling when seen in the light of the entire passage.

4) *Aus den Memoiren des Herren von Schnabelewopski*, Chapter IV. Previous editors have either ignored or possibly rejected an interesting parallel with Eichendorff. Heine—or his hero—is watching the passers-by on the Jungfernstieg in Hamburg when suddenly he is seized by the peculiar delusion that these people are nothing but arabic numerals:

. . . da ging eine krummfüssige Zwei neben einer fatalen Drei, ihrer schwangeren und vollbusigen Frau Gemahlin; dahinter ging Herr Vier auf Krücken; einherwatschelnd kam eine fatale Fünf, rundbüchig mit kleinem Köpfchen; dann kam eine wohlbekannte kleine Sechse und eine noch wohlbekanntere böse Sieben . . .<sup>10</sup>

This calls to mind the endeavors of Eichendorff's Taugenichts at arithmetic.<sup>11</sup> It may not at once be evident how closely Schnabelewopski's *närrischer Wahnsinn* parallels Taugenichts' *gar seltsame Gedanken*, for the reason that the passages have meagre correspondence of detail. The occurrence in both of the proverbial *böse Sieben* and the use of *Null* are not conclusive. Moreover, Heine's hero imagines his people as numbers; Eichendorff's sees his num-

<sup>8</sup> Elster<sup>2</sup> IV, 278 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 538.

<sup>10</sup> Elster<sup>1</sup> IV, 105.

<sup>11</sup> *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, Chapter II. (*Eichendorffs Werke*, hrsgg. v. Adolf v. Grolman, Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig, 1928; II, 375.)

bers as living persons. But in both cases the purpose is strikingly similar: satire of the philistine, allowed by Heine greater latitude and elaboration. Further pertinent is the point of departure for Heine's musings: an image much like that of *Taugenichts* at his bookkeeping, when he became *ganz verwirrt* and could not count to three, for Schnabelewopski cries out:

Entsetzlich! . . . wenn einem von diesen Leuten, während er auf dem Contoirbank sässe, plötzlich einfiele, dass zweimal zwei eigentlich fünf sei . . .<sup>10</sup>

Heine began his *Schnabelewopski* the year before *Taugenichts* appeared, but he did not finish it until 1833. Despite an apparent lack of direct mention of *Taugenichts* on Heine's part, it is not likely that he missed reading it. The story appeared in 1826 along with certain poems of Eichendorff's and *Das Marmorbild*,<sup>12</sup> which, through its influence on *Florentinische Nächte*<sup>13</sup> (1836) and the reference to it in *Elementargeister*<sup>14</sup> (of the same year), we know Heine to have read.

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## KATHOLE

Diese Form statt der üblichen "Katholik" kann man in nichtkatholischen Kreisen Norddeutschlands (aus Österreich und Preussisch-Schlesien kenne ich sie nicht) in ironischer Rede (etwa seit 1925) hören. (Vgl. z. B. *Hindenburg oder die Sage von der deutschen Republik*, S. 305, von Emil Ludwig, 1935: Hindenburg soll, wenn man ihm einen Reichskanzlerkandidaten vorschlug, "mit einem Neckwort" gefragt haben: "Ist der auch Kathole?", gegen "Katholen" hatte er "irgendwo ein leises Misstrauen.")

Was treibt zu solcher Neubildung?—Natürlich vor allem ein Gefühl der Überlegenheit über den Katholizismus. Und dies könnte

<sup>10</sup> This last, to be sure, had previously appeared in Fouqué's *Frauentaschenbuch*, 1819.

<sup>12</sup> For the passage see Elster<sup>1</sup> iv, 325 f. or the Insel edition of Heine, vi, 388 f., and especially Oskar Walzel's note on it, *ibid.*, 549.

<sup>14</sup> Elster<sup>1</sup> iv, 427 and his note 427 f.

in protestantischen oder jüdischen Kreisen zu Hause sein. Bei Entstehung des nicht bösartigen Neckwortes in letzteren Kreisen würde die Analogie von *Jude* (weniger die von *Spaniole*) massgebend gewesen sein; aber dieser Gedanke bricht sofort in sich zusammen, wenn man erwägt, dass für den Juden *Jude* ein positiv betontes Wort ist. Abgesehen davon fehlt jeder Anhaltspunkt dafür, dass die Juden sich gerade—wenn überhaupt—gerade über die Katholiken besonders erhaben gefühlt haben sollten. Höchstens konnte man an eine Art jüdische Selbstdestruktion, eine Art Heranziehen von *socii malorum* denken, aber auch das entfällt für die Zeit vor 1933. Also bleibt, was ja auch mit der bekannten Katholikenverachtung in preussisch-staatsprotestantischen Kreisen Deutschlands zusammenstimmt (s. Hindenburg!), nur das letztere Ursprungsmilieu übrig: *katholisch* (*er ist sehr katholisch!*) hat ja in solchen Kreisen den Beiklang "falsch, heuchlerisch, intrigant, frömmlicherisch, nicht sehr intelligent" (etwa ähnlich wie *ein biederer Zentrumsman*). Man sagt dementsprechend *ein sturer Kathole* für einen militanten Katholiken, *er ist ein Kathole!*, wenn man eine Machenschaft klerikaler Kreise zugunsten eines Katholiken als glaublich hinstellen will, *ein schwerer Kathole*, wenn man sozusagen die Quantität der Katholizität an einem Menschen zeichnen will. Alle Menschen meiner Bekanntschaft, die den Ausdruck verwenden, sind wenn nicht überzeugte Protestanten, so solche, in denen vom angestammten Protestantismus der Abscheu von diesem Andersartigen der Katholiken, besonders vor seiner religiösen Praxis, lebendig ist (einer dieser meiner Bekannten äusserte, als in unserem protestantischen Aufenthaltsort nach dem Kriege zum erstenmale eine Fronleichnamsprozession veranstaltet wurde, man solle die Teilnehmer wegen öffentlicher Ruhestörung und Verkehrsbeschränkung anklagen!). Selbstverständlich ist ein *Proteste* statt *Protestant* (für Freiburger Studentenkreise aus Berlin 1923-25 mir bezeugt) nur sekundär nach *Kathole* in selbstironisierender Absicht geprägt worden.

*Kathole* ist in Österreich unmöglich, das liegt nicht nur am katholischen Charakter der Bevölkerung, sondern an etwas Sprachlichem: der Unbeliebtheit der unbetonten Endung bei Gentilnamen: der Österreicher sagt *Preiss* für *Preusse*, *Jud* für *Jude*; als die Rumänen in den Weltkrieg und damit in den Gesichtskreis eintraten, hiessen sie *Rumäner*.—Es wird mir auch eine Bildung "er katholt" mitgeteilt, die nicht etwa bedeutet, "er katholisiert,"

er liebäugelt mit dem Katholizismus, sondern er betätigt sich "im Sinne des *Katholen*," "er gibt katholisch an." In "jetzt wird er katholisch" ist eine Entwicklung ins Unheimliche angedeutet (vgl. Fischer, *Schwäb. Wb.* s. v. *Katolik*).

Mit dem Fallenlassen der Endung *-ik* ist vor allem eine Ungleichmässigkeit in der Benennung der drei Hauptreligionen Deutschlands neugeregelt: *Protestánt*, *Katholik*, *Júde* (*Katholik* ist selbst als *Katholicke* zuerst aufgetreten, um 1700): *Kathóle* ist paroxyton wie *Júde*, ausserdem ist überhaupt die Sonderstellung von betonter maskuliner *-ik*- Endung im Deutschen beseitigt vgl. *M u s i k e r*, *P h y s i k e r*, *K l e r i k e r*, *K r i t i k e r* (*die Physik*, *Musik* ist anders geartet und auch da betonen Österreicher oft *M u s i k*, *P h y s i k*)—selbstverständlich stellt sich auch gelegentlich ein *Katholiker* ein. *Katholik* war von vornherein der Kritik des Sprachbewusstseins etwas ausgesetzt gewesen. Die Einebnung dieser Unregelmässigkeit wird besonders leicht vollzogen worden sein, wenn die spöttische Absicht dem Sprecher keine Schonung der Wortgestalt—Lustgewinn ist das Resultat jedes Witzes, so auch unserer witzigen Rückbildung—mehr auferlegt. Die Apokope der Endung ist eine Versehrung des Wortkörpers, die symbolisch sein will für die des gemeinten Menschen: *Kathole* ist eine Entstellung des Wortes, die wirkt wie das Abreissen vorspringender Körperteile (Nasen, Ohren) in primitiveren Kulturen. Feinere Naturen vermeiden solche Wortverstümmelung, die eine *capitis diminutio* des Nebemenschen bedeutet, und so sagen mir auch Gewährsmänner, dass sie *Kathole* nie sagen würden. "So wenig wie Georgine" (für Anhänger St. Georges), sagt ein Gewährsmann: man versteht die Gemeinsamkeit der Abneigung: ist es hier das Billig-Wortspielhafte, das zur Verächtlichmachung einer Überzeugung verwendet wird, so dort die billige Wortverkürzung: die Leistung des Spottworts ist gering gegenüber dem Ernst der damit verspotteten Begriffe.

Man stellt sich nun die Frage des Modells. Naheliegend ist ja die Analogie von *Jude*, die sich wie von selbst im Obigen bei der Frage nach dem Wo des Entstehens einstellte. Damit wäre also der *Kathole* mit der Verachtung, der der "Jude" preisgegeben ist, belastet (weil ja die analogische Form die Nuance ihres Analogievorbildes wie eine Art Patengeschenk mitbekommt)? Ich glaube nicht recht daran, weil der Jude, wenn auch sozial nicht immer gleich-

berechtigt—wir sprechen von der vorhitlerischen Entstehungszeit unseres Wortes—so doch nicht als geistig minderwertig galt, überhaupt die Obertöne von *Kathole* gar nicht zu denen von *Jude* stimmen ("jüdische Frechheit, Gewinnsucht, Unverschämtheit"). Höchstens die Protektionswirtschaft ware gemeinsam; aber wieder ist der "katholische Klüngel" ganz anders, viel weniger intellektuell betont gewesen als der jüdische; abgesehen davon dass eher das Adjektiv *jüdisch*, als das Substantiv *Jude*, wenigstens bis zur neuesten Entwicklung (vgl. etwa *Marxisten und Juden* u. dgl.), in Deutschland mit den negativen Obertönen belastet wurde: *er ist Jude* hatte eigentlich nur eine sachlich feststellende Funktion, wohl deshalb, weil die religiös-rassische Toleranz zu tief eingesessen war im deutschen Bewusstsein, als dass man die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Religion oder Rasse als solche negativ hätte bewerten können,<sup>1</sup> während beim Adjektiv *jüdisch* das *-isch* einen viel weiteren Kreis zieht ("juden-artig," vgl. *kindisch*, *heldisch* usw.), daher der Pejorativierung viel mehr ausgesetzt war. Es wird dies wohl überhaupt beim Verhältnis von Rassen- Religions- und Gentilbeziehungen zu den von ihnen abgeleiteten Adjektiven und in den verschiedensten Sprachen zu beobachten sein (trotz *ein falscher Pole* etc. ist *polnische Wirtschaft* und dgl. viel häufiger; charakteristisch auch das substantivierte Adjektiv *Schlawiner* für

<sup>1</sup> Ich weiss wohl, dass in einzelnen Gegenden *Jude* auch früher doch so stark belastet war, dass es eines Deckwortes bedurfte: so hiess es in meiner österreichischen Schulzeit immer *die Israeliten* und auch Theodor Mommsen in seiner bekannten Verteidigungsrede für die Juden (1880) gebraucht gelegentlich zur stilistischen Abwechslung *Israeliten* neben *Juden* (Edmond Fleg sagt irgendwo: "On ne dit plus juif aujourd'hui, on dit Israélite.") In den Märztagen des Jahres 1933 schrieb eine österreichische Arbeiterzeitung: "Der Antisemitismus Hitlers richtet sich in der Hauptsache gegen arme Juden, wie kleine Angestellte etc. Wenn es sich aber um einen Kommerzienrat oder Bankdirektor handelt, dann wird aus dem Saujuden sehr leicht ein Herr Israelite." Die Glaubensgemeinschaft nennt sich ja allenthalben offiziell *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* (so auch *Israelitischer Friedhof* usw., vgl. *Alliance Israélite*). Vollends wo das Glaubensbekenntnis gemeint ist, tritt oder trat in Österreich *mosaisch* ein (dies war die normale Eintragung in den Schulzeugnissen). Es ist noch zu bemerken, dass die Dialektform *Jud* (*Jüd*, *Jid*) den Schimpfwortcharakter in sich polarisiert hat (in der Schweiz, wo ja auch bei Christen der Familienname *Jud* üblich ist, empfindet man ein blosses Schimpfwort—offenbar auf biblischem Grunde—, kaum die Zugehörigkeit zu dem Volksnamen), so dass *Jude* entlastet war und offiziell wirkte.

“Slave”). Nun könnte man gerade von der an *Jude-jüdisch*, *Pole-polnisch* gezeichneten Unterschiedlichkeit ausgehen und folgern: von *katholisch* (das wie die Adjektiva Pejorativität zugänglicher war) ist *Kathole* nach dem Muster der erwähnten Paare gebildet worden: *er ist sehr katholisch* (mit hämischer Gebärde), daher ist er *ein Kathole*. Aber dann verstünde man wieder nicht, warum *Kathole* nicht den objektiven Klang hat, den wir für die substantivischen Vorbilder vindizierten. Ich glaube also, dass *Kathole* gebildet ist, weniger nach *Jude*, als nach den Völkerbezeichnungen wie *Pole*, *Russe*, *Griechen* usw., vor allem nach dem ersteren, weil es in Deutschland doch auch negativ klang, weil die Polen katholisch sind und weil der Vorwurf Falschheit und Protektionswirtschaft auch ihnen gegenüber gilt. Die Einreihung einer Religionsbezeichnung in die Reihe der Völkernamen hat vor allem den Effekt, das Fremdartige, Undurchdringliche, Unheimliche sehr zu erhöhen: ein deutscher Katholik ist etwas Alltägliches, aber *ein Kathole* lässt an ein ganz anderes Volk, womöglich mit fremder, unverständlicher Sprache (“katholisch”) und Gewohnheiten denken: Der Katholik, der in dem “pluralistischen” Staat “für sich totalitär” war, wie C. Schmidt es sieht, war so recht in seiner Abseitshaltung vom Gesamt des Deutschtums gezeichnet. Ein Berliner Bekannter nimmt Anklang an *Mongole* an, was meine Hypothese von der Vergleichung der Katholiken mit einem exotischen Volke stützt. Gerade das Einleuchtende der Bildung macht sie witzig: man wird von ihr gewonnen, bevor man noch den Gedanken der seelischen Distanz, die in der Gleichstellung mit fremdem Volkstum liegt, realisiert hat. Damit ist denn auch die Ausdrucksweise *ein schwerer Kathole* erklärlich, während vielleicht auch *ein schwerer Jude*, aber keinesfalls *ein schwerer Protestant* gesagt werden kann: d. h. N. N. hat etwas von der katholischen Essenz, diesem eigentümlichen und unheimlichen, pseudo-nationalen Fremdtum an sich. Das oben erwähnte Wort *Katholiker* reiht die Religionszugehörigen wieder in eine Berufskategorie ein—derjenigen, deren Beruf es ist, “in Katholizismus zu machen.” Verschiedene meiner akademischen Gewährsmänner legen eine Entstehung in *Universitätskreisen* nahe: *Kathole* habe zuerst die nicht satisfaktionsfähigen katholischen Studentenverbindungen bezeichnet, die ironisch von den anderen, schlagenden Verbindungen so genannt worden seien, sei daher von der Einführung der Studenten-

wahlen im demokratischen Nachkriegsdeutschland zu datieren und erkläre sich aus einer gesprochenen *Schreibung* in gedruckten Wahllisten: *Kathol.*,—aber daraus ergäbe sich noch immer *der Kathol*, nicht *der Kathole* und man müsste erst recht Eingliederung in die Gentilnamen und, in diesem Fall, in die als Namen von Verbindungsstudenten dienenden geographischen Herkunftsbezeichnungen (*Borusse*, *Teutone*, *Alemanne* usw.) annehmen. Immerhin, falls diese universitäre Entstehung zu stützen ist, hätten wir den Grund für die ironische Einreihung der Bezeichnung der Religionszugehörigkeit in die Bezeichnungen einer Volkszugehörigkeit: sie wäre durch die universitäre Gleichstellung von nationalen und religiösen Verbindungen (*Borusse* > *Kathole*) erklärt.

Ich nehme jedenfalls vorläufig an, solange nicht Lügen strafende Texte vorhanden sind, dass *Kathole* eine relativ junge Bildung ist, nicht etwa in die Zeit des Bismarckschen Kulturkampfes hinaufreicht: da sagte man *Römling*, *Ultramontaner* usw. Man beachte z. B. dass der Kulturkampf Bismarck (vgl. *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* II S. 127) mehr durch "seine politische Seite" als durch seine katholische notwendig schien. Ebenda (S. 171) der Ausspruch des Mitbegründers der Zentrumspartei und Altersgenossen Bismarcks, Savigny, der bekannte, die katholische Konfession u. a. gewählt zu haben, weil katholisch doch im Ganzen vornehmer sei; "Protestantisch ist ja jeder dumme Junge." Bismarck bemerkt hiezu: "Heutzutage [Publikation von 1898!] kann man durch die Kundgebung, katholisch zu sein, in keinem Kreise mehr Aufsehen erregen oder auch nur Eindruck machen."

Unsere kleine Abhandlung zeigt den ungeheueren Abstand der Entwicklung desselben Wortes *k a t h o l i s c h* in katholischem und protestantischem Land (man vergleiche etwa die deutschen Dialektwörterbücher wie *Schweizer Idiotikon*, Fischer, Martin-Lienhart): gerade das Wort, das den Anspruch des Katholizismus auf Weltgeltung und Universalität ausdrückt (*καθολικός*), sodass in seinem Sinn nichtkatholisch nicht richtig, schlecht bedeuten müsste (vgl. in katholischen Gegenden Schwabens: *da geht's nei katholisch zu* "nicht mit rechten Dingen," span. *no estar muy católico* "sich nicht besonders wohl fühlen," *ese vino no es católico* "dieser Wein ist nicht ganz ordentlich"; louisiana-franz. *il n'est pas si catholique aujourd'hui* "er fühlt sich nicht sehr gut," canada-frz. *catholique*

“anständig, ehrenhaft,” Read, *Ztschr. f. frz. Spr.* LXI, S. 67), gerade das Wort *katholisch* ist in protestantischem Munde zum exakten Gegenteil geworden. Man kann an Pascal denken: “Plaisante justice qu’une rivière [die Mainlinie!] borne! Vérité au delà des Pyrénées, erreur au delà!”

Solche gegenwartsnahe Linguistik wie die hier betriebene mögen manche Forscher für überflüssig halten—ich glaube im Gegenteil, dass ihre Schwierigkeit und ihre Problematik uns erst recht die Augen öffnet für die Gefahren einer Jahrhunderte und mehrere Sprachen umspannenden etymologischen Forschung. Vor allem aber ist es nötig, Wörter, die jeder Reichsdeutsche versteht, die aber kein Wörterbuch und vielleicht nicht immer die Literatur buchen wird, für spätere Zeiten festzuhalten und ihre stilistische Schattierung, ihre Verbreitung und Entstehungsweise—kurz ihre lebende Geschichte zu erörtern, bevor es zu spät ist: bevor sie wieder verschwunden oder in die Sprache eingegebenet, d. h. bevor sie tot sind!

LEO SPITZER

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## REVIEWS

*Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry.* By DOUGLAS BUSH. Harvard Studies in English, xviii. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 647.

“This book,” says the author, “is intended to be complete in itself, though it is a sequel to my *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*. . . . That volume stopped at 1680; this one struggles up to 1935.” It contains a list of 900 titles of mythological poems which have come under the author’s eye, and another of at least 500 titles of lucubrations—books or articles—which he has turned over. These ample lists confirm his cheerful glimpse, in his Preface, of a little Anamnestes “shoveling tons of verse across my table” at the Museum. I note in passing only one omission—at least the item is not mentioned at the most obvious place (p. 156, n. 57)—J. A. Stewart’s memorable essay on “Pla-



tonism in English Poetry" in G. S. Gordon's *English Literature and the Classics*.

Keats, Shelley, Tennyson, Morris, Swinburne, have each a private chapter to themselves. Others room together—Coleridge with Wordsworth and Byron; Landor with Arnold; Browning with Meredith; while the chorus, so large that nobody's feelings can possibly be hurt, is distributed in seven spacious dormitory wards. They are, if anything, a little overcrowded with later small fry, whom Mr. Bush had too much heart or conscience to keep out.

The book is the best guide to date for readers who wish to explore, observe, and define the varied and important uses of Greek myth by romantic poets and their successors. A thorough-bass of foot-notes, to crib the author's image, sometimes bears the burden of the piece, and is never a mere idle accompaniment.

Readers often think of Greek myth as mere ready-made ornament for works of poetry, a medium for the display of the poet's or editor's learning or pedantry. To the men of Reason and Sense in the "Eighteenth Century" it was little more, a faded, outworn remnant of academic furnishings. This period, therefore, requires but few pages, though these serve well to heighten the glories that reveal themselves in the later poetry. For with the awakening sense of the mystery in Nature and Man, with the earliest romantic stirrings, comes instantly to the poets a new and instinctive recognition of Greek myth as a natural vehicle of expression for their wild surmise. As the Greeks had charged and informed it with their feelings and ideas about birth and death, nature and reality, beauty and destiny and genius, so the new poets found in it living symbols for their own feelings and ideas about these mysteries. Nor was it always so grave a matter. Gaiety and playfulness were also an essential part of the romantic spirit, though rarely so recognized, and the romantic measure often frolics and dances to the tune of a Greek poet, weaving the enchantment of a Greek myth. Keats and Theocritus furnish a case in point.

And while we are on the matter, I do not think that Mr. Bush, nor anyone else, has done justice to Theocritus's service to Keats. To cite a detail: we read that the ode "*To Autumn* lies outside our range, though the delicate personifications of the second stanza exhibit Keats's myth-making instinct at its ripest and surest." But that instinct was riper and surer, and the personification more delicate for such acquaintance as Keats had with his poetic next of kin, Theocritus, particularly with the seventh idyll. Indeed the very figure of Autumn is but the Demeter of that idyll, especially as she appears in its closing lines.

And the author rightly recognizes Greek sculpture as an important medium through which Greek myth suffused the imagination of the romantic poets, especially of Shelley and Keats. He fails, however, to present such manifestations as part of a vigorous

tradition, which had been growing through a century and a half under the various cultivation of critic, painter, connoisseur, poet, traveller, iconographer, and archaeologist, as Dr. Stephen A. Larabee's still unpublished studies will show.

Mr. Bush is, of course, not content with mere lists and catalogues. He has set himself to discover and observe the varied uses of Greek myth by these moderns, how it gave them idiom and symbol, helped to make them more articulate and clear, and stirred them to invention of their own. "One main thesis of this book," he explains, "a truism to be sure, is that mythological poetry is alive when myths are re-created, when they carry modern implications, and that mythological poetry in which myths are merely retold is, if not dead, at least of a very inferior order." One of the finest specimens of his workmanship is found in his account of Hartley Coleridge (pp. 186-9). It is learned, sympathetic, vigorous, pertinent, summary, a piece of expert scholarly draughtsmanship, done with a free, unembarrassed stroke. And in general the author has a way of saying things: "As Milton's influence rolled like a tidal wave up the shores of the eighteenth century it deposited everywhere the bleached seaweed of mythology and poetic diction from which the Miltonic life had departed."

It is ordained—wisely no doubt—in scholarship as in life and art, that no man shall sustain his highest pitch for 500 pages, or the equivalent. While he keeps to the main road of his noble theme Mr. Bush sits his Pegasus well; but too often he lapses, like Belerophon of old, into the Aleian field of general criticism,

Erroneous there to wander and forlorn.

Such passages not only interrupt his journey, but impair the effect of his horsemanship. They are generally irrelevant and sometimes confused or stale, or embarrassed and self-conscious, as if all-judging Jove were looking over his shoulder. This makes the book hard, sometimes exasperating, reading. But its faults, as I see them, are not indigenous. They are only thrown into high relief by its virtues. So I make bold to hope that some day the author may cast a rested eye over the wealth of material which he has here assembled, seize his blue pencil, and do with it what he may find in his heart.

CHARLES G. OSGOOD

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*Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study in English Scientific Writing from 1500 to 1645.* By FRANCIS R. JOHNSON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. xv + 357. \$3.25.

In this the first of a series of studies Mr. Johnson proposes on the interconnections between the new science and other important currents of Renaissance thought, Mr. Johnson has centered his attention upon "the changes in astronomical beliefs as they are set forth by the scientific writers of the time, and upon the general attitude toward the aims and methods of science which these writers reveal." The richness of the field in which he has worked is reflected in the chronological list in Appendix A (pp. 301-335) of books dealing with astronomy printed in England from 1480 to 1640. Mr. Johnson lists one hundred titles for the first hundred years of this period, and for each year from 1580 to 1640 at least one title and usually several. Most of the titles in the appendix are followed by a brief critical summary. Long extracts from some of the most interesting and rare books are included in the text both because of their novelty to the present day reader and because of the support they give to Mr. Johnson's main positions.

On the basis of this material Mr. Johnson makes a strong case for the importance, the independence, and the progressiveness of the English workers in astronomy long before the rise of the Royal Society in the middle of the seventeenth century. He makes clear the close interrelations between the thinkers and the craftsmen of that time,—the thinkers writing in the vernacular for the unlearned rather than in the Latin of the schools, and while availing themselves of practical navigating devices worked out on shipboard, in return providing the sailors with improved almanacs and better instruments for navigation. This close alliance between the scientist and the technician was evidently characteristic of England in the sixteenth century not only long before the Industrial Revolution but even before the days of the early Royal Society.

Mr. Johnson has also pushed back into Elizabethan England the genesis of movements hitherto usually linked with the brilliant seventeenth century. He finds evidence under Elizabeth of much cooperation between scientists, of a critical and independent attitude in scientific thinking, and of a striving for a simpler, more direct literary expression of scientific matters a century before Sprat recorded these as aims of the Royal Society. He calls especial attention to the influence, perhaps not hitherto sufficiently noted, of the Gresham College professors who, for sixty years before the Royal Society was chartered, were giving public lectures on science in London and were creating in their living quarters at the College a stimulating forum that could not have failed to help prepare

public opinion to listen at least with an open mind to contemporary scientific novelties. The work of Robert Recorde, of the Digges, father and son, and John Dee he discusses in detail, with that of many other less well-known men. His conclusion that the inductive method with its emphasis upon the value of experiment was characteristic of many writers in astronomical fields in England before Sir Francis Bacon proclaimed it in his books makes one wonder if similar evidence of this scientific spirit could be found in other lines of thought beside astronomy.

To prepare his readers for a proper understanding and appreciation of the achievements of these Elizabethans, Mr. Johnson in the first three chapters of his book traces the history of the pre-Copernican theories of the universe from primitive times and in the fourth discusses the Copernican theory in relation to its contemporary setting. Mr. Johnson is unusually well equipped to present this review intelligently and clearly, for as a graduate of the United States Military Academy, he has a foundation in mathematics and physics that is not the usual equipment of the student either of history or of literature. His later training also (for this book is an expansion of his doctoral dissertation presented at the Johns Hopkins University in 1935 in the department of English) has enabled him to make these early cosmologies seem reasonably "scientific" in the light of their authors' knowledge, and to show wherein they had definite mathematical merit.

This study of course touches upon the fields so ably cultivated by Dr. Marjorie Nicolson and by Professor R. F. Jones, as Mr. Johnson himself recognizes; but in reality it in no way trespasses on their preserves. Rather it supplements and supports their findings by his researches in a slightly earlier period.

The strongest impression derived by the reviewer from this book is the amazing amount of progress that has been made in the history of scientific thought during the past twenty years. Such a thorough-going study in this particular field is only now possible because of the number of workers who have in recent years published the results of their research. Even a cursory glance through Appendix B (pp. 336-345) to note the dates of the secondary works used in its preparation reveals that the great majority of these have appeared in print since the Great War, and that a number of the primary ones have been translated and critically edited only lately. Add to this the fact that the wealth of the Huntington Library where Mr. Johnson worked for two years has been made fully available to scholars only since 1927. Mr. Johnson has begun the development of a rich field promising great usefulness to students of history and of science as well as of literature.

DOROTHY STIMSON

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*The Discovery of a New World. (Mundus alter et idem)* Written originally in Latin by JOSEPH HALL, ca. 1605; Englished by JOHN HEALEY, ca. 1609; Edited by HUNTINGTON BROWN; with a Foreword by RICHARD E. BYRD, Rear Admiral, U. S. N., Ret. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1937. Pp. xxxv + 230. \$3.00.

About one hundred years after Thomas Moore's *Utopia* there appeared in Latin a book called *Mundus alter et idem*. It was an allegorical satire on the imperfections of man and as the title implies it shows that wherever you go, through lands known or unknown, you will always find men equally vicious and foolish. The author who in 1627 became Bishop of Exeter was a learned contemporary of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Jonson, but he had neither the vigor, the insight, or the humor of any of these three and is remembered mostly for his learning, his presumption, and the scorn he showed for his fellowmen. On graduating from Cambridge he published a collection of satires and proudly proclaimed himself the first English satirist, a title he might deserve only if close imitation of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal were to be taken into account.

Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations of the English Nation* had just appeared in a second, much enlarged edition. Rumors of a new continent, larger and much richer than America, were as persistent as they remained vague. This still undiscovered *Terra australis* was supposed to be a huge land mass lying to the south of the recently discovered tips of the African and American continents. What was known in Hall's time of "New Holland" or Australia, as it came to be called only a century ago when all hopes for the discovery of *Terra australis* were given up, was held to be nothing but the northernmost promontory of a much larger land extending all around the South Pole. But all this is of no great importance here although the translator, in calling the work *The Discovery of a New World*, made a more direct allusion to that imaginary land than Hall had done.

The fictitious framework of this geographical satire tells of a traveler who gets to the Austral land and finds that going through its various provinces is like making a survey of human vice and folly. First he reaches the land of gluttony (*Tenter-belly*, divided into *Eat-allia* and *Drink-allia*), next to *Shee-landt* the capital of which is Shrewesbourg. He continues through *Fooliana* to arrive finally in *Theevingen*, the land of robbers. Each province has laws and customs appropriate to the satirical purpose of the author. The laws of *Tenter-belly*, signed by *All-Paunch*, hold "eating but one meale a day for a capital transgression." In Shrewesbourg the women scold and fight while the men do the work and serve at table. All subjects of *Fooliana* live "under the government of

Duke *Swash-buckliero*, the model and Embleme of all tyranny." The *Robberswalders* "eate nothing at all, but live upon the sight only of gold and silver."

Although this work has at times been mentioned as deserving a place between Rabelais and Swift, it really is far from either. It has none of the rollicking humour of the former nor any of the biting sting of the latter. It is just a learned, rather clumsy satire. Mlle Scudéry's *Carte de Tendre* delighted the class of persons for whom it was intended, Bunyan's christian pilgrim appealed both to the learned and to the common people, but Hall's allegory never met with any success, either in Latin or in its English rendering. Some German scholars alone seem to have enjoyed it. The trouble with the book is that the humor is too obvious in many instances and more often too learned. Only a half-baked college boy would enjoy this shallow allegory:

As we passed under the 55. degree beyond the line, we entered into a spacious plaine, the inhabitants named it *Pewter-platteria* . . . it lieth in the very heart of *Eat-allia*, and the first city we met within this tract was *Victuallu*, through the midst of which there passeth a river called *Sauce*, whose water is somewhat tart to the taste.

Add to this the cumbrous marginal notes and the pretention of the author to have you read three times this work

ere you shalbe able to make any exact platform of it: Once for *Strabo*, once for *Socrates*, and once for *Merlin Cocaius*; The first for the *Geography*, the second for the *Morality*, and the third for the *Language* and *Etymology*.

Apparently there were but few who read far enough to come to this final recommendation.

Mr. Huntington Brown has given us an excellent and very scholarly edition of this work. However it seems to me that there are especially two classes of books which deserve a careful edition: those that had formerly a great success, influenced later works and are now neglected and those that passed unnoticed at the time, but now seem very valuable to us. The *Discovery* falls in neither of these classifications and in spite of the respect I have for this model edition it would be hard to recommend it to any one unless he were interested in the queer productions of a past age. Even though the satire itself is as much lacking in interest for the modern reader as it seems to have been for Hall's contemporaries, the framework at least has preserved a semblance of actuality. *Captain Cook's Travels* indeed put an end to the old hypothesis of a huge Austral continent but the recent explorations of Rear Admiral Byrd in Antarctica have reawakened an interest in all works dealing, even remotely, with the former *Terra australis*. It seems quite fitting therefore that he should have written a foreword to this edition which is dedicated to him.

EMANUEL VON DER MÜHLL

Wilson College

*Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-1844, in the Frigate United States, with Notes on Herman Melville.* Edited by CHARLES ROBERTS ANDERSON. With eleven water colors from the Journal of William H. Meyers. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1937. Pp. vi + 143. \$2.50.

This well printed and attractive volume is composed of material from three sources. Its text is an account of the cruises of the frigate *United States* between the years 1842 and 1844, by an unidentified author, possibly an ordinary seaman, George W. Wallace, or a private of the marines, George W. Weir. The manuscript is now in the Library of the Navy Department at Washington. The illustrations are reproduced from water colors executed during the cruises of the American squadron in the Pacific in the same years, by William H. Meyers, a gunner on the sloop-of-war *Cyane*. Meyers's manuscript is in the possession of the Honorable Nelson B. Gaskill, of Washington. Liberal quotations from it are given in Appendix C of the book. The excellent introduction and notes are supplied by Dr. Anderson, of Duke University, to whose forthcoming *Herman Melville in the South Seas* the work is a sort of extended appendix.

The interest of the *Journal of a Cruise* arises from several facts. First, for fourteen months, the anonymous diarist was a shipmate of Herman Melville on board the *United States*. His narrative is, therefore, of value as affording some firsthand information as to the amount of truth which the novelist put into *White Jacket*—his story of the voyage of the frigate from Callao to the United States. In the next place, there is an interesting account of Commodore T. Ap Catesby Jones's little-known war with Mexico, in the course of which that officer captured Monterey, only to surrender it to the Mexicans two days later. Finally, there is the evidence afforded by the journalist of the *United States* and by Gunner Meyers of the *Cyane* that Herman Melville was not the only enlisted man in Commodore Jones's squadron to have artistic ambitions.

Wallace, Weir, or whatever his name was, had not much besides literary aspirations: his all too frequent attempts at fine writing are distinctly bad. When he forgets his style, however, as in his description of the cooper's death (pp. 56-57), he is comparatively stirring. Meyers—whose *Journal of a Three Years' Cruise* will stand printing *in toto*—was evidently somewhat more sophisticated than the anonymous writer, and there is a certain mordancy in some of the passages quoted from his manuscript which is quite effective. His water colors, too, as Dr. Anderson says, although showing crudeness, do give evidence of talent. His "Cachucha in Peru" (p. 46) conveys completely the grace and spirit of the dance.

Dr. Anderson's introduction and notes are full and informative.

In truth, he has presented here what is as yet the best preface to Melville's *White Jacket* that has appeared. There are, however, certain points concerning which this reviewer must differ from Dr. Anderson. Surely the novelist's account in *White Jacket* (chap. XVII) of the loss overboard of the cooper is among the powerful scenes of the novel; yet, as Dr. Anderson's diarist proves (pp. 56-57), the episode was not invented. A comparison of the two narratives shows that actually Melville here was cleaving to literalness.

Further particulars concerning the Professor of Mathematics on board the *United States* might well have been given by Dr. Anderson in his note upon that officer (pp. 129-130). Henry Hayes Lockwood's career was an interesting one and his record in the Civil War was not undistinguished. It might be more accurate to say that when he was mustered out of the army, he was a brigadier-general of volunteers. In note 55 (p. 132), Captain Lord Byron's title is incorrectly given. The commander of the *Blonde* did not bear a courtesy title, but was a peer. Also it was the second Kamehameha, not the first, who, with his queen, died of measles in 1824, while in England. Kamehameha I was the great King of the Hawaiian Islands who died in 1819.

Melville and his nine companions were confined on board *La Reine Blanche*, in Papeete harbor, for three days rather than five, as Melville says in *Omoo* and as Dr. Anderson repeats in note 67 (p. 136). This reviewer has discussed the question in his "Herman Melville in Tahiti" (*PQ.*, xvi [Oct., 1937], 351-2), where he advances what he thinks is strong external evidence against Melville's statement. No doubt this article appeared too late for Dr. Anderson to refer to it in his book. It seems that Dr. Anderson is over-cautious in his allusion to the length of Melville's stay among the Typees (note 69, p. 136). The term of the American's captivity was nearer four weeks than four months, as the present writer has demonstrated in his "Herman Melville in the Marquesas" (*PQ.*, xv [Jan., 1936], 10-11).

On the other hand, it is comforting to see that Dr. Anderson does not accept the old legends as to the use of *White Jacket* as propaganda in favor of the bill to abolish flogging in the United States Navy (p. 8). The reviewer has never found any support for Admiral S. R. Franklin's story, in his *Memories of a Rear-Admiral* (p. 64), of a copy of the book's having been given to every member of Congress as an argument for the bill. That the novel was admirably timed as to publication, there can be no doubt; and that the controversy over corporal punishment in the navy must have done something to help the sales of *White Jacket* seems certain, since its publishers were advertising it as in its fifth thousand on April 13, 1850, about three weeks after it had appeared in America.

The slips in Dr. Anderson's book are not very important and



they are few. He has done a careful job of editing and has fitted together material from various sources in an extremely workman-like fashion. The result is a distinct contribution to American literary and naval history. In conclusion, it may be said that the contents are made accessible through an excellent index.

ROBERT S. FORSYTHE

*The Newberry Library*

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*Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns.* By WALTER CLYDE CURRY.  
Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1937. Pp.  
xii + 244. \$2.75.

Partisans of Santayana's belief that "Shakespeare is remarkable among the greater poets for being without a philosophy and without a religion"<sup>1</sup> will find Professor Curry's book in divers ways annoying. They may protest against so sweeping a title for a volume of six essays, four of which confine themselves to *Macbeth*; and they may object that one of them, "Tumbling Nature's Germens," though it is a brilliant study in semantics—expanding Theobald's suggestion that "*Nature's germens* are 'seeds of matter' by reference to the conception in mediaeval metaphysics of the *rationes seminales*, or *logoi spermatikoi*, which in this passage Shakespeare probably had in mind" (p. 31)—is, after all, only a footnote. The gap between the 'seminal reasons' as they appear in Marcus Aurelius, Saint Augustine, and Cornelius Agrippa and Shakespeare's 'seeds of matter' is not bridged, as it might and probably should be by recognition of their counterparts undergoing transformation into the stuff of poetry in the "Infinite shapes of creatures" of which, in Spenser's Garden of Adonis,

every sort is in a sundry bed  
Set by it selfe, and ranckt in comely rew:  
Some fit for reasonable soules t'indew,  
Some fit for beasts, some made for birds to weare,  
And all the fruitfull spawne of fishes. . . .

(III, vi, 35, 1-7.)<sup>2</sup>

The unity of the essays on *Macbeth* with the study of *The Tempest* in the sixth and last chapter depends upon Professor Curry's proof that, because they have "control over the primary elements of nature, the *rationes seminales*," "the Weird Sisters are demons or devils in the form of witches" (p. 60). Of their demonic

<sup>1</sup> *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion*, New York, 1918, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> In "Spenser's Garden of Adonis," *PMLA*, XLVII, 58-60, Mrs. J. W. Bennett effectively relates this passage to the Neo-Platonism which is the subject of Professor Curry's fifth chapter.

quality in the encounter with Macbeth and Banquo, as men imagined the scene when it was first acted, the reviewer has had no doubt since discovering Burton's assertion that "the three strange women" who told their fortunes to the "two Scottish Lords, . . . as they were wandering in the woods," were such "as *Egeria*, with whom *Numa* was familiar, *Diana*, *Ceres*, etc."<sup>3</sup> Professor Curry argues that in both *Macbeth* and *Tempest* we have dramas founded upon the power of daemons to control physical nature. Macbeth's tragedy is his surrender to daemonic solicitings, while Prospero's spiritual triumph is the counterpart of his mastery of the daemonic virtues represented by Ariel.

Macbeth's relation to his supernatural background is better handled than Prospero's. His tragedy is intensified when we are convinced that Lady Macbeth literally meant what she said when she bade the "spirits that tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here." When we find Professor Stoll's arguments against morbid hallucination as the explanation of Banquo's ghost confirmed by evidence that its origin is demonic and when we are persuaded that the dagger in the air and the cry, "Macbeth does murder sleep," are caused by "ultimately demonic powers" (p. 84), the hero's character is clarified. Schücking's diagnosis of it as merely pathological is drastically modified. Yet Professor Curry does not overstate his case. Macbeth remains for him an artistic rather than a philosophical creation.

In the Christian view of evil his study finds the basis of an "exact analysis" (p. 112) of Macbeth's disintegration. The part played in that process by remorse may owe more to Senecan and religious drama than it does to the Scholastic doctrine of potency and act (p. 120) and its corollary that "as a man deteriorates toward evil" conscience "accuses and torments," under which we find Macbeth's passing from good to evil specifically classified. Sometimes Professor Curry's reasoning bears the stamp of the Scholasticism which he insists was in Shakespeare's time "a primary groundwork of traditional cognition" (p. 20). Yet his case is good. Investigators like Willard Farnham and L. B. Wright have shown that the period was "an age of faith, a faith still almost as profound as that of the Middle Ages."<sup>4</sup> Professor Curry's work on two plays should be pushed further. Yet perhaps, instead of confining attention to remote origins like the *Summa Theologica* and the writings of Iamblichus, and supposing that the more immediate "sources of these dramatic instances may be safely left to . . . exponents of comparative literature" (p. 198), future re-

<sup>3</sup> *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, London, 1926, Bohn's Library, Vol. I, p. 219, Part I, Sect. ii, Mem. 1, Subs. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, Chapel Hill, 1935, p. 229.

search should also try to trace the transformation of the ideas of the Dark and Middle Ages into the stuff of the poetry of the Renaissance.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

*The University of Wisconsin*

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*I, William Shakespeare, Do Appoint Thomas Russell, Esquire.* By LESLIE HOTSON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. 296. \$3.00.

*Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors: 1632-1685.* By MATTHEW W. BLACK and MATTHIAS A. SHALBER. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xii + 420. \$3.00.

*Ben Jonson.* Vol. v. Edited by C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 556. \$7.00.

*Wm. Hawkins' Apollo Shroving.* Edited by HOWARD GARRETT RHOADS. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1936. Pp. vi + 202.

*The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery.* Edited by WILLIAM SMITH CLARK, II. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. 2 vols. Pp. xvi + viii + 966. \$10.00.

*Plays and the Theater.* Edited by RUSSELL THOMAS. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1937. Pp. viii + 730. \$1.68.

*Representative Modern Dramas.* Edited by CHARLES HUNTINGTON WHITMAN. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xviii + 1122. \$3.50.

Shakespeare bequeathed £5 to Russell, identified by Professor Hotson as a well-connected gentleman long resident near Stratford. A sister-in-law of his married a brother of Henry Willoughby, putative author of *Avisa* and friend of that experienced amorist "W. S." This marriage and other links between Russells and Willoughbys appeal to Mr. Hotson as clinching the identification of "W. S." with Shakespeare, enabling us to "catch the forward wits of the university seeking his company" at Oxford in 1594. *Non probatum* is the only possible verdict, but it does not in the least detract from the interest and charm of Mr. Hotson's

latest report on his adventures among the records. Once more his notes are extraordinarily successful in recapturing bits of the Elizabethan milieu. Less convincing still is the argument that "Shakespeare's friendship with Russell makes it more unlikely than ever that the 'Mr. W. H.' of the *Sonnets* is to be looked for in William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke." In 1616 Shakespeare names Russell overseer of his will. A quarter of a century earlier Russell's stepfather, Sir Henry Berkeley, had a quarrel with William Herbert's father. It lasted till 1601, but it has no evidential value for the point at issue. Other chapters are devoted to attempts to reconstruct Shakespeare circles in Stratford and London. It can not be said that membership has in any case, even Russell's, been proved; but there are several plausible suggestions and, above all, fascinating glimpses in their habits as they lived of a number of persons who were certainly the poet's contemporaries and may have been his friends.

Like the singed cat, the second book on our list is better than it looks. The format is amateurishly designed, and my review copy is inexpertly bound; but in presenting a by-product of their work for the revived New Variorum edition, Professors Black and Shaaber make an important contribution, the very title of which is a challenge. "The germ of this study was an impression, formed independently by the authors during the collation of the early texts of certain of Shakespeare's plays, that the second, third, and fourth folios contained more strikingly good emendations than we would have expected in mere publisher's reprints." The authors thereupon undertook the task of collecting and classifying all the folio variants. While it remains true that Ff 2, 3, 4 completely lack textual authority, Messrs. Black and Shaaber rightly assert that their "principles of discrimination between editorial corrections and non-literal typographical errors (principles which, though not original with us, have seldom, if ever, been tested by application to so large a body of data)" may now be applied to variants in the earlier and more authoritative texts with a greater degree of confidence that deliberate corrections and printing-house accidents can be distinguished. No editor of Shakespeare can safely neglect this study, which is all the more convincing because it presents the evidence in full. While none of the correctors of the three later folios was a Greg, the authors conclude that a textual criticism was practiced and that it produced, not mere imperfect reprints of F 1, but critical editions of a sort, as much entitled to be called such as Rowe's or indeed any of the eighteenth-century performances prior to Capell's.

Another noble Oxford Jonson volume joins its predecessors—the noblest perhaps, for it contains two of the greatest glories of English drama in *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*. The frontispiece reproduces a recent acquisition of the National Portrait Gallery.

Four pages give additional notes and corrections to the fourth volume. In the second category a substantial number are credited to Dr. George W. Whiting, who reviewed that volume for this journal (*MLN.*, XLVIII, 472-3).

Twenty-eight pages of Dr. Rhoads's dissertation are devoted to the life of the Rev. Mr. Hawkins, Cambridge M. A. and school-master-curate in Suffolk, and fifty-seven to introducing the comedy he wrote for his boys at Hadleigh. Like the masterpieces of Aeschylus, it was designed for a single performance, on Shrove Tuesday of 1627. The editor does not maintain that its obscure history has greatly cheated the gaiety of nations. But the piece has served his purpose well; and he has served the piece better than of itself it deserves, setting forth text, introduction, and notes in sound and scholarly fashion. Not that *Apollo Shroving* always bores. Though much of the humor is painfully academic, occasional touches are faintly reminiscent of Lyly's juvenile smartness or the hilarious impudence of Jonson. As Mr. Rhoads observes, the play's chief interest springs from its reflection of Caroline schoolboy life.

Professor Clark's stately volumes bring to an impressive conclusion his labors on Orrery, to which attention has already been directed by a valuable series of articles. This is exactly the procedure which should be followed by every qualified investigator in the field of Restoration drama. Much has been done, but we are still sadly in need of editions. As with the Elizabethan dramatists, these are much better produced, not as doctoral dissertations, but after additional years of experience in cultivating the field. Mr. Clark's performance is full-length—with carefully constructed texts, handsome illustrations, facsimile title-pages, a general historical preface, another devoted to critical matters, short introductions to the several plays, 58 pages of explanatory notes, 120 of textual ones, an appendix reproducing some MS jottings on the Earl by his great-grandson, and a bibliography of the dramatic works of this pioneer Heroic playwright. The special merits of the editor's contribution reside in its thoroughness, in his revision of the Orrery canon, in his textual use of MSS as well as the old editions, in his intimate knowledge of Restoration staging, in his additions to the biographical facts, in his re-examination of that vexing question the origins of the Heroic genre, and in his ability to make good his claim that the Earl was a more important figure, both politically and as a writer, than has hitherto been recognized. This is a book for drama students in particular and, since Mr. Clark has kept it interesting and the Harvard University Press has given it a format almost on the Heroic scale, for bibliophiles in general.

The attractive and compact volume edited by Mr. Thomas contains a dozen plays, seven of them illustrating European drama

from the Greeks through Ibsen, the rest (with one exception) contemporary American pieces. The introductory material is simple and sensible.

The late Professor Whitman's exceptionally well-selected series of twenty-three plays, Continental, English, Irish, and American, begins with *The Wild Duck* and ends with *Biography*. The introductory notes are excellent.

HAZELTON SPENCER

*Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition.* By EDWARD AMES RICHARDS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. x + 184. \$2.50. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 127.)

Mr. Richards's treatise falls into three parts: (1) Butler's milieu and *Hudibras*; (2) political poems in imitation of *Hudibras*; (3) certain non-political burlesque compositions inspired by Butler. I have found Mr. Richard's first two chapters, in which he studies Butler's opinions and their expression in *Hudibras*, the most interesting and provocative, and I shall confine my remarks to them. One may begin by asking what Butler's religious opinions were. Mr. Richards holds that he "owned a sincere religion, part agnostic, part deistic . . ." (p. 5). Pursuing this line, Mr. Richards comes quite naturally to the conclusion that *Hudibras*, so far from expressing the Anglican point of view, might—save for other considerations—have satirized the Anglicans (p. 19).

The matter is, it seems to me, an important one. For in Butler there is emerging the rationalistic point of view; does this rationalism exhibit an inevitable and consistent "agnostic" bent? While it is true that Butler's interests were preponderantly secular and that much that is most characteristic of his thought has independent philosophy as background, I do not think it accurate to say that in his religious discussion he was an "agnostic." Perhaps the best key to those sections of the *Miscellaneous Observations* headed "Religion" and "Reason" is the Anglican divinity of the period. Take, for instance, Butler's paragraph (*Characters and Passages from Note-Books*, ed. Waller, p. 338) beginning "Faith can determine nothing of Reason, but Reason can of Faith. . . ." Apropos of this Mr. Richards writes: "[Butler] will have nothing to do with religious truth come at by any kind of revelation but that achieved through the cautious processes of the mind" (p. 9). Yet did not Butler write (*Characters and Passages*, p. 313), ". . . Christ's Residence here [was] to convert, and convince the world, by the greatest of all Reasons True Miracles. . . ." In both places, Butler's position is similar to that of the contemporary

Anglican divine defining "the grounds of the credibility" of his faith. It would not do to say that Butler's rationalism everywhere paralleled the rationalism of the Anglican divines. But it did sometimes. There were different kinds of rationalism.

It is inevitable that as yet no two students of Butler are at one. Though one may here and there disagree with him. Mr. Richards has seen more of the problems involved than have many who have written about the author of *Hudibras*.

RICARDO QUINTANA

*The Huntington Library*

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*Charles Kingsley 1819-1875.* By MARGARET FARRAND THORP.  
Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1937. Pp. viii + 212. \$3.00.

This book reflects sound scholarship and careful research. Mrs. Thorp has had access to new and valuable material, which has not, however, overwhelmed her. Here is a full portrait of Kingsley and a rich account of Victorian life, but all is given with a fine economy. The main narrative stands in clear relief above details deftly handled.

It is indeed well that this scholarly book has at the same time kept its life, because in Charles Kingsley some vital principle seems to have come into its own as he raced through energetic days. When young he wanted to be a soldier. *The Faerie Queene*, which, to the end of his life, was his favorite book, had filled his mind with legends of chivalry that to him seemed possible even in the nineteenth century. Kingsley became the muscular champion of Belief—belief in God, in nobility of heart, in the English workman, in a Christian social order, in literature, in sanitation, in 'Education for character,' in exercise, and in the very gypsies who thought of Eversley as their parish church. His belief was so sure and full of health that mysticism was merely an annoyance. His own theology he always attributed to Maurice, but masses of his countrymen cared not about its source. In Kingsley they had one who in his youth had endured terror-stricken dreams and who had shared their doubts in an age of change. In his vigorous triumph they found their own philosophy and ease. They gave confidence to this man who made religion an affair of earth, who rushed abruptly from his pulpit on a Sunday morning and, leaving his curate to finish the service, leapt in all his robes over the churchyard palings to help put out a heath fire.

Mrs. Thorp appraises her vital hero with great care. We see the limitations of Kingsley's mind and art, his short-comings in his controversy with Newman, and—what is much to the point—his 'charité intellectuelle beaucoup trop large.' We catch glimpses of

Kingsley's copious memory with its vigorous inaccuracy and of his appallingly successful marriage. But never once do we lose sight of the 'fluent English gentleman' who, born in the same year as Queen Victoria, later became her chaplain and Macmillan's most profitable novelist.

Mrs. Thorp adds a valuable bibliography of Kingsley's works, identifying reviews, articles, and poems which were published anonymously in various magazines.

HOWARD F. LOWRY

*The College of Wooster*

*Beowulf and the Seventh Century; Language and Content.* By RITCHIE GIRVAN. London: Methuen and Co., 1935. Pp. 86. 3 sh. 6 d. (Methuen's Old English Library.)

*Beowulf.* Edited by W. J. SEDGEFIELD. Third edition, revised and partly re-written. Manchester: at the University Press, 1935. Pp. xliii + 250. 10 sh. 6 d.

*Beowulf and the Seventh Century* comprises three lectures delivered by Professor Girvan at University College, London, in March, 1935, entitled respectively "The Language," "The Background," and "Folk-Tale and History." The first of these lectures is a statement in rather general terms of the linguistic peculiarities of the *Beowulf* text, with conclusions drawn therefrom as to the date of writing of the poem. On the linguistic evidence, Professor Girvan would date the writing of *Beowulf* about 680-700, or somewhat earlier than the generally accepted opinion. It is a pity that this part of the book could not have been rewritten for publication, since the discursive style of oral delivery and the paucity of illustrative examples combine to reduce the value to the reader of Professor Girvan's very acute reasoning. As it is, the reader must take many of his generalizations on faith. The danger of generalizing, even in small details, in so complicated a field as this is well illustrated by the statement (p. 19) that "the word *hild*, feminine *jō*-stem, has two combining forms, *hilde*- and *hild*-, the latter only before a short syllable but always there"—a generalization which obviously fails to take into account the form *hildegicel* in l. 1606. There are other cases in which a few illustrative forms would be desirable, as for example in the discussion of inorganic vowels on p. 18. Such difficulties naturally do not hold for the other two sections of the book, which present the results of a good deal of independent thinking on the problems at issue. Professor Girvan believes, in the first place, that *Beowulf* cannot be accepted as a guide to the life and manners of the migration period, or of any



period of history prior to the time of composition of the poem, that is, the late seventh century. In support of this view, he calls on a great variety of archaeological and other cultural evidence, including a number of striking analogies from Old English history and culture which heretofore have not been sufficiently regarded. In the second place, he affirms his belief not only in the accuracy of the poet's knowledge regarding Geatish history (which has long been taken as a matter of course), but also in the historicity of Beowulf as king of the Geats (p. 82). The usual arguments against the historicity of Beowulf, such as the non-alliteration of his name, Professor Girvan is inclined to minimize; and with regard to the miraculous nature of Beowulf's exploits, he compares the fantastic exploits of King Richard I in the thirteenth-century romance devoted to him (p. 75). As an explanation of the poet's knowledge of Geatish history, which has no counterpart in the Scandinavian tradition, he suggests the possibility that after the fall of the Geatish kingdom in the sixth century a number of exiled Geats settled in Northumbria, bringing historical memories with them. Some of this may seem very far-fetched, and Professor Girvan himself is far from dogmatic in the assertion of his opinions; but his book, as an honest and unprejudiced attempt to reconcile the inconsistent and often baffling evidence, deserves earnest consideration from every student of the poem.

A new edition of Sedgefield's *Beowulf* is an event of importance in Old English circles. The second edition appeared as long ago as 1913, and, as we might expect, the new third edition has been carefully revised. The manuscript has been freshly collated, and a number of the readings in Zupitza's collotype edition have been corrected. In particular, Zupitza's statement that parts of folio 179 had been "freshened up by a later hand" is shown to be untrue. A large number of conjectural emendations have been introduced into the text, some of which have already appeared in print (*MLR.* xxvii, 448 ff.; xxviii, 226 ff.) and need not be noticed here. Among the new emendations which seem especially worthy of consideration are *eateles* ('the horrible or savage one') *æt ende*, l. 224; *þæt hē on heape* (for MS. *heoðe*) *gestōd*, l. 494; *dēap* (for MS. *deop*) *gedyggan*, 'escape death,' l. 2549; and *wōþe* (for MS. *wope*) *bewunden*, l. 3146. The two old cruces in ll. 1107 and 2577 Professor Sedgefield has handled anew with characteristic energy: in l. 1107 he reads *andlicge* ('lying stored') *gold*, in l. 2577 *mid egelāfe* (for MS. *incge lafe*), both of which readings have the great advantage of giving appropriate sense with little sacrifice of palaeographical probability. So much for the textual innovations. Large sections of the introduction have been rewritten, and most of the notes have been revised to embody the results of recent scholarship. The antiquated treatment of Old English versification which appeared in the second edition has been happily

replaced by a revision of the excellent summary of the subject in the *Anglo-Saxon Verse Book*. In closing, it is of interest to note that since the publication of the *Verse Book* in 1922, Professor Sedgfield has given up the term "Anglo-Saxon" and has gone back to "Old English," as in the earlier editions of the *Beowulf*.

ELLIOTT VAN KIRK DOBBIE

*Columbia University*

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*Tragödie und Komödie im dramatischen Schaffen Lessings* von  
HANS REMPEL. (Neue Forschung, Arbeiten zur Geistesgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker, Bd. 26.)  
Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1935.

Ausgehend von einem Protest gegen Schlegel, der Lessings Dramatik nur als Schöpfung seines kritischen Verstandes, nicht als Dichterwerk angesehen habe, stellt diese Untersuchung sich die Aufgabe) die innere Geschlossenheit von Lessings Entwicklung als Dramatiker vom *Jungen Gelehrten* bis zum *Nathan* aufzuzeigen. Rempel weist nach, dass die Einwirkung von Lessings kritischem Denken auf sein dramatisches Schaffen unter Schlegels Einfluss gewöhnlich überschätzt wird. Von Wert ist ferner, ausser vielen treffenden Einzelbemerkungen, der Nachweis, dass bestimmte Lessingsche Eigenart sich in den Komödien wie in den Tragödien sehr ähnlich ausprägt. Andererseits ist Rempel der Gefahr, die naturgemäss in seiner Problemstellung liegt, nicht entgangen: im Eifer des Beweisens wird der von Lessing selber zugegebene und eigentlich auch aus Rempels Darlegungen hervorgehende Tatbestand verwischt, dass Lessing eben doch nicht ein Dichter ist.

In einer allzu festen Gedankenbahn bewegt sich Rempel noch in einer anderen Richtung. Tragödie und Komödie sind ihm "zwei fremde, unvereinbare Welten," dass sie "dem gleichen dichterischen Gestaltungsvermögen entspringen, gehört zu dem erstaunlichen und unbegreiflichen Tatsachen in der Welt des schöpferischen Geistes." Die Frage nach dem Wesen des Tragischen liege dem Menschen von Natur näher, der Begriff dess Komischen umfasse sehr heterogene geistige Gegebenheiten. "Ein Gedanke der Vergleichung war so lange unmöglich, als man unter dem Komischen kaum mehr als das Burleske und das Witzigkomische verstand." Schon diese Einleitungsgedanken des Buches zeigen—und die zwei ersten Kapitel bestätigen es—dass eigentlich das Komische dem Verfasser eine fremde Welt ist (wie so vielen ernsthaften Forschern), dass Burleske, Groteske und herzhaftes, zwerchfellerschütterndes Lachen nicht in ihrer ins Tiefe gehenden Lebensfülle erkannt und anerkannt werden.

Dieser Mangel—darf man ihn typisch für gelehrte Arbeit nen-

nen?—wird besonders deutlich, wenn Rempel *Minna von Barnhelm* als Vollendung von Lessings dramatischer Kunst behandelt. Er sieht diese Vollendung nicht in dem leichten, freien Durcheinander der Intrigen und Figuren, sondern im Konflikt Tellheim-Minna und in seiner Lösung durch die innere Entwicklung der beiden; hier liege ein "Erlebniskomplex" Lessings zugrunde: ihm sei "im Treiben des Siebenjährigen Krieges das Irrationale, schlechthin Unlösbare des Lebens entgegengetreten"—"jetzt ringt der Dichter im Stück selbst um Entscheidung" u. s. w.—O weh, wie ernsthaft!—Kein Wunder, dass Rempel an den stärksten komischen Effekten vorbeisieht, wenn er zum Beispiel die Figur des Wirtes als "stärker in der alten Lustspieltradition verhaftet" bezeichnet und ebenso Franziska, die nur in den Szenen mit Werner "an Tiefe" gewinne. Mit einer solchen Interpretation dürfte gerade dem Dichter Lessing kaum ein guter Dienst erwiesen sein. Und soweit die Briefe aus der Breslauer und im Vergleich dazu die aus der Leipziger Zeit uns Lessings Bild noch heute lebendig machen können, erscheint auch von dieser Seite eine stärkere weltanschauliche Erschütterung des Dichters der *Minna* als eine Konstruktion.

WM. R. GAEDE

Brooklyn College

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*Les Idées Traditionalistes en France, De Rivarol à Charles Maurras.* By ALPHONSE V. ROCHE. Urbana, 1937. Pp. 235. \$2.50. Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXI, No. 1-2.

Students of literary history are already indebted to Mr. Roche for his interesting study, *Le Mot traditionalisme* in *MLN.*, for March, 1937. The emergence of a new word of this type is for the literary historian a significant fact. It indicates the date at which a movement becomes self-conscious. In that article Mr. Roche found that the word *traditionaliste* first occurred in 1849 and the word *traditionalisme* in 1851. The reader will find in this volume many additional incidental facts which will increase his indebtedness to Mr. Roche. He has done so much to add to our factual information that the reviewer finds with regret that the total effect of this study is disappointing. This is all the more regrettable since the *Introduction* and three of the concluding chapters, *X. Charles Maurras (Notice biographique)*, *XI. Charles Maurras (La Doctrine de l'Ordre)*, *XII. Charles Maurras (Purgation du Langage)*, are, to say the least, acceptable contributions. The intervening chapters on *Les Philosophes (1789-1850 environ): Les Sociologues et le Positivisme: Les Continuateurs du Positivisme; Taine, Renan, Fustel de Coulanges: Les Historiens libéraux et la*

*Mystique révolutionnaire: Economistes, Littérateurs, Critiques, Journalistes, Le Regionalisme: Le Régionalisme (suite): Les Théoriciens du Traditionalisme moderne: Nationalisme et Traditionalisme (Barrès et Maurras)*, add little or nothing to our understanding of the problem. This would seem to indicate that the methods employed by Mr. Roche were not sufficient to explain Maurras and his school. To put it bluntly, he has invoked the methods of literary history to solve a problem which is not primarily a problem of literary history. It is far more a problem of political history and political events and pressures must be given more attention than is here accorded to them.

Any one who considers the implications involved in the succession of chapter headings given above and Mr. Roche's conclusion that in the work of Charles Maurras and the writers of the Action Française "sont venus converger tous les courants traditionalistes du siècle," will naturally imagine that Maurras is the logical outcome of a movement in French literary history and that many of the important French men of letters somehow fit into his particular group and school. The contrary is considerably nearer the truth. It goes without saying that in the work of Maurras the *courants traditionalistes* SELON MAURRAS converge. When Mr. Roche tries to tell us that the general *traditionaliste* currents in French literary history converge in Maurras, he is doing violence to the facts, even the facts presented by himself. This accounts for so much that is disconcerting in Mr. Roche's interesting volume. The author should have told us how important is this traditionalist (*selon Maurras*) movement in literary history. If a group of students of contemporary literature were asked, for instance, to name the five most important novelists of the past twenty years in France, most of their lists would include Proust, Bourget, Anatole France, Gide, and Mauriac. Of them all only one, Bourget, could be claimed by the Maurras school and his best work was done before that school really began. Mauriac, so far as religion is concerned, is decidedly on the side of French tradition. Oddly enough, his name is never even mentioned in Mr. Roche's study. Are we to conclude that Mauriac, Gide, Proust, and France are outside the French literary tradition? Or is Maurras's *traditionalisme* something arbitrarily invented for an ulterior purpose that has relatively little to do with literary history?

This question raised in the reader's mind by the exclusion of names like Mauriac's will not be dispelled by considering other authors whom he tries to fit into this frame. We can mention only two of them: Barrès and Charles Péguy. Both of them are Catholic but neither is, politically speaking, counter-revolutionary, which is the essence of the Maurras movement. Barrès never accepted the royalist program and objected to Maurras's excluding from the French literary tradition poets like Gautier and Baudelaire.

Péguy, a devout Catholic, felt himself a member of *le peuple* and was proud of the fact. All the king's horses and all the king's men could not have dragged him into becoming a member of the *camelots du roi* of the *Action Française*. To attempt to bring him into Maurras's group is again to do violence to all the facts even as given by Mr. Roche. Mr. Roche is undoubtedly right in telling us that "*l'historien le plus honni des traditionalistes*" is Michelet. Yet, oddly enough, if we look for Péguy's literary ancestry he will not be found to spring from the "traditionaliste" genealogical tree here established. He is in many aspects of his work a descendant of Michelet's.

These incongruities are nowhere more evident than in the case of Maurras himself. This leader of the Catholic and royalist movement is an unbeliever excommunicated by the Church. That is why many Catholic writers like Mauriac do not belong to his school. Maurras himself is not the spiritual son of Bossuet or Pascal. He does not go back to de Maistre and de Bonald who are the reputed fathers of the traditionalist movement. His literary ancestors seem to be Anatole France, for whom he cannot entirely conceal his respect, and Voltaire. He holds that if the Catholic Church had not existed it would have behooved Maurras to invent it. This is ingenious and Voltairian but does not make for the soundest traditionalism. A valid study of ALL the important traditional elements in contemporary French literature cannot afford to begin, as Mr. Roche tells us his did, with a study of Maurras and work back. The school of Maurras, as we saw, is not in the first instance a product of French literary history. It is, as even Mr. Roche admits in his introduction, a product of political discontents. Mr. Roche rendered a service in tracing the history of the word *traditionaliste*. Later research may discover other isolated instances. He has, however, clearly established that the idea takes its *essor* in 1849. Both in his article and in his volume he fails to draw a conclusion which would seem inescapable. The traditionalist agitation or movement evidently took its rise as a result of the Revolution of February and the founding of the Second French Republic. Mr. Roche is also aware that the defeat of France in 1871 had much to do with changing the outlook of Taine, Renan, and Fustel de Coulanges. The Dreyfus Affaire however is the most important factor in the period of Maurras's formation. It is to political phenomena of this type rather than to literary history and the ideas of de Maistre, Rivarol, and de Bonald that we must look for more light on the traditionalism of Maurras.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS

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*Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega. A Revised Edition.* By J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. Pp. 211.

The original edition of this work, published in 1922, replacing in the hands of all students of pre-Lopian drama in Spain the already antiquated treatments of the subject by Schack, Moratín, Creizenach, etc., at once became both a guide and a stimulus for further investigations resulting, on the one hand, in a number of studies of special aspects of the subject (special genres, special technical features, staging, versification) and, on the other hand, in the publication or re-publication of a large number of not readily accessible texts and a few newly discovered pieces. It is not surprising that a great share of what has been accomplished in the past fifteen years has been done by American scholars, Professor Crawford himself having continued to make valuable contributions in the form of articles and of guidance to students. The results of all this activity needed, of course, to be incorporated in the manual, and it would seem to be this consideration, much more than the mere fact that the book had been out of print for several years, that warranted putting out a revised edition.

The short second paragraph of the preface is a modest understatement of the great amount of work and pains which Crawford has put into the preparation of the new edition. The original plan of the work, with slight modifications of two of the chapter headings, has been preserved. A page for page comparison of the two editions reveals that there is scarcely a paragraph that has not either undergone extensive revision or been refurbished in one way or another, however slight. In the light of recent investigations and discoveries, many conjectures are now put down as facts ("probably" and the like frequently removed), while on the other hand there are a few instances where doubt is now admitted, though on controversial points Crawford has usually stuck to his guns. Dramatic literature in the Catalan, Valencian and Portuguese languages, intentionally slighted as far as possible in the first edition, now receives greater attention, as does the important question of versification. Biographical material, even when the facts are few, has been added in many cases. The treatment of the outstanding representatives of the entire period (Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández, Gil Vicente, Torres Naharro, Lope de Rueda) has been expanded. In a number of cases, the discussion of the work of a given author has been transferred from one chapter to one to which it more appropriately belongs. In spite of these numerous additions and expanded discussions, the main body of the new book, which has the same format as the older one, has only fourteen more pages than that of the original edition, thanks to a great deal of shortening of phraseology, occasional merging of

paragraphs, and the suppression here and there of unprovable conclusions, all resulting in greater precision.

The footnotes of the original edition (*i. e.*, such of them as it has been deemed advisable to retain) have been collected and added to in a section entitled "Notes" (chapter by chapter) immediately after the main part of the book—perhaps not quite so convenient, but much more attractively presented. The appendix, with its sub-title "Bibliography," of the old edition now appears as a "Selective Bibliography," divided into "I. General" and "II. Individual Dramatists and Anonymous Plays." Rather than selective, the second part appears to be, at least from the point of view of standard and critical editions cited, well-nigh complete, and with its alphabetical arrangement is a far more usable tool than that represented by the system adopted in the first edition. Improvements have likewise been introduced in the index.

The present reviewer has found few specific points to question or errors to correct. On p. 9, the first year of the period covered by the *Crónica del Condestable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo* is given as 1450; in the first edition of Crawford's book, this date is 1459; Foulché-Delbosc & Barrau-Dihigo (*Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, p. 208) gives 1458. Is '1450' in the new edition a misprint for one of the other two dates mentioned? On p. 21, the statement that Encina's *Égloga de tres pastores* presents the first treatment of the theme of the relative virtues and imperfections of women should be qualified by a phrase limiting this claim to dramatic literature in Spain. In the last paragraph of p. 32, which at first sight may leave the reader slightly confused as to whether it was the first eclogue of Encina or the second that was chiefly drawn on by Fernández for his *Égloga o Farsa del Nacimiento de nuestro Redemptor Jesucristo*, the authority of Meredith does not seem to be cited quite accurately: should not 'first eclogue' in the fifth line of the paragraph read 'first two eclogues' (Meredith, p. 16)? There are a few minor slips which should have been detected in the proof reading: p. 15, l. 12, before 'is' insert 'and'; p. 80, in the quotation from Gillet, l. 12, for 'well be' read 'well may be'; p. 177, l. 11, for 'Isabela' read 'Isabel.'

At the end of the main part of his book Crawford fixes the close of the period covered by him around the year 1587 and concurs with Marcel Bataillon in the suspicion that we may never be able to fill in what appears to be a gap between the precursors of Lope de Vega and Lope himself. In this, admirers of the genius of Lope, made thoroughly familiar by Crawford's book with just what Spanish drama had been down to approximately the date just mentioned, will be inclined to find one more confirmation of the oft-repeated statement that the classical Spanish drama is virtually Lope's creation.

H. C. HEATON

*New York University*

*Le Jocelyn de Lamartine, étude historique et critique avec des documents inédits.* Par. HENRI GUILLEMIN. Paris: Boivin, 1936. Pp. 858.

Lamartine's poem, although thoroughly studied, is used as a beacon to throw light on a chaotic epoch (1830-40) as the author intended when he wrote in his preface: "D'une telle enquête peut sortir une contribution efficace à la connaissance d'un homme, et d'un temps." I should also add "d'une œuvre." The book is composed along conventional lines: 1. Reconstitution of the composition of the poem (cf. particularly the condensation, p. 50, which should be called, I think, *tableau de la composition* rather than *tableau de la genèse de Jocelyn*); 2. The "milieu" (a penetrating study of the literary, philosophical, historical, religious and social ideas); 3. The sources of *Jocelyn* (personal experience as well as indigenous and foreign book sources); 4. The work and its fate (Lamartine's artistic contribution, the success of his book, its message). I grant that M. G. probably knows Lamartine better than any man alive; that his book in no way lacks copious accurate references and learned commentaries, and that his is a work to which every scholar interested in the early years of the nineteenth century shall have to refer. I fundamentally disagree, however, with M. G.'s method which serves to bury a literary piece under a heap of notes.

It is natural that such a lengthy, composite and artificial poem as *Jocelyn*, whose inception dates from Lamartine's youth and whose termination is accomplished in maturity, should reflect both the muddled milieu the poet was conscious of in his middle years as well as the results of the readings of his youth. M. G. attempted a delineation in sections 2 and 3 which suffers unfortunately from unwieldiness due to an anxiety not to sacrifice any notes. Two examples will suffice. I see no purpose, for instance, in the argument for Quinet's "apport" which leads to the negative conclusion: "Non ce n'est pas dans l'œuvre de Quinet que Lamartine a puisé les articles de sa foi nouvelle." Nor do I see any purpose in the lengthy discussion to determine the identity of Laurence in Lamartine's life which leads to the conclusion that she is an "image de rêve" and then to a contradiction, because Laurence is really the usual type of sixteen year old girl found in many a book. On the other hand in an exemplary piece of historical research M. G. explodes the Dumont legend. In a conclusion to parts 2 and 3 the reader would have been happy to find a recapitulation in which the wheat would have been sifted from the chaff. M. G. compares Lamartine's poem to a river fed by innumerable tributaries; it might have been interesting in a conclusion to draw attention to the size of these tributaries; some of these are muddy as well and I am not sure that they are entirely purified by the river. Criticism,



unfortunately, follows a fashion. In the last few years it has become the custom to rehabilitate authors and their writings. M. G., with all sincerity, holds an appreciation for *Jocelyn* which I cannot totally share. Lamartine is incapable of "une œuvre de longue haleine"; *grosso modo* he is unable to shake off traditional shackles and blaze a trail. *Jocelyn* takes rank with the best modern epic poems in the French language, but that is not saying much.

The message or messages of *Jocelyn* will always be a matter of speculation. I doubt, however, that one of the messages of a poem that has been incubating for a long time could be explained as "reprise du mouvement intérieur de jeunesse." The obvious message is resignation in a higher sense, but also resignation of a weak escapist which must be taken into account:

Et puis la vie est lourde, et dur est le voyage:  
Il vaut mieux la porter seule et sans ce bagage  
De chaînes, de fardeaux, de soins, d'ambitions . . .

*Jocelyn* is an escapist from the responsibilities of the layman, an escapist from persecution, love, and even from life: there is no solace in the performance of his duty, he is caught in a vice, his final hope is escape through death:

Prévoirait-il ma mort? . . . Ah! si c'était demain!

M. G.'s meritorious study speaks for itself, in no way do I wish to detract from its great importance. I am old fashioned enough, however, to believe that Lanson's critical edition of the *Méditations* is exemplary and that we need M. G.'s authoritative critical edition of *Jocelyn*.

EMILE MALAKIS

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Introduction à l'Œuvre de Charles De Coster.* Par LÉON-LOUIS SOSSET. Académie Royale de Langue et de Littérature françaises de Belgique. *Mémoires.* Tome XIII. Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1937. Pp. 200.

"Je suis de ceux qui savent attendre." Time has justified this proud declaration of Charles De Coster, for the last decade has produced two solid studies of his work: Joseph Hanse's *Charles De Coster* (see *MLN.*, Jan., 1930), and the monograph under consideration. The two critics are in essential agreement in their judgments. M. Sosset reserves biographical data for a later study and begins with a survey of representative early compositions of the novelist. These have small value in themselves but reveal traits appearing in the mature works besides untiring effort to-

ward artistic perfection. The archaic style of his first masterpiece, *Les Légendes Flamandes*, was adopted as alone suited to suggest in French the color of Flemish temperament and themes, and to react against the insipid manner of his contemporaries. S. analyses this style, first in *Les Légendes*, later in *Ulenspiegel*, where it is handled with greater mastery. Half the volume is devoted to the latter work. His purpose, like that of Hanse, is to defend the unity of the novel, superficially compromised by its complexity.

*La Légende d'Ulenspiegel* . . . est faite d'une multitude d'incidents dont le fourmillement et la variété donnent une impression de vie très intense. C'est une cohue de personnages, le microcosme de tout un peuple, du prince jusqu'au manant. C'est une fresque majestueuse, toute frémissante d'essors lyriques, dessinée sur le fond houleux des perspectives du temps.

As guides across the labyrinth, S. follows the principal characters, whose psychology is revealed entirely by action; thus the plot is dramatically summarized and its homogeneity made clear. De Coster declares that he took *Ulenspiegel* for hero, "afin d'avoir un personnage populaire flamand qui pût fournir une course historique, satirique, pittoresque et humoristique à travers le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle." In examining the sources of the novelist, S. shows great caution; he speaks of his "connaissances encyclopédiques," but would limit specific influences to those mentioned by De Coster himself, notably popular tradition and historical chronicles like Van Meteren's *Histoire des Pays-Bas*. The one "source accessoire" proposed by S.—a bit of dialogue from *Le Pédant Joué*—is hardly convincing. He is more happily inspired when he studies the interest of De Coster in artists of the brush. This is not new, but S. has pointed to specific painters, both old and contemporary. De Coster always possessed the vision of the plastic artists and rivals them in truculent scenes of debauchery, grotesqueness, and torture, as well as in landscape.

Writing for the general public, S. avoids the accumulation of foot-notes and states his main obligations in a bibliography. He acknowledges special assistance from Hanse among others. A careful comparison of the two monographs offers convincing proof of the reality of his debt. He has undoubtedly made a thorough and independent examination of the documents, but his findings and occasionally his phraseology are strikingly similar to those of his predecessor. Hanse wrote primarily for scholars, Sosset would appeal to a wider audience and bring to the many an intelligent appreciation of Belgium's "Prince of novelists."

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE

Reed College

*Man and Beast in French Thought of the Eighteenth Century.* By  
HESTER HASTINGS. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press,  
1936. Pp. 297. \$1.25. (J. H. Studies in Romance L. and L.)

Molière's remark in the Prologue to *Amphitryon*<sup>1</sup> that "les bêtes ne sont pas si bêtes que l'on pense" might well have appeared upon the title-page of many an eighteenth-century work, as it did—and Miss Hastings has noted it (p. 107)—upon that of La Mettrie's *Les Animaux plus que machines*. Miss Hastings's thoroughgoing, judicious, and carefully documented study shows how large the question of the relation of man and animal bulks in this period. It led to philosophical and moral discussion of great importance.

Are animals mere machines, as Descartes had suggested? (p. 13). Are they consequently insensitive to pain? If so, there can be no problem of cruelty in man's treatment of them. But, on the other hand, "after the middle of the eighteenth century only a few individuals doubt that beasts feel and have a spiritual principle" (p. 59). This leads to "concern for brute sufferings" (p. 63) and consequently to increasing condemnation of cruelty.

Moreover many writers seemed impressed by what appeared to be the infallibility of animal instinct in comparison with man's faltering reason. These "theriophilists," the animal lovers, should not be taken too literally, not more literally than they meant to be. D'Holbach, for example, suggests Miss Hastings (p. 138), certainly did not really think animals equal to man. But such an attitude offered a convenient means of attacking man's vanity and self-complacency (p. 94), just as did the vogue of primitivism and the "extraordinary voyage."

Then too there was the question of man and the great apes, a question raised by Rousseau in his Second Discourse, but likewise by many predecessors before him. "The eighteenth-century philosophers," observes Miss Hastings (p. 132), "may be said to out-Darwin Darwin." Vegetarianism came to be discussed also, primarily on moral grounds (p. 246). Finally, in 1803, Lavallée "marks the beginning of the serious agitation for laws controlling the treatment of animals which was to end only in 1850 with the first bit of legislation, the *Loi Grammont*" (p. 276). Thus again the eighteenth century appears as a keenly active period in the history of thought, preparing the way for modern interest in animals and concern for their welfare.

GEORGE R. HAYENS

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<sup>1</sup> For locating this passage in Molière, I am much indebted to my colleague, Professor Robert E. Rockwood.

*A History of Old French Literature.* By URBAN TIGNER HOLMES, JR. New York: Crofts, 1937. Pp. xii + 350. \$4.00.

This history traces the growth of Old French literature from its origin to 1300 and will be followed probably by a companion volume which will carry it two centuries forward. It represents the first attempt in English to undertake a comprehensive survey of the literary output of mediaeval France. Its most distinctive aspect is the author's special method of approach. It is not a vade-mecum superseding all its predecessors, but a work of reference indispensable to readers except, of course, in their own field of special interest. It deserves to be recommended highly not only as a reference guide but also as a text-book for graduate courses. It augurs well for the future of Old French scholarship in this country, particularly so when one notes the many teachers in the South-East who have been trained by Holmes.

The author presents, with due acknowledgment, the conflicting hypotheses that have been advanced on the moot problems of Old French literature (with special emphasis on American scholarship because European colleagues are still awaiting a Columbus to chart that *terra incognita*), but he does not straddle the fence! Either he makes a decision in support of one of the postulates or, at times, he rejects all of them in favor of an original idea. The work offers a wealth of data presented in a practical and lucid form. It traces the literary evolution of mediaeval France in its main currents, skimming swiftly over the surface when the tide is at low ebb but sounding the depth at every crest: the chansons de geste, matière de Rome, matière de Bretagne, chronicles, Tristan, contes, lais, fabliaux, fables, Roman de Renart, Roman de la Rose, drama, hagiology, grail cycle, lyrics, didactic treatises. One finds careful summaries of the outstanding literary productions of the period, with an index that is virtually complete. Holmes strives to make the bibliographies appropriate and up to date. Unfortunately one must look for them in four places for each chapter; I think that it would be more convenient, both for the student who seldom intends to do any collateral reading and for the instructor who prefers to keep together all the references on the same subject, to add all the titles as running footnotes. The effort to keep abreast of current research is comparatively successful, but several editorial contributions are not recorded here nor in kindred bibliographies:

P. 3 Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine . . .*, Paris, 1937; p. 42 *Li Livres des Machabees*: E. Goerlich, Halle, 1888; p. 181 Robert de Rains: W. Mann, Halle, 1898; p. 235 *Vie St. Agneys*: A. J. Denomy, *Harvard Studies Notes Phil. Lit.*, xvi (1934), 51, and his *Old French Lives of Saint Agnes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937); p. 236 *Visio St. Pauli*: T. Silverstein, London, 1935; p. 239 *Consolatio philosophiae*: H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, London, 1936; p. 245 *Les Instituts de Justinien*: F. Olivier-Martin, Paris, 1935; p. 271 *De Groingnet et de Petit*: D. L.

Buffum, *Romania*, LIII (1927), 558; p. 314 *La Disputoison du juif et du chrestien*: H. Pflaum, *Tarbiz*, II No. 4 (Jerusalem, 1931); p. 316 *La Disputoison de la synagogue et de sainte eglise*: H. Pflaum, *Die Religiöse Disputation in der europäischen Dichtung des M. A.*, I (Florence, 1935), 92; p. 320 H. Omont, *Fabliaux, dits et contes* . . . fac-similé du ms. fran. 837 de la Bibl. Nat., Paris, 1932.

RAPHAEL LEVY

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*The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers: A Middle English Version by Stephen Scrope.* Ed. by MARGARET E. SCHOFIELD. U. of Penn. Diss., 1936. Pp. ii + 222.

Of the two works which can definitely be ascribed to Stephen Scrope (1396-7[?]-1472), the *Epistle of Othea to Hector*, a translation of a French work on chivalry, was edited by George Warner in 1904. Miss Schofield now provides us with an edition of the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*. The *Dicts* is a collection of aphorisms arranged according to the various "philosophers," real and imaginary, to whom they are spuriously ascribed. This Arabic compilation of the eleventh century was brought into the western world by the Moors, translated into Latin, then into French by Guillaume de Tignonville, 1402. Scrope's version is a literal translation of Guillaume's made in 1450. Rivers' incomplete translation, which is much better known because it is the first dated book printed in English (1477), is quite clearly a direct translation of Guillaume owing nothing to Scrope.

The text, which is based upon the best of six extant manuscripts together with a list of the significant variants in the other five, is apparently accurate.

The Introduction handles adequately the problems of authorship, date, manuscripts, and transmission of text. A large portion of it is devoted to tracing the fortunes of the Scrope family and the misfortunes of Stephen. Unfortunately but necessarily, this is dull stuff. For the only items of interest which rewarded Miss Schofield for her careful and exhaustive combing of contemporary documents are the following facts: Stephen's grandfather was the Sir Richard Scrope (or Lescrope) who had sufficient foresight to bring suit against Sir Robert Grosvenor, thus providing Chaucer with a chance to be vague about his birthday. Stephen's stepfather was the Sir John Fastolf whose name Shakespeare borrowed and changed and immortalized. Other than this, the account gives us little more than a dreary succession of Stephen's law suits and complaints, inspired by the penury in which Fastolf kept him, together with some inconclusive evidence as to whom and when Stephen married. But for this Miss Schofield is not to be blamed; indeed,

she deserves high praise for finding and sticking to the facts and in providing us with this first account of Stephen Scrope's life.

Not so commendable, however, is the discussion of the language, to which but two pages are devoted. It is hardly sufficient to indicate only that the text is basically East Midl. with a sprinkling of South. and S. W. forms (and *wol* for *will* ought not be explained thus). A fuller treatment, touching at least the high spots of phonology and morphology, is expected of an editor of a ME. text.

NORMAN E. ELIASON

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*Art and Prudence: A Study in Practical Philosophy.* By MORTIMER J. ADLER. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1937. Pp. xiv + 686. \$5.00.

To present a short review of Mr. Adler's *Art and Prudence* is no easy task, for its theme, the present-day film and its position in our society, is linked up by the author with such a vast background that no brief statement can do justice to the scope of the volume. Some indication of its variety may be given by saying that the book starts with an excellent analysis of the attitudes towards art taken by Plato and Aristotle respectively; proceeds thence to a consideration of art in Christian philosophy and in democratic thought; discusses "the motion picture as popular poetry"; presents varying judgments relating to the influence of the film upon society and upon individuals; and concludes with an examination of the aesthetics of the motion picture—with a total of nearly three hundred thousand words.

Perhaps our first reaction to the work is that it includes too much. True, Mr. Adler, in his preface, emphasizes that "in the field of practical philosophy there is always the general problem and the special case" and that in this book he has "tried to be practically wise about a difficult practical problem," but he has not added to the clarity of his presentation by permitting so much to enter into his discussion. A great many details might, it would seem, have been dispensed with, and some might have been the better of checking. We receive a considerable shock, for example, when, on page 75, we read that

Addison in *The Spectator* looked askance at the fiction of Smollett and Fielding; *Tom Jones* and *Tristram Shandy* were accused of improprieties and of being corrupting influences. Fielding was not thus to be deterred by the censors of *The Spectator*; he answered more definitely than Dryden and Congreve had answered Collier.

It might be argued, too, that one entire section of the book does not specifically belong to its general subject. The last portion,

"Cinematics," contains much of value. In spite of many exceedingly debatable generalisations, this is one of the best and most logical discussions so far contributed on the nature of the film and on its relationship to novel and drama. There may be disagreement on this point or on that, but unquestionably Mr. Adler has here achieved an excellent survey of the field. Yet we may well ask what significance this section has in a book which professedly sets out to discuss the question of art and prudence. Interesting in itself, it appears essentially separate in its theme, forming, as it were, a volume within a volume. To assess Plato's attitude towards the dramatists of his day we do not need to know, or knowing to consider, how the plays were presented or what precisely were their connections with the epic, and similarly in our own days opinions concerning the influence of the films on human behaviour do not demand any elaborate examination of close-ups and of montage.

Mr. Adler has, in *Art and Prudence*, made a distinct contribution to a difficult subject but it is to be feared that his aims in "practical philosophy" will not have been assisted by the manner in which he has presented the material.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL

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### BRIEF MENTION

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*The History of the English Novel.* Volume VIII, *From the Brontës to Meredith: Romanticism in the English Novel.* By ERNEST A. BAKER. London: Witherby. 1937. Pp. 411. This volume brings the *History* up to the present century, with a major Victorian, Hardy, still to come. An almost inevitable difficulty in planning a literary history is illustrated by the title of this volume in relation to its predecessor, *The Age of Dickens and Thackeray*: barring Eliot and Meredith in their later work, the novelists of VIII belong chronologically in the period of VII. A further source of confusion lies in the subtitle; Trollope cannot be made to fit into this classification, and much of Eliot's and Gaskell's work presents the same objection. "Romantic Realists" might more precisely describe the group; but is a subtitle necessary? Again inevitably, there are inconsistencies in critical statements. For example, viewing the Brontës from the angle of Wordsworthian romanticism which "dares to speak for the soul" (p. 19), Mr. Baker sees in their novels "living souls, perhaps the first since Shakespeare's" (p. 69), forgetting what he, himself, has said of Clarissa (IV, 44, 49). Moreover, proportions seem illogical. Is Edgeworth (VI) deserving of twice the space allotted here to Gaskell? And, if with Trollope "the art of fiction stood still" (p. 157), why pay

so much attention to his less important novels? Finally, the reviewer must object to the discussion of Gaskell, particularly where it touches Eliot, which is not done with Mr. Baker's habitual sympathy. Enthusiasm for Eliot, as a bringer of philosophy to the novel, "without, however, sacrificing any of the creative and dramatic qualities" belonging to the genre (pp. 221, 233)—a curious misapprehension—blinds him to the significance of Gaskell's position among the social reform novelists and to the fact that her art improved in successive novels, whereas Eliot's deteriorated. Space does not permit citations to show that merits emphasized as Eliot's particular contribution belong equally to Gaskell and that faults condemned in the latter are sometimes palliated in the former. It has not been here and perhaps should not be the historian's part to undertake a revaluation of writers, but the discussion of Gaskell shows that a revaluation is in order. Generally, however, his estimates are fair, the most interpretative chapters being on the Brontës, Trollope, and Meredith. The work has become an encyclopedia, impressive in scope, and rich in factual and critical detail.

ANNETTE B. HOPKINS

Goucher College

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*Poetry in Prose.* By WALTER DE LA MARE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. 85. \$1.25. (Proceedings of the British Academy, 21.) The title of this short work has been carefully chosen. For Mr. de la Mare does not mean to write of that dubious and dreamlike prose that is commonly called prose-poetry: De Quincey's, Chateaubriand's, and some of Poe's; but rather to explore what there may be in *good* and *pure* prose of the same form, the same impulse, and the same effect that make poetry what it is. It is "the imaginative state of mind," he thinks, that makes both good prose and good poetry, and to be capable of that is the sign of the poetic nature, whether one writes in prose or verse. Defoe, for instance, proved that he was a poet when he wrote *Robinson Crusoe*; and one of the best pages in Mr. de la Mare's book is devoted to a study of Swift,—to a meditation, rather, on the contrast between his bitter rages and the "limpid and musical prose" in which they are set, "like circling vultures against the harmless blue of the sky."

Some readers may think that 'musical' here is a question-begging term. Its music, they will say, is just that which always separates good poetry from good prose. Not so Mr. de la Mare, however. He reminds us of the sound rule, laid down by Cicero, that the cadences of prose should never be those of verse; yet, "on the other hand," he says, "one of the most guilefully persuasive and natural-seeming kinds of prose is that which is perpetually



evading, and only just evading, the peril of quietly tumbling into metre. The problem is by a hair's breadth to escape doing so." And he believes, as many passages show, in a 'natural' rhythm, operant before and without the aid of an imposed pattern: a dubious doctrine, some theorists must insist, and the parent of prosodic error.

Mr. de la Mare, in short, is a Romantic in criticism, as he is in his poetry and his prose fiction. In his historical survey he passes very lightly over prosaists of 'the age of prose' except Swift, but is eloquent in praise and copious in quotation when he writes of Elizabethans, great and small. It is hardly necessary to add that he says a number of things finely, and some exquisitely.

MORRIS W. CROLL

*Princeton University*

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*Masters of French Literature.* By HORATIO SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. This volume contains six biographical and critical essays on Molière, Racine, Voltaire, Rousseau, Hugo and Balzac. The choice of these representative writers enables the intelligent reader to grasp the significant tendencies of French literature during the three modern centuries. Professor Smith's treatment of his authors is thoroughly conservative, and in presence of diverging interpretations of literary problems he adheres to reason and common sense, which makes the book a safe guide. In presence of so many sloppy treatments of modern literature by superficial modernists, intent either on disparaging the past or on proclaiming precocious views, it is refreshing to record a book that, as this one does, intelligently correlates the past and the present. The author knows about Erskine Caldwell, Sherwood Anderson and Virginia Woolf as well as René Benjamin and Gide, when he discusses French writers of the past. His conservatism cannot, therefore, be taxed with narrowmindedness. This ability to correlate past and present will be one of the advantages of the book to the general reader, for whom it seems primarily intended. Professor Smith shows, in his separate essays, how each individual master, though the product of his age, transcends its limits, and thus wins immortality. Molière and Racine are not merely "Louis XIV balance" or narrow seventeenth-century taste, but timeless. The complexities of Voltaire and the bewildering alternations of Rousseau are sensibly interpreted. The contrasts of Hugo show him to be himself the incarnation of those antitheses of grotesque and sublime that he saw in life. The buffoonish side of his character is redeemed by the "discreet taste" of some of his poetry. Balzac, like Molière, escapes the limitations of his own formula, so that no nineteenth-century author is more admired to-day. This book shows that "academic" criticism can

hold its own against the blurb style of much modern American reviewing. Professor Smith is so thoroughly steeped in literature that he has neglected to keep up with the geography of modern Scandinavia: "Stockholm" (p. 139) has not become "Omslo."

*Harvard University*

C. H. C. WRIGHT

*Gabriele Rossetti in England.* By E. R. VINCENT. Oxford: The Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1936. Pp. viii, 199. \$4.50. Professor Vincent's original aim was to meet the need for a biography of Gabriele Rossetti as a figure entitled to a better fate than to be treated merely as the father of his gifted children. After he had collected his material, Mr. E. R. Waller published *The Rossetti Family, 1824-1854* (Manchester, 1932), which contains as full a treatment of Gabriele's life and character as they deserve, drawn from much the same sources. Generously acknowledging Mr. Waller's achievement, Professor Vincent has focused his study on Rossetti as an Italian exile and as a critic of Dante.

In dealing with Rossetti as a critic and poet Professor Vincent goes far beyond Mr. Waller. He has courageously attacked the monstrous corpus of Rossetti's commentaries on Dante and the literature of the Middle Ages, searched out its basic theories, and tracked them to their sources in Rossetti's character and experience and in the books and correspondence in which Rossetti found nourishment for their fantastic growth. Professor Vincent feels that he has put an end to a chimera, dangerous because it had never been dragged out of its cave. Certainly no self-respecting scholar will hereafter fall into Mr. Waller's error of thinking that because Rossetti's basic theory has been warmed into life by some recent commentators, it adds to the intellectual credit of its author. Professor Vincent correctly treats it as biographical material and by skilful use of it makes a valuable addition to the biography of Rossetti.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi: A Hand-List.* By HARRY CAPLAN. Ithaca, New York, 1934. Pp. 52. *A Supplementary Hand-List*, 1936. Pp. 36. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, 24, 25. Few medievalists, apparently, realize how little is actually known today concerning the technique of the medieval sermon. In these two little volumes Professor Caplan lists some 250 medieval tracts on sermon making, of which between half a dozen and a dozen are

now readily accessible to modern readers. In a very stimulating essay, "Michel Menot et la technique du sermon médiéval," *Revue franciscaine*, II (1925), 299 ff., Etienne Gilson has made it abundantly clear that medieval sermons cannot be understood without considerable knowledge of the medieval theories of their composition. Yet, important as sermons are to the historian of medieval literature or life, the study of their construction has not received the attention it deserves. These volumes, the second of which contains corrections of and additions to the first, are obviously the fruit of intelligent and painstaking labor. They list the incipits of all the tracts on sermon making which C. has been able to discover, and the exemplars of each work so listed. Such a catalogue is the necessary first step in the mastery by modern scholarship of the facts concerning medieval sermon theory. C. does not claim that his lists even now are exhaustive, or that he has seen all the manuscripts with which he deals. Doubtless, as he intimates in his introduction, he sometimes erroneously lists the same tract under different incipits and different tracts under the same incipit. He has intended these books as only a tentative but necessary check-list. To make them more would require many additional years of labor; and there is no reason why the scholarly world should not be allowed to make use now of what C. has thus far accomplished. To the student of medieval rhetoric and to the specialist in the field of medieval preaching this list is of very great value. The next step should be the editing of a reasonable number of the tracts.

WOODBURN O. ROSS

Wayne University

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*The Prose Works of Alexander Pope.* Vol. I. The Earlier Works, 1711-1720. Newly collected and edited by NORMAN AULT. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1936. Pp. cxxvii + 326. 30 sh. Ault's edition, which excludes Pope's correspondence and—presumably—the commentaries on the *Iliad*, will be completed by a second volume. The editor's interest, as those who have followed his earlier work on Pope and on English lyrics will know, centers upon the discovery of *inédits* and the attribution of anonymous or ambiguously assigned publications to their author. Assiduous in the assembling of external and internal evidence, adroit in cumulative argument, Ault needs to be checked by the more cautious scholarship of Professor Sherburn. It is a matter for regret that Ault has put together, in his text, essays and pamphlets for which, according to his own estimate in the introduction, the authority varies: papers attributable to Pope only with "probability" or "much probability" should have been assigned to an appendix.

Perhaps the most important section of the commentary is that

which discusses Pope's contributions to the *Spectator* (xxiii—lv). Even after Ault's brilliant investigation, mystery clouds this subject. One can readily comprehend why Pope would not acknowledge *The Critical Specimen* or the three lampoons against Curll; but why should Pope not have reprinted, along with his *Guardians*, the perfectly innocuous *Spectators* which are now collected? And what is the meaning of Steele's valedictory acknowledgment of Pope's assistance? Letters in nos. 406 and 527 are demonstrably Pope's. The ten 'Z' papers present the real puzzle; and Ault assembles parallel passages, apposite in varying degrees, to establish the attribution of seven of them to Pope. I find the evidence most plausible for nos. 224, 292, 316, 408, and 467.

The Shakespeare Head Press has provided very handsome paper, typography, and binding.

AUSTIN WARREN

*Boston University*

*Edmund Spenser, A Bibliographical Supplement.* By DOROTHY F. ATKINSON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 244. \$3.00. This volume is welcome as a badly needed supplement to the late F. I. Carpenter's *A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser* (1923). Miss Atkinson follows in her arrangement Carpenter's grouping of titles and she includes many items overlooked in his and Miss Alice Parrott's bibliographies. In her ambition to make her work complete, she has entered not only reviews of books listed but unpublished dissertations and even seminar reports. We shall not be surprised by her 220 pages of titles if we remember the remark in her foreword that "it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the *Spenseriana* published since 1923 equals in volume all that had hitherto been printed on the subject." Even so, one misses in her very valuable bibliography a title here and there. For example, the reviewer finds no mention of Morton Luce's *Man and Nature*, the fifth chapter of which bears the title, "Spenser and Shakespeare. A New Investigation"; nor of an article in the *London Bookman* for December, 1932, on "Spenser's Portrait"; nor of Huntington Brown's "Classical Tradition in English Literature: A Bibliography" (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. xviii). In his *Istoria Literaturilor Romanice*, II, 239 ff., N. Jorga undertakes to assess the foreign influence on the *Fairy Queen*. For further omissions Dr. Friedlander's review in *JEGP*. (January, 1938) should be consulted.

H. S. V. JONES

*The University of Illinois*

*Die Altfranzösische Bertasage und das Volksmärchen.* Von ADOLF MEMMER. Halle: Niemeyer, 1935. Pp. xvi + 245. Romanistische Arbeiten XXV. 9 RM. It is Memmer's contention that a widespread folk-tale of Germanic origin (das Märchen von der Gansemagd) was brought by the Franks into France; that there historical characters were introduced into the story (Pepin, Berthe, etc.); that this Bertha saga then had a two-fold development, one type (Vorepos I) giving rise to the later German versions, the other type (Vorepos II) to the later French, Italian, Spanish and Dutch versions. Although the volume contains much hypothetical and debatable material (considered "erwiesen und unbestreitbar" by the author), although it devotes an inordinate amount of space to the goose-girl tale and to analyzing the contents of various readily accessible narratives about Bertha, although it superfluously assumes two "Vorepen" to account for the absence of those elements of the Romance and Dutch versions which do not appear in the admittedly derivative German versions, and although it inexplicably places the fourteenth century *Miracles de Notre Dame* in the fifteenth, nevertheless this is the best and fullest exposition of the subject available and will undoubtedly prove useful despite its controversial conclusions.

G. F.

*Johns Hopkins University*


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*Diderot's Writings on the Theatre*, edited by F. C. GREEN. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1936. Pp. vii + 317. In chronological order Mr. G. has given in unabridged form D's theories on all that concerns the art of the theatre. The selections are preceded by an accurate biographical sketch. Mr. G. has included: 1. *Entretiens sur le Fils naturel*; 2. *De la poésie dramatique*; 3. An extract from *Les Bijoux indiscrets*; 4. *Observations sur Garrick ou les Acteurs Anglais*; 5. Extracts from letters to Mlle Jodin; 6. *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*. Since the selections were available only in the Assézat and Tournoux edition, this collection serves a purpose. It would have been rendered valuable had Mr. G. included references to critical articles and had added critical comments.

E. M.

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*Citizen of Geneva, Selections from the Letters of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, by CHARLES WILLIAM HENDEL. New York, London, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xi + 405. The author of a valuable study, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Moraliste*, attempts to provide in one volume of translations "a gleanings of the best letters of R. for those who are not special students of

French but who are interested in R." Mr. H. excludes material relating to the unhappy events in R.'s life, but he compensates for this exclusion in his thorough and compact introduction, where he recounts the vicissitudes of R.'s life as well as the reaction to his writings. The index to letters translated in whole or in part is rather misleading for vol. 1, as I find often references but no translations. I must admit that I do not understand the purpose of this translation. Is it to acquaint the reader with R.'s heterogeneous interests? Certainly there are not sufficient explanations of personalities involved even for students not particularly acquainted with R. Specifically what is the purpose of letters 1527 and 1553, where R. speaks of the wedding present sent to Mlle d'Ivernois and the silk of all colours he asks Mme Boy de la Tour to send him? Are they a "gleaning of the best letters of R."? The choice is made helter-skelter and arranged in chronological order. Would not discarding the chronological order, with proper references, and the adoption of a topical order (R.'s sociological ideas, R.'s literary ideas, etc) have been better? It would have, it seems to me, killed two birds with one stone and given the reader real meat.

E. M.

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*Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of the Troubadours and of the Courts of Love.* By MICHEL V. ROSENBERG. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937. Pp. 296. \$3.50. Though Mr. Rosenberg's biography of Eleanor of Aquitaine is chiefly intended for the general reader, it may also be read profitably by students of medieval literature, particularly those who are just beginning their studies. Chapter VI, "The Queen and the Troubadour," chapter VII, "The Royal Court of Love," and chapter VIII, "Judgments of Love," are readable and informative discussions, even though the first is weakened by such an observation as (p. 158), "It is significant that the complexity of their [i. e., the troubadours'] rhyme schemes is paralleled by the poverty of their imaginations and the gelding of their descriptive faculties," and in spite of the fact that the second would lead the casual reader to believe that Henry II's failure at the siege of Toulouse was the principal reason for Eleanor's sponsoring the Courts of Love. The third chapter mentioned, however, is of real value because it provides a readable general summary of the *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus. The book is entirely undocumented except for a select bibliography of one hundred titles, presumably chosen for the general reader who has little or no acquaintance with foreign languages; though, if this is the case, one may well wonder at the presence of Trojel's *Middelalderens Elskovshof*! Specialists in medieval literature will continue to order their ideas about courtly love from the extensive scholarly literature

devoted to the subject; others will find Mr. Rosenberg's study of Eleanor a pleasant introduction to a fascinating topic.

THOMAS A. KIRBY

*The Louisiana State University*

*The Man in the Moone*, 1638, and *Nuncius Inanimatus*, 1629. [By BISHOP FRANCIS GODWIN.] Reprinted, with introductions and notes, by GRANT MCCOLLEY. (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. XIX, No. 1, October, 1937). Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith college. Pp. xiv + 78. The *Nuncius* has the English version of Dr. Thomas Smith in 1657 printed opposite the Latin original in the manner of the Loeb Library. As only one copy of each of these two books is known to exist, these reprints are a valuable addition to the materials now being made readily available to students of both the literary and the scientific history of England in the seventeenth century. *The Man in the Moone* is the prototype of the English romances that make literary use of the new scientific theories and discoveries, especially in astronomy. The secret of the *Nuncius Inanimatus* is still unsolved, but it hints at the possibilities of communication at great distances which not until the telephone, the telegraph, and the radio could be accomplished. It is a curiosity today, but its publication stimulated Godwin's younger contemporaries, George Hakewill and John Wilkins, to some interesting speculations.

DOROTHY STIMSON

*Goucher College*

*Two Pamphlets of Nicholas Breton; Grimellos Fortunes (1604), An olde Mans Lesson (1605)*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by E. G. MORICE. Bristol: published for the University of Bristol by J. W. Hammersmith, 1936. Pp. 127. 5s. Two scarce pamphlets of no great literary merit, but of some value to the social historian, have been accurately reprinted. The first dialogue describes the difficulties of an upright young university graduate who, after failing in various professions and vocations because of his scruples, finally becomes a servingman to an ideal master; the second discusses the value and dangers of the Grand Tour in the education of a young man. The editor in his brief introduction discusses the sources, chiefly folkloristic, of the dialogues, their themes, and their use of proverbs.

EDWIN E. WILLOUGHBY

*Folger Shakespeare Library*

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# Modern Language Notes

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## J.-A. NAIGEON'S ANALYSIS OF DIDEROT'S *RÊVE DE D'ALEMBERT*

The history of several works by Diderot has not been clearly explained, chiefly because the MSS. and papers formerly in the possession of his daughter, Mme de Vandeul, have never been critically examined or put in order. The publications of André Babelon<sup>1</sup> have made some of the papers accessible, but his edition neither satisfies critical demands nor takes the place of a complete list of the MSS. in the Stock-Vandeul.<sup>2</sup> So long as this collection is kept from scholars, there is no hope of solving definitively the problems connected with the history of the text, but a careful examination of accessible material may in some cases throw new light on the subject. This can be shown for the *Rêve de D'Alembert*, an analysis of which was published by Diderot's friend, J.-A. Naigeon, (who edited the first critical, though not quite complete, edition of his works)<sup>3</sup> in his *Mémoires historiques et philosophiques sur la vie et les ouvrages de Diderot*.<sup>4</sup> Naigeon did not include the *Rêve de D'Alembert* in his edition. According to his own<sup>5</sup> and to Meister's<sup>6</sup> assertion he did not possess the MS., but only extracts and short résumés which he had made and from which he composed his analysis. In the sale catalogue of the books and MSS. owned by Naigeon's sister, Mme Dufour-Villeneuve, into whose possession

<sup>1</sup> Denis Diderot: *Lettres à Sophie Volland*. 3 vol. Paris 1930. Denis Diderot: *Correspondance inédite*. 2 vol. Paris 1931.

<sup>2</sup> The Stock-Vandeul kept in the Château d'Orquevaux (Haute-Marne) is in the possession of Baron Le Vavas seur.

<sup>3</sup> Paris 1798.

<sup>4</sup> Paris 1821 (1823).

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoires* p. 219/20, 290.

<sup>6</sup> In his review of Naigeon's edition of Diderot's works. *Correspondance littéraire* (Ed. Tourneux. Paris 1882) xvi, 230.

many of Naigeon's MSS. had come, a copy of the *Rêve de D'Alembert*, made by Naigeon, is mentioned,<sup>7</sup> but this seems to be an error, for it is in reality the above-mentioned analysis of the *Rêve*.<sup>8</sup> Naigeon gives special importance to this analysis because the *Rêve* appeared to him the most important of Diderot's philosophical works. It occupies in the *Mémoires* a more considerable position than the analysis of any other of Diderot's writings. The *Mémoires* contain 416 pages, in which the life of Diderot is related and the greatest part of his work analysed. Nearly a quarter of the book, about a hundred pages, is filled with the analysis of the *Rêve de D'Alembert*.

It is very strange that Naigeon neither in the introduction to his edition of Diderot's works, nor in his article on Diderot in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*,<sup>9</sup> nor in, nor before, nor after his analysis, points to an event which ought to have made on him a deep impression, the destruction of the autograph MS.<sup>10</sup> Naigeon mentions it only casually near the end of the *Mémoires*,<sup>11</sup> without even noting that the destroyed work of which he speaks is the *Rêve de D'Alembert*. His indication is so vague that perhaps nobody would have noticed it, if there were not a letter<sup>12</sup> of Diderot himself that

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. Tournoux in *RHL.*, 1902, 509.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rudolf Brummer: *Studien zur französischen Aufklärungsliteratur im Anschluss an J.-A. Naigeon*, Breslau 1932, who asserted that a copy of the *Rêve de D'Alembert* written by Naigeon would have required more space than the extent of the manuscript, mentioned in the sale's catalogue, offers. We shall later on give some more arguments which prove that it really contains only the excerpts. It is not possible simply to conclude that Naigeon would have published the *Rêve de D'Alembert*, if he had had a copy in his hands, for we know that Naigeon possessed the manuscript of other very important works of Diderot without publishing them in his edition.

<sup>9</sup> Section: *Philosophie ancienne et moderne*, Tome II. Article: *Diderot*.

<sup>10</sup> Diderot had chosen Mademoiselle de Lespinasse as an interlocutor for the Dialogue. The words attributed to her hurt her so deeply that she asked D'Alembert to demand of Diderot the destruction of the manuscript, but, as a copy of it had already been made, the work was preserved.

<sup>11</sup> P. 409.

<sup>12</sup> This letter is called by Assézat in his edition of Diderot's *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris 1876) *Lettre d'envoi* and is printed at the beginning of the *Eléments de Physiologie* (IX, 251). M. Tournoux, who describes the MS. in *Les manuscrits de Diderot conservés en Russie*, Paris 1895, p. 27, calls it "une sorte d'avertissement sans titre." He found it on the first page of the MS. of the *Eléments de Physiologie*.

proves undoubtedly that he had destroyed the original MS. It is uncertain to whom this letter is addressed.. Diderot speaks in it about a new and revised version of the *Rêve de D'Alembert*, where the names of the interlocutors are changed and which he, by memory and with the help of the torn pieces of the first version, had recomposed.<sup>13</sup> The second version does not seem to exist, Naigeon does not mention it. The MS. in which he read and from which he excerpted, contained the original version.

The problems of the *Rêve de D'Alembert* were known to Naigeon not only by his knowledge of the MS., but especially because Diderot discussed them very often with him. We possess several proofs of that fact. Naigeon writes in his *Mémoires*:<sup>14</sup>

Diderot se proposait d'exposer dans plusieurs lettres qu'il devait même m'adresser, son système particulier de physiologie, et de donner, à sa manière, une nouvelle théorie, ou plutôt une histoire naturelle et expérimentale de l'homme; mais à l'exception de ces deux Dialogues . . . il n'a laissé de l'important ouvrage qu'il projetait, et dont je viens d'indiquer le sujet, que quelques matériaux épars et sans aucun ordre entre eux. .

This assertion is supported by a fragment published by d'Haussonville in *Le Salon de Madame Necker* (1882). It is a dialogue between Madame Necker, Naigeon and Diderot, in which they discuss whether thought can be deducted from feeling and matter endowed with sensibility. The themes and form of this dialogue are very similar to those of the *Rêve de D'Alembert*.

Also about the origin of the *Rêve de D'Alembert* Naigeon was well informed. He writes in his *Mémoires*:<sup>15</sup>

Diderot avait d'abord vu la chose bien plus en grand: c'était le *Rêve de Démocrite*, et les interlocuteurs, Démocrite, Hippocrate, et la maîtresse de Démocrite; mais il eût fallu se renfermer dans la sphère de la philosophie ancienne, et son dialogue y aurait trop perdu. Il sacrifia donc la noblesse de la forme à la richesse du fond.

This passage corresponds nearly word for word to Diderot's own indications on the composition of the *Rêve de D'Alembert* in a letter to Sophie Volland of Sept. 11, 1769. Naigeon had copied this part of the letter,<sup>16</sup> surely because Diderot had initiated him

<sup>13</sup> Naigeon relates that the manuscript had been burnt by Diderot.

<sup>14</sup> P. 291.

<sup>15</sup> P. 213.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, III, 278. All the *Fragments sans date* are passages of lost letters of Diderot, copied by Naigeon.

personally into the origin of the work. Naigeon liked to appeal to these personal remarks, by which he became 'very familiar with the history of the work.'<sup>17</sup> He based on them the importance of his *Mémoires* which should facilitate the reading of much of Diderot's works.

How are the problems of the *Rêve de D'Alembert* treated in Naigeon's analysis? The first part of the Dialogue, called by Naigeon *Suite d'un entretien philosophique supposé, entre D'Alembert et Diderot*, is resumed in a few pages (p. 207-212). Then follow general reflections about the notion of heterogeneity. On p. 213 the second Dialogue is briefly announced. Now follow general reflections on the importance of the knowledge of the brain and its functions, of the significance of medical education to solve the problems of cognition, a short outline of the principal problems of the *Rêve de D'Alembert*, of its importance, of the error to suppose two substances in man, and of sensibility. On p. 224 Naigeon begins a new chapter entitled *Le Rêve de D'Alembert*. The analysis ends on p. 290. He concludes with a polemic against Condillac, with reflections about Hobbes, and so on. The third dialogue of the *Rêve de D'Alembert*, *La suite de l'entretien*, is nowhere mentioned.

Comparing now in detail, how the development of the problems of the *Rêve de D'Alembert* corresponds to Naigeon's analysis, we strike in the very beginning (p. 208) of the analysis of the so-called *Suite d'un entretien philosophique supposé* . . . a passage existing neither in the first nor in the second Dialogue of the *Rêve de D'Alembert*. In the succeeding pages the number of such passages increases. Besides long quotations, nearly always literally copied from the *Rêve de D'Alembert*, which Naigeon never marks as quotations but combines so closely with his own accompanying remarks that they appear to be his own analysis, there are reflections, reports on experiments, observations, the style of which is unmistakably that of Diderot, but which cannot be found in any part of the *Rêve's* Dialogues. In reading it the first time we remember immediately the destruction of the *Rêve's* manuscripts and the *Lettre d'envoi*, where Diderot speaks of a second version in which he had left out important parts and which he composed from the fragments of the first version. Is the version of

<sup>17</sup> Naigeon's Preface to his edition of Diderot's works, p. xxxiii.

the *Rêve de D'Alembert* that Naigeon analyzed the original form of the *Rêve*, and is the version delivered to us a shortened one? But this would be contradicted by the fact that the names of the interlocutors are not changed. Or did Diderot correct in a later copy this change of names? This hypothesis and others that could be formed, come to nothing when we seek in Diderot's works the passages intercalated into Naigeon's text, for we can point out all the inserted phrases, with the exception of small and unimportant passages that could have been added easily by Naigeon. The first intercalation, p. 208, comes from a lost letter<sup>18</sup> of Diderot to Sophie Volland, from which Naigeon made an excerpt, because this part of the letter seemed to him—and rightly—to suit the problems of the *Rêve*. The other intercalations all come from the *Eléments de Physiologie*.<sup>19</sup> In the following we reprint a part of Naigeon's text and mark in the margin their origin in Diderot's writings.

Mémoires P. 256/7:

- II. 139 Ne convenez-vous pas que tout tient en nature, et qu'il est impossible qu'il y ait un vide dans la chaîne / des êtres, qu'il ne faut pas / croire interrompue par la diversité\* des formes? /
- IX. 253 Que voulez-vous donc dire avec vos individus? Il n'y en a point. Il n'y a qu'un seul grand individu, c'est le tout. Dans ce tout, comme dans une machine, dans un animal quelconque, il y a une partie que vous appellerez telle ou telle; mais quand vous donnerez le nom d'individu à cette partie du tout, c'est par un concept aussi faux que si dans un oiseau vous donniez le nom d'individu
- IX. 255 à l'aile, / etc. / Qu'est-ce qu'un animal, une plante? une coordination de molécules infiniment actives, un enchaînement de petites forces vives que tout concourt à séparer. / Qu'est-ce qu'un
- II. 139 être? . . . La somme d'un certain nombre de tendances / Et les espèces? Les espèces ne sont que des tendances à un terme commun qui leur est propre. Et la vie? La vie, une suite d'actions et de réactions. Vivant, j'agis et je réagis en masse; mort, j'agis
- II. 140 et je réagis en molécules. / Naître, vivre, et passer, c'est changer de formes. / Qui sait les races d'animaux qui nous ont précédés? Qui sait les races d'animaux qui succéderont aux nôtres?
- II. 132
- IX. 253 \* Diderot remarque ailleurs que / la forme n'est souvent qu'un masque qui trompe, et que la chaîne qui paraît manquer réside peut-être dans un être connu à qui les progrès de l'anatomie comparée n'ont encore pu assigner sa véritable place. Cette manière

<sup>18</sup> *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, III, 270.

<sup>19</sup> Of course Naigeon did not know the *Eléments de Physiologie* in their definitive form, but only the single notes, from which they have been composed. How many of these notes Naigeon knew, cannot be determined.



de classer les êtres est très-pénible et très lente. Ce ne peut être que le fruit des travaux successifs d'un grand nombre de naturalistes. Attendons, et ne nous pressons pas de juger.

Already this short example shows several characteristics of Naigeon's analysis. I summarize: the connection of thought of the *Rêve de D'Alembert* is very often interrupted, and great parts of the *Eléments de Physiologie* are intercalated. Naigeon interrupts in the middle of a sentence in order to continue with a quotation, which either is found much later or earlier in the *Rêve de D'Alembert* or is taken from the *Eléments de Physiologie*. Sometimes Naigeon seems to prefer even the *Eléments*: once <sup>20</sup> he chooses the formulation of the *Eléments*, though the same passage is found in the *Rêve* with only minor variants. Naigeon is not much interested in the tale of the *Rêve* and the artistic form of its dialogue. The name of Bordeu is mentioned for the first time on p. 247, the names of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse and of D'Alembert only on p. 255. Sometimes the words of one interlocutor are attributed to another. The connection of thought is, with a few exceptions, well rendered, only the order is changed and the development still more desultory than in Diderot. Naigeon is not capable of rendering the contents in an independent way. He composes his text by placing one quotation next to the other. The wording disagrees sometimes with that of the *Rêve*. But, as Naigeon's excerpts are exact, these divergences can't be mistakes of memory or personal formulations of Naigeon, but for the greatest part must be textual variants. In order to illustrate and to support Diderot's arguments, Naigeon, in several notes, refers to the works of Haller,<sup>21</sup> Bordeu, and Barthez or to reports on experiments. The latter are found for a great part in Diderot's notes of the *Eléments de Physiologie*. We conclude from all this that Naigeon certainly knew and read the completed manuscript of the *Rêve de D'Alembert*, but that he did not have it when he wrote his *Mémoires*.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Mémoires*, p. 260.

<sup>21</sup> Naigeon's assertion (p. 222), that Diderot burnt the excerpts made from Haller after having used them, is wrong. They are preserved in the *Eléments*. We shall have to be more critical than we have been up to now with Naigeon's reports of Diderot having destroyed his works. We have shown the great influence of Bordeu on Diderot in: "Théophile Bordeu und Diderot's *Rêve de D'Alembert*," *Romanische Forschungen*, Bd. 52./1.

<sup>22</sup> They were written in the first six months after Diderot's death. Cf. *Encycl. méth. Art.: Diderot*, p. 153.

His own statements on this account are found to be exact. Besides, he knew the excerpts made by Diderot from different scientific authors, which are the basis for the composition of the *Rêve*. Naigeon must have possessed a copy of several of these excerpts.

The examination of Naigeon's analysis of the first two Dialogues of the *Rêve de D'Alembert* in his *Mémoires* shows that Naigeon was very familiar with the genesis of the work. His résumé is of fundamental importance for the genesis of the *Rêve* and for the criticism of the text. It is further of great interest as showing how Diderot used to work. For it indicates that Diderot wrote down the *Rêve de D'Alembert* very quickly and like a play of thoughts, but that this work had been prepared by long studies and exact excerpts. At the same time Naigeon's analysis allows us to fix the *terminus ante quem* for the *Eléments de Physiologie*. Assézat dates the beginning of the work not earlier than 1774. The fact that a great number of passages of the *Eléments* can be found in the *Rêve* proves the existence of the excerpts before 1769. It seems however doubtful to us to put back the date of the beginning to 1764, as Caro<sup>23</sup> does, for his argument, that Haller's *Elementa physiologiae* appeared in 1764, does not seem to us to be a proof.<sup>24</sup>

The editions of the *Rêve de D'Alembert* that have appeared since the time that Diderot's complete works were published all use the same text as Assézat: the copy sent by Diderot's daughter to the Empress Catherine II<sup>nd</sup> of Russia and kept in Leningrad. Never, so far as I know, have Naigeon's *Mémoires*, one of the most important sources for the text, been consulted. Nor did anybody take notice of the copy<sup>25</sup> of the *Rêve* kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which comes from a copy of the *Correspondance littéraire* of Grimm<sup>26</sup> and also contains very interesting textual variants.

#### *Manuscripts of the Rêve de D'Alembert*

1. Autograph manuscript, burnt after Naigeon's report, torn after the *Lettre d'envoi*.
2. Copy in Leningrad.

<sup>23</sup> E. Caro: *La fin du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris 1880.

<sup>24</sup> The *Elementa Physiologiae* began to appear in 1756.

<sup>25</sup> Fonds français. Nouvelles acquisitions 4200.

<sup>26</sup> The fact that the whole *Rêve* was published in Grimm's *Correspondance littéraire* from August to November 1782 is nearly unknown. It is untrue that the *Rêve* became known only in 1830.

3. Copy of the Stock-Vandeul. It was exhibited in 1929 by André Babelon<sup>27</sup> in the Library of the Chambre des Députés in Paris. In spite of my repeated endeavours from abroad and during my stay at Paris, I did not succeed in looking into the manuscript or even getting a description of it. My question to Babelon remained unanswered and the administrator of Diderot's Estate answered in a negative sense.
4. Copies made by the copyists of Grimm for the *Correspondance littéraire*. One of them kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

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#### JEAN BAUDOUIN'S VERSION OF THE *TESTAMENTA XII PATRIARCHARUM*

St. John's College MS. 261 (T 14) in Cambridge contains the only known copy of a historico-moral poem entitled "L'instruction de la vie mortelle ou de la vie humaine" by Jean Baudouin (fl. 1407-37) of Rosières-aux-Salines,<sup>1</sup> near Nancy. Although the work has no particular originality to commend it, Paul Meyer thought it worth while to publish an account of the poem, with a few extracts,<sup>2</sup> because few fifteenth-century works had been found originating in the neighborhood of Nancy. It appears to have been finished early in the papacy of Eugene IV (1431-47),<sup>3</sup> and the script in which it is preserved is almost contemporary, being characteristic of English writing of the period just preceding the middle of the fifteenth century.

Baudouin's extensive versification of history and moral instruction, running to about 47,000 lines, is based on a variety of sources, some of which are mentioned in the margins. It is in five parts, of which two are devoted to Biblical history: in the course of the summary of Old Testament history, apocryphal material is included, such as the Story of Asenath (ff. 32<sup>B</sup>-33<sup>A</sup>) and the Testaments of

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 février 1931. P. 851.

<sup>1</sup> *Jehan Baudouyn de Rousierres aulx Sallines* is the spelling of the acrostic on f. 191D. Verification from local archives of the author's name and dates is reported in *Romania*, xxxvi (1907), 628.

<sup>2</sup> *Romania*, xxxv (1906), 531-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 533.

the Twelve Patriarchs (f. 33A-C). These items are not noted in Paul Meyer's description of the manuscript, but Dr. James mentioned them in his catalogue.<sup>4</sup>

The *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*, translated from Greek into Latin by Robert Grosseteste (Bishop of Lincoln 1235-53), was widely copied in the Middle Ages. Only one medieval French translation of it has come to light,—in prose and incomplete.<sup>5</sup> But Baudouin does not appear to have used either this translation or Grosseteste's Latin as the direct model for his verses. He has followed quite closely, yet without mentioning it, the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais,<sup>6</sup> in which the long narrative and moralizing parts of the original *Testamenta* are omitted and only the Christian prophecies are left.<sup>7</sup> Baudouin abridged this rendering still further, and set two of the Testaments in a different order in the series. The only medieval French version of Vincent's *Speculum historiale* which seems to be known was made in the fourteenth century by Jean de Vignay.<sup>8</sup> But Baudouin appears to have worked from Vincent's Latin rather than from Jean's translation, for in several instances he uses Gallicized Latin words which

<sup>4</sup> M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 299-302. Dr. James's date, "s. xi," is apparently a misprint for "s. xv."

<sup>5</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. nouv. acq. franç. 10176, ff. 2<sup>a</sup>-5<sup>b</sup>, s. xiii<sup>2</sup>; published by the present writer in *PMLA*, LI (1936), 607-20. Modern French versions printed in the 16th and 18th centuries are recorded by R. Sinker, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Editions of the Printed Text of the Versions of the Testamenta XII Patriarcharum* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 16-19.

<sup>6</sup> Book I, ch. 125-9. Vincent introduces his abridgment of the *Testamenta* thus: "Extant autem Testamenta XII Patriarcharum in quibus sunt apertissime atque pulcherrime de Christo prophetie, quas nuper transtulit magister Robertus Grossum caput Lincolniensis episcopus, de greco in latinum. Ideoque hic eas inserere placuit."

<sup>7</sup> Prof. S. Harrison Thomson, who is preparing a catalogue of Grosseteste's works, tells me that an abridged version of Grosseteste's Latin translation was current on the Continent in the late 14th and early 15th centuries (MSS. at Admont, Breslau, Schlägl, Wolfenbützel). I have not yet had an opportunity of comparing Vincent's redaction with this abridgment.

<sup>8</sup> Daunou in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XVIII, 471-2 (Paris, 1835); Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*<sup>2</sup>, I (Leipzig-Vienna, 1913), 270, with colored plate; P. Meyer in *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 405 ff. Jean de Vignay calls Vincent's prologue Book I; consequently the Testaments are found in Book II in his version, the chapters being there numbered 126-130.

Jean either omits or translates by more current French words.<sup>9</sup> Because of his versified abridgment there are numerous places where Baudouin's wording differs from both Vincent's and Jean de Vignay's. Baudouin follows his source in ascribing the Latin translation of the *Testamenta* to Grosseteste.

Baudouin's abridgment of Vincent's redaction consists quite simply in omitting half; otherwise he agrees in substance with Vincent, if we make some allowance for exigencies of rhyme and metre. He also changes the position of the Testaments of Issachar and Naphtali to conform with the order in which Jacob blessed his sons. In the original *Testamenta*,<sup>10</sup> based on the episode of the blessing (*Genesis XLIX*), the Testament of Issachar follows that of Judah, and Naphtali's follows Dan's. Both Vincent and Jean de Vignay adhere to this order. It gives Leah's six sons first, then Bilhah's and Zilpah's (who were fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth in order of age), finally Rachel's, who were in any case the youngest.

A curious misinterpretation of the Latin occurs at the close of the Testament of Issachar. Vincent mentions the death of the patriarch concerned at the end of only three of the Testaments: "et mortuus est Ruben," "et dormivit Simeon cum patribus suis," "et [Isachar] extendit pedes suos et mortuus est." Jean de Vignay omits this mention for Reuben; Baudouin omits it for both Reuben and Simeon, but, apparently caught off his guard by the absence of Issachar's name in the third instance, incorporates the phrase into the Testament, not without some confusion of ideas in completing his couplet:

. . . car avec vous sera  
Le Createur du ciel, qu'entre les hommes ira  
En simplese de cuer; ses piedz a estandu,  
Après a esté mort et en la crois pendu. (f. 33B)

The style, versification and language of the portion which here interests us do not call for much more comment than Paul Meyer made on them for the poem as a whole.<sup>11</sup> It will be noticed that

<sup>9</sup> Line 37 *conculacion*: VB *conculacionem*, JV omits; line 64 *nostre*: VB *noster*, JV *vostre* (this may be a scribal error); line 74 *arriere*: VB *rursus*, JV omits; line 80 *ester*: VB *stare*, JV *demourer*; line 106 *mediator*: VB *mediator*, JV *moyen*.

<sup>10</sup> Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, II. 1038-59 (parallel Greek and Latin texts).

<sup>11</sup> *Rom.*, xxxv, 534-6. Note that the passage here reproduced offers two examples of the i-perfect of *aller* (lines 16, 131).

for the 110 lines of the *Testaments des XII Patriarches* a change is made from ten- to twelve-syllable verse.<sup>12</sup> Paul Meyer pointed out, and this passage illustrates, that final *-es* and *-ent* may be elided before a vowel and need not be counted after a caesura. Tobler remarked of *-es* that scrupulous poets did not permit this elision but that the practice certainly existed.<sup>13</sup> Baudouin was conscious that his verse did not reach the best standards: at the beginning of his poem he asks to be

. . . . . pardoné  
Se ma rime est trop rude, car pas né  
Je ne fu mie de Saint Denis en France  
E pour cela l'en doit mon ignorance  
Quant a la rime, ung petit supporter. . . (f. 27B)

The present passage presents a certain "ignorance quant a la rime," though this may be due to dialect or to changes made by the scribe. *Israël* is twice coupled with a feminine rhyme: *belle: Israël* (lines 109-110), *Israël: ycelle* (lines 117-118, where the scribe may be responsible). In line 121 Baudouin probably wrote *teche*, a dialectal form found in the East and South-Central areas,<sup>14</sup> which may have been unfamiliar to the English scribe. Cf. also the rhyme *-our: -ours* (33-4; 105-6). Of the 66 couplets here printed, 45 are masculine, 17 of these being rich and 8 leonine; of the 21 feminine rhymes only 3 are rich and one of these is an identical rhyme (lines 79-80). The Eastern reduction of *-iee* to *-ie* seems assured by the rhyme (11-2).

<sup>12</sup> The 10-syllable line predominated in the 14th and 15th centuries (L. E. Kastner, *A History of French Versification*, Oxford, 1903, p. 143). Kastner goes so far as to say that the 12-syllable line was abandoned during the latter part of the 14th and the whole of the 15th century, though he finds an isolated case in 1452 (p. 146). The present piece is probably an earlier example (see above, first paragraph). M. Grammont's observations are less exclusive: "Du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle le vers de 12 syllabes supplante en partie les deux autres [de 8 et de 10], en particulier dans les poèmes épiques. . . Du milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle il n'est plus à la mode; on le délaisse presque totalement. Ronsard et la Pléiade le remettent en honneur." ("Le vers français" in *le français moderne*, iv [1936], 13.) On decasyllabic couplets see C. C. Spiker in *West Virginia University Studies: 1. Philological Papers* (Morgantown, Oct. 1936), pp. 41-48 [= W. Va. Univ. Bulletin, Ser. 37, No. 4-1].

<sup>13</sup> A. Tobler, *Le vers français* (Paris, 1885), p. 76; *id.*, *Vom französischen Versbau* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 66-7.

<sup>14</sup> M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French* (Manchester, 1934), § 423, cf. App. E. § xv, S. C. § x.

In the following transcription of Baudouin's versification of the *Testamens des XII Patriarches* a portion of what immediately precedes and follows the Testaments is given to show the change in metre. The title of each Testament and one of the two marginal notes are in red in the manuscript, here indicated by italic type. The scribe indented the first couplet of each Testament to accommodate alternating red and blue capitals, and began each verse with a small capital save in a few cases, probably oversights. The transcription reproduces the scribe's spelling, except that *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* are adjusted to standard modern practice. Capitalization and punctuation are likewise modernized. The acute accent and diaeresis are added in the transcription where necessary to avoid ambiguity. Abbreviations are expanded; rejected readings and irregularities of metre are commented on in the notes.

## ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS. 261 (T 14)

- f. 33A Jacob après si cheut en maladie; *de morte*  
 Se l'allit voire Joseph encor en vie, *Jacob.*  
 Et Mannassé l'anné filz mit a destre  
 4 Et Effraim plus petit a senestre,  
 Afin qu'ilz eussent de ly sa beneïçon.  
 Se les va prendre lors en adopcion,  
 Metant adonq sur le mendre la destre  
 8 Et sur le grant en crois mit la senestre,  
 En demoustrant que du petit venroit  
 Qui encor roy d'Istraël seroit;  
 Car, quant regna dessus les dix lignies  
 12 Jeroboan, avint ses prophecies.  
 Encor donna Jacob outre perçon  
 Le champ Sichem a Joseph mult bon.  
 Puis vindrent a ly tuis ses autres enfans  
 16 Que tous en ordre lors allit benissans.  
 Et qui au long voudra ce regarder  
 En Genesis il le pourra trouver. *Ge. ultimo.*  
*Sensuent les Testamens des XII Patriarches par*  
*Maistre Robers Grosse teste mis de grec en latin.*  
 Maistre Robert que fut dit jadis Grosseteste  
 20 Les Testamens que furent mult tresnobles e honneste  
 Les XII Patriarches mit de grec en latin  
 Ou du Filz Dieu chacun volt dire son tatin.  
 Sy ay pourtant voulu des rimer prendre cure,  
 24 Car on les treuve a painne en la Sainte escripture.  
*Et premier le dit de Ruben en son testament.*

10 read *encore(s)* for the metre.

14 lacks a syllable.

- Ruben si dit des freres le premier et greigneur,  
 Qui est qui connostra la loy nostre Seignour,  
 Et d'icelle fera a point divisement .
- 28 En dehu sacrifice et en droit jugement  
 Pour le peuple Israël jusques a la fin des temps.  
 Du presbtre souverain que Dieu dit or entens,  
 Car en ly a esleu sur les peuples regner
- 32 Et mora pour noz tous et pour nous gouverner.  
 Roy des siecles sera dessus nous a tousjours.  
*Du testament de Symeon.*  
 Le grant Dieu d'Israël et du monde Seignour  
 Comme un home appara et Adam sauvera.
- 36 Adonq seront donnez, par vertus qu'il donra,  
 Tous esperis d'erreur en conculcacion,  
 Et hommes aront sur eulx la dunacion.  
 Adonq a grant lyesse je resusciteray
- 40 Et en ses grans merveilles le Treshault beniray.  
 Car Dieu en prenant corps et mengant o les homes  
 Yceulx il sauvera; pourtant, nous qu'icy sommes  
 Obeons a Levi et nous esjoyssons
- 44 En Juda, et sur eulx point ne nous eslevons.  
 Car a nous orira d'eulx de Dieu le Saulvere  
 Et le suscitera de Levi, qu'il appere

f. 33B

- Sicome prince et presbtre, come roy, Dieu et homme;
- 48 De Juda nous venra pour tous sauver en some.  
*Du testament de Levi le tiers filz de Jacob.*  
 Sachiez que nostre Sire fera son jugement  
 Sur tous les filz des homes qui a ly nullement  
 Croire si ne voudront, mais en iniquité
- 52 Demouront en malice et en perversité,  
 Quant pieurs fonderont et souleil defaultra,  
 Car adonq toute choze en ly se troublera.  
 Invisibles esperis lors confondus seront,
- 56 Quant enfer despoillie les aimes viuderont.  
 Lors quant Dieu souffera pour tous grief passion,  
 Mauvais seront jugiez par grant punicion.  
 S'ay d'Enoch congneu et par son escripture,
- 60 Car mal faire en la fin sera toute vo cure,  
 Vos mains en nostre Sire et bras seront tendus,  
 Et noz freres seront par vous tous confondus.  
 Lors par vos grans malices chacun les mouquera.

26 *Seignour*: MS. *seignr*, with -ur symbol above n  
 30, 47 *presbtre*: MS. *pbr̃e*  
 44 A thin, sinuous vertical stroke, somewhat resembling a long s, is crowded between *Juda* and the medial point which follows.  
 52 *D. en m.*: MS. abbreviation-symbol for *et* instead of *en*  
 62 *noz*: both Vincent and Jean have second person.



- 64 Israël, nostre pere, net et monde sera  
De la grant mauvestie des presbtres souverains  
Qui ou sauveür du monde lors meteront leurs mains.  
Paroles veritables en horreur vous arez
- 68 Et l'omme renouant la loy point ne croirez,  
Mais le direz erroné et le metrez a mort.  
La resurrection ne scaurez du Tresfort.  
Son sang tres innocent sur vos testes cherra,
- 72 Pour quoi vostre lieu saint tout desert devenra.  
En grant mendicité vous serez entre gens  
Tant qu'arriere en pitie, de tous biens indigens,  
Il vous recevra par eaue et par foy.
- 76 Sur ly cieulx ouveront pour confirmer sa loy;  
Sanctificacion de gloire en ly ara  
Et la vois de son Pere sur ly entonnera.  
C'est cil qui ouvera de Paradis la porte
- 80 Et ester il fera le glaive qui se porte  
A l'encontre d'Adam; adonq demenront joie  
Abraham, Ysaïc et Jacob en leur voie.  
Et je m'esjoyeray adonq en mon adresse,
- 84 Et tous les sains seront lors vestus de lyesse.  
*Du testament Judas le quart filz a Jacob.*  
De ma lignie ystra le Souleil de Justice  
Et en ly ne sera trouvé quelque malice.  
Avec les filz des hommes ira par grant douçour.
- 88 Sur ly cieulx ouveront pour effondre l'odour  
De la beneÿsson du Pere yci sa jus.  
Cely sera le germe le Dieu qui est lassus.  
*Du testament de Zabulon.*  
J'ay veu et congneü en l'escript de noz peres
- 92 Car vous departirez de Dieu par voz miseres  
Es jours a avenir, et divisez serez,  
Et ensuirez deux rois et toute horreur ferez.  
Aprés en forme d'omme verrez Dieu nostre Sire,
- 96 Et par voz faulz parlers l'inciterez a ire,  
Et serez degetez jusques a la fin du monde.  
*Du testament Ysachar.*  
Toute beste en servage ou cruauté habonde  
Soubz voz piez mercherez, car avec vous sera
- 100 Le Createur du ciel, qu'entre les hommes ira  
En simplesse de cuer; ses piedz a estandu,  
Aprés a esté mort et en la crois pendu.  
*Du testament de Dan.*  
Nostre Sire sera d'Israël ou milieu

65 *presbtres*: MS. *prbrès*

66 *ou*: MS. *on*

69 hypermetrical line.

103 *ou*: MS. *on*

- 104 En humblété regnant et en trespouvre lieu.  
 Qui en cely croira regnera a tousjours,  
 Car de Dieu et des hommes sera mediatour.  
*Du testament de Gad.*  
 Dictes a vos enfans, bien ferez je plevy,  
 108 Qu'ilz honneure Juda et son frere Levy.  
 Pour le temps a venir la raison si est belle,  
 Car d'eulx si orira le sauveur d'Israel.  
*Du testament de Asser.*  
 Dieu en homme convert Israël sauvera  
 112 Aveuc toutes gens, quant en terre appara.
- f. 330  
 Dictes donques a voz filles, et aussy vos enfans,  
 Que de croire en cely ne soient refusans.  
*Du testament de Neptalim.*  
 Mandez a voz enfans qu'ilz soient aduny  
 116 Avec la lignie de Juda et Levy,  
 Car de Juda venra le salut d'Israël  
 Et si assemblera justes gens a ycelle.  
*Du testament de Joseph filz Jacob de Rachel.*  
 J'ay veu que de Juda une pucelle est nee,  
 120 De saterin pourtant une estelle esleeve,  
 Et d'icelle saillit ung doulz agnel sans tache.  
 Gardez les mandemens que nostre Seignour presche  
 Et honnorez Levi et Juda, car d'iceulx  
 124 L'angnel venra qui gens sauvera langoreux.  
*Du testament Benjamin filz Jacob et frere Joseph.*  
 Nous tous relieverons chacun en sa substance,  
 En adourant le Roy du ciel en grant doubstance,  
 Qui en terre apparra a noz en forme humaine.  
 128 Qui en ly aront creu joie aront souverainne.  
*Du trespasement de Jacob et aussi de Joseph et  
 de la servitude des Hebreux après sa mort.*  
 Quant Jacob eust beny ses XII enfans  
 Adonq morut; le quel allont plorans  
 Septante jours; en après s'en allirent  
 132 Droit en Ebron et la l'ensevelirent. . .

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106 et: MS. *oe*112 *Aveuc*: read *aveuques* for the metre.116 *lignie* is trisyllabic. Cf. the rhyme ll. 11-2.

120 *saterin*: a kind of cloth; the word is found in records of 1361, 1389 (Godefroy, s. v. *satarin*, *saterin*). This is probably an earlier instance of its use. *Une estelle de saterin*: Vincent has *stolam albissimam* (1474 ed.), *stolam byssinam* (Douai ed., 1624); Jean translates *escolle bisse*.

122 *Seignour*: MS. as in line 26.

## CHARLES LAMB, MARSTON, AND DU BARTAS

In his *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets Who Lived about the Time of Shakespeare* Charles Lamb included only two extracts from Marston's *Malcontent*, one of fourteen and the other of eleven lines. However, from each of five other Marston plays he included from two to five times as many lines.<sup>1</sup> Why, we may ask, did Lamb choose so many fewer lines from Marston's masterpiece than from any one of five other of his plays? Was it because there were no other notable lines in the play? Or was it because the lines chosen had a certain distinguishable quality of their own that Lamb did not find elsewhere in the play? Judging from Lamb's account of the "kind of extracts I have sought after,"<sup>2</sup> we may believe that the two passages from the *Malcontent* seemed to him to be much "more nearly allied to poetry than to wit, and to tragic rather than comic poetry," than the other "interesting situations and serious descriptions," of which there are several, in the play; and therefore he chose them.

Heretofore, in support of Lamb's selection of the two passages as the most poetic in the *Malcontent*, we have had only the generally held opinion that he was right. Now, however, we have tangible evidence that Lamb's sensitiveness to what was most poetic in an Elizabethan play did not fail him in this instance. The two quotations are not Marston's independent work. They are borrowed by him from Sylvester's translation of two passages in Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine* and *La Seconde Sepmaine*, poems that whatever we may think of their absolute value as poetry, nevertheless contain pas-

<sup>1</sup> The number of lines, followed by the number of quotations in parentheses, for each of the Marston plays in *The Specimens* is: *Antonio and Mellida*, 79 (1); *Antonio's Revenge*, 134 (8); *The Malcontent*, 25 (2); *The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba*, 50 (2); *The Insatiate Countess*, 61 (2); and *What You Will*, 58 (3). In the Bohn ed. of Lamb's *Specimens*, 1854, the extracts from Marston are found on pp. 64-76. Marston's share in *The Insatiate Countess* is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface, p. 1: "The kind of extracts which I have sought after have been, not so much passages of wit and humour, though the old plays are rich in such, as scenes of passion, sometimes of the deepest quality, interesting situations, serious descriptions, that which is more nearly allied to poetry than to wit, and to tragic rather than to comic poetry."

sages considerably above Marston's poetic ability.<sup>3</sup> Lamb, of course, knew nothing of Marston's borrowings from Du Bartas. He was guided in his selection of the two passages solely by his appreciation of their poetic superiority to the rest of the play; and not finding other lines on the same higher level he contented himself with the two.<sup>4</sup>

Placed beside Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas' lines, the two extracts from the *Malcontent*—each an entire speech in itself—reveal that Marston followed the sequence of ideas in the original lines. The first of the two passages under consideration is a highly selective borrowing from Du Bartas' invocation to night in the "First Day" of *The First Weeke*. Unlike Marston's second borrowing this extract depends only slightly upon Sylvester's language and phrasing, and is certainly a much more independent reworking of Du Bartas' lines than the other.

Marston's <i>Malcontent</i> <sup>5</sup>	Sylvester's <i>The Firste Weeke</i> <sup>6</sup>
Mal[evole]. I cannot sleepe, my eyes ill neighbouring lids, Will holde no fellowship: O thou pale sober night, Thou that in sluggish fumes all sence dost steepe; Thou that gives all the world full leave to play, Unbendst the feebled vaines of sweatie labour; The Gally-slave that, all the toile- some day, Tugges at his oare against the stub- borne wave,	The Night is she, that (with her sable wing, In gloomy Darknes hushing every thing) Through all the World dumb sil- ence doth distill, And wearied bones with quiet sleep doth fill. Sweet Night, without Thee, with- out Thee (alas!) Our life were loathsome; even a Hell to passe: . . . . .

<sup>3</sup> Sylvester's *The First Weeke* was first published in 1595, and his *The Second Weeke* in 1598.

<sup>4</sup> It is not unlikely that among Lamb's many lines from other of Marston's plays there may be further borrowings. Until we know whether such is the case we may consider the fewer number of lines from the *Malcontent* as due to the poetic excellence of the two passages chosen, which by contrast with other parts of this satiric play, much of which is in prose, made the latter seem unworthy of selection.

<sup>5</sup> *The Malcontent*, III, ii, in *The Plays of John Marston*, 1934, ed. H. H. Wood, I, 178.

<sup>6</sup> *Du Bartas His First Weeke*, in *The Complete Works of Joshua Sylvester*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 1880, I, 24, lines 556-591.

Marston's *Malcontent*

Straining his rugged veines; snores  
 fast:  
 The stooping Sitheman that doth  
 barbe the field,  
 Thou makest winke sure: in night  
 all creatures sleepe,  
 Only the Malecontent, that gainst  
 his fate,  
 Repines and quarrels, alas hees  
 goodman tell-clocke;  
 His sallow jaw-bones sincke with  
 wasting mone,  
 Whilst others beds are downe, his  
 pillowes stone.

Sylvester's *The First Weeke*

He that, still stooping, toghes  
 against the tide  
 His laden barge alongst a River's  
 side,  
 And filling shoares with shouts,  
 doth melt him quite;  
 Upon his pallet resteth yet at Night.  
 He, that in Sommer, in extremest  
 heat  
 Scorched all day in his owne scald-  
 ing sweat,  
 Shaves with keen Sythe, the glory  
 and delight  
 Of motly Medowes; resteth yet at  
 Night,  
 . . . . .  
 Onely the learned Sisters' sacred  
 Minions,  
 While silent Night under her sable  
 pinions  
 Folds all the World, with pain-lesse  
 paine they tread  
 A sacred path that to the Heav'ns  
 doth lead.<sup>7</sup>

To point out how closely Marston followed his source in the second borrowing, I have italicized corresponding lines in both the Marston and the Sylvester passages following this paragraph. In a marginal comment translated from the Du Bartian text, Sylvester describes the long passage—the first part only of which Marston used—as “an elegant comparison”; and so it must have seemed to Marston. Two of its lines Marston reworked into the single line, “Where usherlesse the ayre comes in and out,” which Lamb praised as “as fine as Shakespeare.”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See my article in *MLN.*, XLII (1927), 293-299, “The Comedy *Lingua* and Du Bartas,” for a copy of the French text of Du Bartas’ invocation to night borrowed by Marston in the *Malcontent*. In *Lingua* (pr. 1607) there is a more extensive borrowing of the same passage.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 71 n.: “i.e. without the ceremony of an usher, to give notice of its approach, as is usual in courts. As fine as Shakespeare: ‘the bleak air thy boisterous chamberlain.’”

Marston's *Malcontent*<sup>9</sup>

*Pietro.* My Cell tis, Lady, where  
*instead of Maskes,*  
*Musicke, Tilts, Tournies, and such*  
*courtlike shewes,*  
 The hollow murmure of the check-  
 lesse windes  
 Shall groane againe, whilst the un-  
 quiet sea  
 Shakes the whole rocke with foamy  
 battery:  
*There usherlesse the ayre comes in*  
*and out:*  
 The reumy vault will force your  
 eyes to weepe,  
 Whilst you behold true desolation:  
 A rocky barrennesse shall pierce  
 your eyes,  
*Where all at once one reaches, where*  
*he stands,*  
*With browes the rooffe, both walles*  
*with both [his] handes.*

Sylvester's *The Second Weeke*<sup>10</sup>

Who, Full of wealth and honour's  
 blandishment,  
 Among great Lords his younger  
 years hath spent;  
 And quaffing deeply of the Court-  
 delights,  
*Us'd nought but Tilts, Tourneis, and*  
*Masks and Sights;*  
 If in his age, his Prince's angry  
 doom  
 With deep disgrace drive him to  
 live at home  
 In homely Cottage; where continu-  
 ally  
 The bitter smoak exhales abund-  
 antly  
 From his before-un-sorrow-drained  
 brain  
 The brackish vapours of a silver  
 rain.  
*Where Usherlesse both day and*  
*night, the North,*  
*South, East and West windes, enter*  
*and goe forth:*  
 Where round-about, the low-rooft  
 broken wals  
 (In stead of Arras) hang with  
 Spiders' cauls:  
*Where all at once he reacheth, as he*  
*stands,*  
*With brows the roof, both wals with*  
*both his hands.*<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> iv, v, in *op. cit.*, i, 194. Professor Morse S. Allen, I find, has anticipated me in calling attention to this borrowing by Marston. In his monograph, *The Satire of John Marston* (1920), p. 126, he says: "Lamb picked out thirteen passages of varying lengths from Marston's plays. One of these [iv. ii, 41-51] was taken bodily from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, and some others may be from yet unidentified sources, because Marston was not, from his nature really poetical." In the editions of the *Malcontent*, that I have examined, I have found no mention either of this or of other borrowings by Marston from Du Bartas. Professor Allen did not point out in *Sylvester* where the original passage for the second borrowing is to be found. His reference to the *Malcontent* is to the Bullen ed., i, 286.

<sup>10</sup> *The Handie-Crafts. The Fourth Part of the First Day of II Weeke*, in *op. cit.*, i, 123, lines 78-93.

<sup>11</sup>

Celui qui plein de biens, et presque soul d'honneurs,

With a knowledge of the sources of the two passages in the *Malcontent*, it may no longer be said of Marston that "the hermit- duke's description of his sea-vest cave, and such brief images as occur, for instance, in the *Malcontent's* invocation to night, reveal Marston as a sensitive, observant and imaginative writer."<sup>12</sup> The "sensitive, observant and imaginative writer" they reveal is Du Bartas, not Marston.

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### BIOGRAPHICAL ALLUSIONS IN PRIOR'S "THE MICE, A TALE"

In an effort to supplement the scant authoritative material on Matthew Prior's family and early years, Francis Bickley in his *Life* has attempted to draw information from "The Mice, A Tale. To Mr Adrian Drift, in the Year 1708-9." Apparently misled by the fact that this epistle, found among the works of Prior, is signed "Matthew" and is concerned with a mouse named Matt, he takes the verses to refer to Prior and explains the inconsistency of certain passages as due to the poet's carelessness.<sup>1</sup> Actually, an examination of the poem reveals that the narrative has no reference

Passe ses ieunes ans entre les grands Seigneurs,  
Et humant à long traicts les charmeuses delices,  
*Ne hante que les bals, les tournois, et les lices:*  
Si vieillard il se void par le courroux du Roy  
Contraint honteusement d'aller viure chez soy,  
Où la pauureté regne, où l'amere fumeé  
Lui fait couler du chef l'humeur non consumée,  
Par vn iuste regret, où nuict et iour le Nort,  
*Le Sud, l'Est, et l'Ouest, sans huissier entre et sort:*  
Où les basses parois en mille endroits percees  
Sont de toile d'araigne à lambeaux tapissees:  
*Où miserable il peut en mesme temps toucher*  
*Des deus mains les deus murs, et du frôt le plâcher.*  
Les artif. I. Iovr de la II. Sepmaine in  
*La Seconde Sepmaine de Gvillavme De*  
Salvste, 1593, p. 361, II. 39-52.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, xxviii.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Bickley, *The Life of Matthew Prior* (London, 1914), pp. 4-6, 9.

to Prior's life and that the signature is not his. When this is realized the story is fairly clear:

There were three brothers and a sister whose father died while they were still babes, leaving them to the care of his wealthy widow, their mother. The eldest son was the first to die. Then the daughter, "by consumption's waste, breathed her last piety." Finally, the mother died "in good old age." Of the two brothers who were left, the elder, Matt, was trained "for the gown," the younger "for the court." Matt went to Suffolk to "sell nouns and verbs"; the other went to Holland. Some years later they met in London and decided that one of them ought to marry in order to carry on the line. After some discussion, Matt agreed to take the responsibility. The younger said that if his brother would call his son Adrian, he would help to support the child. So Matt went back to Suffolk, married, and begot a son who was christened Adrian. Soon afterward, Matt wrote this epistle (dated Feb. 16, 1708/9) to Adrian Drift, Prior's friend and secretary, asking him to fulfill his part of the bargain by sending another coat for his namesake in addition to the clothes, cradle, and gum-rubber already given.

Obviously, this Matt is not Prior, but the elder brother of Adrian Drift, to whose family and history the whole refers. This conclusion is supported by external evidence. Whereas the known facts of Prior's family and life are in decided conflict with the statements about Matt in the poem, all that is known about the Drift family is in perfect agreement. Adrian Drift, the "youngest son of Matthew Drift, of St. Paul's Covent Garden, Midx. tailor, by Catharine his wife,"<sup>2</sup> was born in 1674 or 1675.<sup>3</sup> He was therefore only eight or nine years of age when his father was buried in St. Paul's Covent Garden, October 29, 1683.<sup>4</sup> He had a sister Catherine (or Katharin), who died in December 1703,<sup>5</sup> six years after her marriage to Walter Archer.<sup>6</sup> His mother survived only a few months longer, and was buried in the church on March 28, 1703/4.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster*, ed. Joseph L. Chester (London, 1876), p. 348 n.

<sup>3</sup> According to the funeral book at Westminster Abbey he was sixty-two years old at his death on Feb. 28. 1736/7 (*ibid.*).

<sup>4</sup> *The Registers of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London*, IV (Publication of the Harleian Society, XXXVI, London, 1908), 101.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III (Publication of the Harleian Society, XXXV, London, 1907), 65.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 191.



These facts agree with the details of the poem and help to prove that it refers to the Drift family. Still more convincing is the demonstration that Adrian Drift had a namesake who was the son of Matthew Drift, a Suffolk clergyman. The search for evidence of this is facilitated by the occurrence in the list of subscribers to Prior's 1718 folio of the name "Mr. Adrian Drift, Junior, of Lavenham in Suffolk." The records of Lavenham parish establish the rest, for they show that "Adrian, Son of the Reverd. M. E. Matthew Drift by Mary his wife," was baptized there on September 29, 1708,<sup>8</sup> just four and one-half months before the date of "The Mice." Further investigation discloses that Matthew Drift was trained "for the gown" at Eton and King's College, Cambridge,<sup>9</sup> and that he "sold his nouns and verbs" at the Lavenham Grammar School, of which he was master from 1696 until his death in 1719/20.<sup>10</sup> If any separate proof is needed to show that Prior's secretary was the uncle of this younger Adrian Drift, it is supplied by "An Essay upon Friendship; Address'd to Adrian Drift, Esq; by his Nephew," which with a dedication signed "Adrian Drift," appeared in 1741 in a volume containing *The History of the Life and Death of David with Moral Reflections. A Translation from the French. Found among the Papers of His late Excellency Matthew Prior, Esq; in the Custody of Mr. Adrian Drift, his Executor.*<sup>11</sup>

Since, then, the signature to the epistle is not Matthew Prior's, but Matthew Drift's, some question as to authorship naturally arises. Unfortunately, no conclusive evidence is available. "The Mice" was not published during the lifetime of Prior or of either of the elder Drifts, but first appeared in the 1740 edition of Prior's

<sup>8</sup> I am greatly indebted to the Reverend Prebendary M. Fountain Page, Rector of Lavenham, for his kindness in examining and copying the parish records for me.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses* (Birmingham, 1797), p. 273; John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922—), Pt. I, II, 67.

<sup>10</sup> Hugh McKeon, *An Inquiry into the Rights of the Poor, of the Parish of Lavenham, in Suffolk* (London, 1829), p. 57 and note. According to the Parish Register, the Rev. Matthew Drift was buried Feb. 15, 1719/20; therefore, both the *Alumni Etonenses* and the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* err in giving 1726 as the date of his death.

<sup>11</sup> The essay must have been written several years before its publication, for the elder Adrian Drift died in 1736/37.

*Miscellaneous Works . . . Revised by Himself, and Copied fair for the Press by Mr. Adrian Drift, his Executor*, a volume which does contain some verses not by Prior. There is no manuscript of the poem among the Prior papers at Welbeck Abbey, and Waller does not mention having found any at Longleat. On the other hand, Matthew Drift is not known to have written verse, and the samples we have of Adrian Drift's work<sup>12</sup> are far inferior to this epistle. Although the apostrophe to "Mother, dear mother," in heroic couplets, appears to be sincere and personal, the tetrameter couplets of which the rest is composed sound very much like Prior. Therefore, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may continue to suppose that Prior is the author of the verses. Perhaps the poet merely paraphrased a true letter from Matthew Drift, or perhaps he composed this epistle as a joke to teach his secretary and companion "what 'tis to have a name-sake."

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# A NOTE ON *BEOWULF* 1142

Swa he ne forwyrnde woroldrædenne

In this line *woroldrædenne* has usually been taken as an abstract noun, although the meanings assigned it vary.<sup>1</sup> In 1923 Professor Malone first suggested the meaning 'earthly ruler, i. e. king,' and his translation in 1926 of lines 1142-4 reads: "since he did not prevent his lord when he [Hnaef] laid in his [Hengest's] lap Hunlafing, the battle-gleamer, the best of bills."<sup>2</sup> The use of

<sup>12</sup> *Miscellaneous Works of Matthew Prior* (London, 1740), pp. lvii-lix, lxii-lxiii; and *The History of His Own Time, Compiled from the Original Manuscripts of Matthew Prior* (London, 1740), p. 464.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rieger (1871) "worldly intercourse"; Bugge (1887) "retainer-ship"; Shipley (1903) "way of the world"; Huchon (1907) "destiny"; Hall (1910) "custom of the world"; Klaeber (1915) "condition"; Lawrence (1915) "worldly duty"; Williams (1924) "universal obligation." For the complete references see *Beowulf*, ed. Fr. Klaeber, New York, 1936, pp. 175-6.

<sup>2</sup> Kemp Malone, *The Literary History of Hamlet*, Heidelberg, 1923, p. 22; "The Finn Episode in *Beowulf*," *JEGP.*, xxv (1926), 158-9; for the spelling, see *Anglia*, lxxi (1929), 335 f. and 439.

*forwyrnan* elsewhere in Old English seems to support this interpretation.

The dative object of *forwyrnan* is in thirty-seven cases a noun or pronoun standing for a person, and but once an abstract noun and once a pronoun representing an abstract noun. If *woroldrædenne* be taken as 'king' there are seven parallel uses of *forwyrnan*, that is, seven cases (all in prose) in which the dative object is a person and in which the accompanying genitive is lacking; if *woroldrædenne* be taken as an abstract noun there is but one parallel (also in prose).<sup>3</sup> The evidence may be summarized as follows:

## PROSE

	Person		Abstract		Concrete	
	Noun	Pronoun	Noun	Pronoun	Noun	Pronoun
dat. with gen.	4	18 (two with passive verb)	—	1 (passive)	2	1
dat. alone	3 (one passive)	6 (one passive)	1	—	1	—
gen. alone	—	—	—	—	—	—
(in one case an acc. pronoun is the object, in three cases clauses are objects, once there is no object.)						

## POETRY

	Person		Abstract		Concrete	
	Noun	Pronoun	Noun	Pronoun	Noun	Pronoun
dat. with gen.	—	3 (one passive)	—	—	1	—
dat. alone	1	2 (one passive)	—	—	—	1
gen. alone	—	—	1 (passive)	—	—	—

<sup>3</sup> "forwyrndon þam Drihtnes þearfum," *Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S., orig. ser. LVIII (1874), 53, 8; "þæt man þam earman forwyrne," *ibid.*, 53, 22; "heo him ne forwyrnde," *ibid.*, 141, 30; "se arceb. him anrædlice forwernde," *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle, Oxford, 1892, p. 172, 10; "him forwyrnde naboð," Aelfric, *Lives of the Saints*, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S., orig. ser. LXXXII (1885), 394, 183; "ge forwyrndon anum of ðisum lytlum," Aelfric, *Homilies*, ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1846, II, 108, 28; "him agiet Marius > Furius forwierndon," Alfred, *Orosius*, ed. H. Sweet, E. E. T. S., orig. ser. LXXXIX (1883), 232, 26; "hwa forwirne his lare," Alfred, *Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, E. E. T. S., orig. ser. L (1871), 378, 2. References are to page and line. I

In three of five Middle English uses of the word the object is a pronoun standing for a person; in the others it is *al* and *tunga*. In Old English *forwyrnan* means nearly always either 'prevent' or 'refuse.' In Middle English the meaning 'forbid' or 'prohibit' seems to develop.<sup>4</sup>

The *Hunlafing* of line 1143 was interpreted as a sword name at an earlier date than hitherto noted—by Thorpe in 1837 (or earlier) according to Kemble's second edition of *Beowulf*, page 260 footnote.<sup>5</sup>

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include here only active constructions. *Beowulf*, line 429, and Cynewulf's *Christ*, ed. Cook, Boston, 1900, line 1503 are also parallels to the 'king' interpretation except that clauses perform the function of the missing genitives.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *NED*. under *forwarn*. For Old English cf. the examples and the glosses cited in Bosworth-Toller. The present study of *forwyrnan* is based on the examples given in J. Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. T. N. Toller, Oxford, 1882, and *Supplement*; in F. H. Stratmann, *A Middle English Dictionary*, ed. H. Bradley, Oxford, 1891; and the following additional examples: Alfred, *St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, ed. H. L. Hargrove, Yale Studies in English, *xiii* (1902), 67, 31 and 41, 1; Layamon, *Brut*, ed. J. Hall, Oxford, 1924, line 1481; Aelfric, *Lives of the Saints*, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S., orig. ser. *Lxxvi* and *Lxxxii* (1881-5), 230, 166 and 394, 183; Aelfric, *Homilies*, ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1846, II, 108, 20 and 28; 330, 17; 448, 19; *Winteneý-Version der Regula S. Benedicti*, ed. M. M. Arnold Schroer, Halle, 1888, p. 39, 27; Alfred, *Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, E. E. T. S., orig. ser. *xlv* and *i* (1871-2), 376, 6; 378, 2; 411, 30; 264, 15; Alfred, *Orosius*, ed. H. Sweet, E. E. T. S., orig. ser. *Lxxix* (1883), 78, 9; 164, 29; 216, 31; 232, 26; *Be Domes Daeg*, ed. J. R. Lumby, E. E. T. S., orig. ser. *Lxv* (1886), 10, 147 (translated "forewarn" by Lumby); *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle, Oxford, 1892, pp. 89, 10; 169, 8; 172, 10; 166, 13; Cynewulf, *Christ*, ed. Cook, Boston, 1900, line 20; Supplement to Aelfric's *Homilies* in *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, ed. A. S. Cook, 2nd ser., New York, 1903, p. 166, 5.

<sup>5</sup> On the date of Kemble's edition, see Malone, *Widsith*, London, 1936, p. 99, and *MLR.*, *xxxi* (1936), 547

## THE HABERDASHER AND HIS COMPANIONS

In the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* five of the pilgrims are grouped together: a haberdasher, a carpenter, a weaver, a dyer, and a tapestry maker,

And they were clothed alle in o lyveree  
Of a solempne and a greet fraternitee (363-4).

At first glance there is nothing particularly striking about this description, and there is no reason to assume anything unusual from the fact that here we have five city workers, representatives of as many different trades, traveling together and wearing the livery of some important gild. However, I wonder if this is not one of the many Chaucerian passages which we of the twentieth century do not appreciate fully because of our failure to recognize certain features of fourteenth-century economic life.

Though the craft guilds flourished throughout the medieval period, they did not remain unchanged in organization; on the contrary, they tended to alter and to adapt themselves as economic conditions demanded. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, for example, there came into being the incorporated livery company, an organization described as follows by Professor Lipson, the distinguished authority on English economic history: "It differed fundamentally from the older craft gild in the emergence of two distinct classes, the mercantile and the industrial. The trader and the manual worker were now separated, and while the former secured the control of industry, the latter lost his economic independence and acquired an inferior status. . . . Originally the livery was assumed in order to stimulate the feeling of brotherhood and solidarity among the craftsmen, and with no intention of creating class distinctions. . . . Gradually, however, a distinction began to emerge between those who wore the livery, and those whose poverty excluded them from the ranks of the privileged body. The wealth of the liverymen enabled them to aspire to a position of greater prestige and dignity than had been enjoyed by the older bodies, and they sought an improved legal status by means of incorporation."<sup>1</sup>

That Chaucer's five tradesmen were members of some such or-

<sup>1</sup> E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England*, London, 1937, I, 426-27.

ganization is suggested by the lines which follow (365-78), for the details presented are scarcely applicable to ordinary manual workers. I therefore suggest that in reading this passage we should think not merely of a group of craftsmen who had worked diligently and achieved considerable material success but rather of five gildsmen who "wore the livery" in a very special sense; they belonged to the select group which was growing up within the gilds and which gradually took over their control. It is no mere accident, then, that Chaucer tells us they were well dressed, worthy to sit on a dais in a gild hall, and wise enough to be aldermen, not only because they were men of property but also because their wives had social ambitions. All this seems to fit in with what we know about the incorporated livery companies and their members.

This interpretation, incidentally, serves to remove some of the ambiguity implied in the first line of the description of the cook, "A cook they hadde with hem for the nones" (379). The pronoun may refer to all the pilgrims or merely to the five mentioned in the immediately preceding lines. If the latter is the case (and I take it in this way), the statement is clearly inappropriate; it is scarcely conceivable that five ordinary workers would bring their own special cook. If, however, they were men of some importance as I have suggested, it would be entirely fitting for them to be accompanied by such a culinary artist as Chaucer describes.

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## THE MILLER'S HEAD AGAIN

In a note, "The Miller's Head," published in *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1937, Mr. B. J. Whiting calls attention to what he rightly terms the most picturesque accomplishment of Chaucer's Miller:

Ther was no dore that he nolde heve of harre,  
Or breke it at a rennyng with his heed. (CT, I[A], 550 f.)

To show that the quality described is neither exaggerated nor strictly individual, Mr. Whiting describes four similarly endowed men, whose hard heads impressed their contemporaries in the nine-

teenth century. Turning thus to examples long after 1400, he neglects an opportunity to place the Miller in a procession of strong men coming well out of the past. Butting heads aroused interest a thousand years before Chaucer's Miller showed his strength.

In the fourth century a poor bald pate exhibited the hardness of his head to curious spectators not only by letting tiles be hurled at it and hot pitch poured upon it, but also by butting with a ram. His feats impressed his age so vividly that they won for him a modest immortality in Synesius's *CALVITI ENCOMIUM*. Practice, more than nature, made such acts possible, in the opinion of the author, who observed that had he had no better way of attracting attention, he could have learned the art. Thus from Synesius, born at Cyrene between 370 and 375, and made bishop of Ptolemais in 409 or 410, we receive not only the sketch of a well-known hard head but also a brief philosophy regarding use or practice:

. . . Huius autem experimēti, cui nos testē adsciuiimus, causam esse ferunt, his quidem quod pilea gestent, illis verò quod Soli expositi degant. Quod si cui difficile videatur peregrino itinere suscepto tot nationes peragrarē, neque mortui fas sit caput lapide ferire, ac Herodoto fidē non adhibeas, nempe mihi quoque & alijs permultis in vrbe seruiscunt genere Scythae, promissa Scythico more, caesarie, quibus si quis vel colaphum ingesserit, enecauerit. Eum verò hominem qui in Theatro diuturno iucundissimòque spectacula plebem detinet singulis Calendis spectare licet ei, qui primus subsellia ad spectandū occupauerit: Is non natura quidem sed artificio caluus est, eadem die ad tonstrinas saepius sese conferens, proditque coram populo, vt capitis robur, ac firmitatem ostendet, cui nihil terribile est eorum quae videntur terribilia. Quippe cum feruente pice conflictatur, & cum edocto ariete coniscat, qui eminus concinna quadam agitatione, & capitis micatione fertur. Megarensium quoque siglina valido huic capiti illisa deficiunt: scinditur, contunditur, nihilque non eorum fit, quae horrorem spectantibus incutiunt, cum eodem capite accuratius quam Attico calceo praesiliat, illum ego hominem cum spectarem, meipsum ob secundam illam fortem, beatum praedicabam. Etenim haec quoque omnia praestare possem, sed ille me audacia superior est, vel potius ille quidem vt id audeat, inopia compellitur: mihi verò huiusce rei periculo, neque opus est, neque vnquam opus sit. Verum aliud nobis occurrit, quā maximum commodum nec vllo eorum, quae hactenus dicta sunt, deterius.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SYNESII EPISCOPI / Cyrenes Opera Quae / Extant Omnia. / Graece ac Latine nunc primum coniunctim edita. / Interprete Dionysio Petavio . . . / Lvtetiae, / Apud Hieronymvm Drovart via Iacobaea, / sub scuto Solari. / M. DC XII, p. 77. Library of Congress.

Chaucer's Miller, a "stout carl," was a similar strong fellow, as the first seven lines of his portrait show:

The Miller was a stout carl, for the nones,  
 Ful big he was of braun, and eek of bones;  
 That proved wel, for over-al ther he cam,  
 At wrastling he wolde have alwey the ram.  
 He was short-sholdred, brood, a thikke knarre,  
 Ther nas no dore that he nolde heve of harre,  
 Or breke it, at a renning, with his heed.<sup>2</sup>

Twelve centuries later emphasis upon the philosophic significance of Synesius's words, "Is non natura quidem sed artificia caluus est," was made in *A Treatise of Use and Custome*:

This hee further confirms by an example of his times, there being then (as Synesius relates it:) in the towne, a certaine poore bald pate (not by nature, but art:) who did use to goe up and downe the streets, and to shew himselfe at all ordinary great concurses of people, as at the ordinary races of the Circus, and the like; so that no man was better knowne in the whole towne. This man with his bare head, would butte with a ram (were hee never so stout:) and put him to the worst; suffer tyles to be throwne at his head, and make them flye in pieces: as also endure scalding pitch to bee powred upon his head. This, and the like, to shew (to the great astonishment of the beholders:) the stoutnesse and unsensiblenesse of his head-piece. But it might be so naturally; you may thinke perchance. No; it was by custome; or rather if you will (which is that Tullie would have:) naturally; but no otherwise naturally in him, then in other men that would use the meanes. For Synesius saith expressly, that himselfe could for a need have wrought his own head to this, in case hee had no other meanes to subsist by; but therefore gives God thanks, that hee needed it not.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The Prologue, ll. 545-551, *The Student's Chaucer*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> A / Treatise / Of Use and Custome. / . . . / London / Printed by I. L. Anno Dom. M. D. C. XXXVIII, pp. 68-69. The Newberry Library.



## UF SANT ZILORAGENTAG

In an article entitled '*Niemals*' in *einem historischen Schweizer Volkslied*, Professor Archer Taylor of the University of Chicago cites two examples of metaphors for 'never.'<sup>1</sup> They belong to the first half of the fourteenth century. The first one of them, *uf sant Jüttentag*, is shown to mean "am Tage der Pöpstin Johanna," i. e. 'never.' No explanation was offered for *uf sant Zilorgentag*, except that it might be, as the first example, a *contradictio in adjecto*. The phrase occurs in the following context:

Wem disñ red nit wol behag,  
Der kom uf sant Zilorgentag  
und sag, wa si nit ganz müg sin,  
so verclaib ichz mit aim wechslin.<sup>2</sup>

If we break down *sant Zilorgentag* into *zil*, Middle High German for 'term,' i. e. a date upon which debts mature, or taxes, rent, interest, and the like become due, and *Sankt Georgstag* (April 23d), the day which was by custom regarded as *zil*, when payments were due, the pattern for *Zilorgen* is given. Fischer has "Die Zinsen 'yedes Ziles St. Jörgen und St. Michelstag' versprechen," and "Solten dem Kaiser geben 36 000 Guldin auf zwai Zil, halb auf die Liechtmess und halb auf Sant Jörgentag."<sup>3</sup> According to Schmeller many a father of a family will worry "wenn das Zil Georgi oder Michaeli heranrückt" and he has not yet the money to pay the rent.<sup>4</sup> Thus, *uf sant Zilorgentag* means "let them come on the day when accounts are settled (*Zilorgentag* = *Sankt Georgstag*)" and does not imply the meaning 'never.'

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<sup>1</sup> *Volkskundliche Gaben John Meier zum siebzigsten Geburtstage dargebracht* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), pp. 280-281.

<sup>2</sup> R. V. Lliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1865), I, 44, 109-112.

<sup>3</sup> Hermann Fischer, *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch*, VI (Tübingen, 1924), 1198-1199.

<sup>4</sup> J. Andreas Schmeller, *Bayrisches Wörterbuch*, II (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1827-1837), 1113-1114.

"ZE KÜNIS ERBENT OUCH DIU WIP UND NIHT  
DIE MAN"

TANNHÄUSER, 5. 29

This line has given the commentators some trouble. Samuel Singer and Johannes Siebert have cleared up one difficulty by explaining *Künis*.<sup>1</sup> It is Iconium in Asia Minor. This disposes of Jacob Grimm's conjectural *Tünis*.<sup>2</sup> There remains the difficulty of interpreting *erbent*. Siebert cautiously suggests emending to *erbeitent* and omitting the "bothersome" *ouch* ("das störende ouch"), but we can safely retain the reading of the manuscript. J. J. Bachofen's *Mutterrecht*<sup>3</sup> offers a satisfactory explanation from the fragments of Nicolaus Damascenus: "The Lycians show greater honor to women than to men. They give themselves names according to the mother and bequeath their estates to their daughters and not to their sons." Although many centuries intervene between Nicolaus Damascenus and Der Tannhäuser, customs in Asia Minor seem not to have changed. Der Tannhäuser got his information at firsthand on the crusades. On March 17, 1229, he entered Jerusalem with Frederic II; he was later in Asia Minor, and Siebert conjectures that he may have returned to Apulia in the spring of 1233 with marshal Richard Filangieri. In describing local Turkish customs, Der Tannhäuser knew whereof he spoke.

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<sup>1</sup> Singer gives the more usual medieval form *Künja*, but is of course emending the manuscript. Siebert retains *Künis* and points out that the final *s* calls for explanation. So, too, does the aphaeresis of *i*-. The grammars of medieval and modern Greek offer no satisfactory comment on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* <sup>4</sup> (Leipzig, 1899), I, 562 n. = ed. 1, p. 408.

<sup>3</sup> Second ed., Basel, 1897, p. 1. The passage is quoted from *Fragm. hist. graec.* (ed. C. Müller), v, 461.

## TO SHAKE HANDS WITH DEATH

The purpose of this article is to note certain figurative uses of the expression *to shake hands*, all of which seem to have escaped the compilers of dictionaries of proverbs and quotations, and only six of which have been noted by the *New English Dictionary*. As in common usage, *to shake hands*, or its grammatical variations, may express the actions of greeting, or saying farewell, and of coming to terms or an understanding, so in these figurative uses all three ideas appear. But the givers or receivers of the handshake are such abstractions as Death, Hell, Time, the World, Ruin, and the like.

Though not the oldest recorded usage, the one most likely to have been read by subsequent users of the figure occurs in § *Henry VI*. Queen Margaret, "she-wolf of France . . . tiger wrapped in a woman's hide," faces the hapless Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, captured by her party on the "Field of battle betwixt Sandal Castle and Wakefield," and derisively puts a paper crown on his head. Alluding to Henry VI's enforced agreement "To entail him [York] and his heirs unto the crown,"<sup>1</sup> she taunts York in a long speech which includes these lines:

As I bethink me, you should not be king  
Till our King Henry had shook hands with death.\*

The earliest usage recorded in the *NED*. is dated 1565 and is ascribed to W. Allen: "I feare me they haue indented with deathe, and shaked hands with helle."<sup>2</sup> Another from the sixteenth century is thus noted: "It is the custome of the more idle sort hauing once serued, . . . to shake hands with labor for euer."<sup>3</sup>

John Ford's use of a variant of the figure seems to have been unnoted. It will be recalled that the high point of dramatic interest in *The Broken Heart*, subject of an eloquent commentary by Charles Lamb,<sup>4</sup> is the scene in which the Princess Calantha dances on in the marriage revels after the news of her husband's death has

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* i. i. 235.

<sup>2</sup> i. iv. 102-3. Cited by the *NED*., which dates the usage 1593.

<sup>3</sup> Documented: "W. Allen *Def. Cath. Ch. Doctr.* Preface 20."

<sup>4</sup> "1577-87 Harrison *England* II xi. 186/2 in *Holinshed*."

<sup>5</sup> *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets* (1808).

been brought to her. In the following scene, Orgilus, who has just killed Ithocles, brother of his beloved Penthea and destroyer of his happiness, stoically executes himself by opening a vein in his arm. Bassanes, the old husband of Penthea, a spectator of the suicide, announces the death of Orgilus in this laconic half-line: "A' has shook hands with time."<sup>6</sup> Also belonging to the seventeenth century is this example cited by the *NED*: "His word and his meaning are quadrate, and never shake hands and part."<sup>7</sup>

In the winter of 1711-12, the Reverend Samuel Wesley, father of John Wesley, attended Convocation at a distance from home. During his absence, his wife, Susannah, scandalized the neighborhood at Epworth by holding a "conventicle" and preaching. In her *apologia*, Susannah wrote: "For my own part, I value no censure on this account: I have long since shook hands with the world."<sup>8</sup> In his memorial notice of his mother, entered in his journal under date of August 1, 1742, John Wesley quotes the mother's written statement as of February 6, 1711-12.<sup>9</sup>

On February 1, 1791, John Wesley wrote his last letter to America, addressing the Reverend Ezekiel Cooper, of Annapolis, Maryland:

My dear Brother,—Those that desire to write, or say anything to me, have no time to lose; for time has shaken me by the hand, and death is not far behind.<sup>10</sup>

These words, writes Southey, were "words which his father had used in one of the last letters that he addressed to his sons at

<sup>6</sup> *The Broken Heart. A Tragedy Acted by the Kings Majesties Seruants at the private House in the Black-Friers. Fide Honor.* London: Printed by I. B. for Hvgh Beeston, and are to be sold at his shop, neere the Castle in Cornehille 1633. v. ii. 157.

<sup>7</sup> "1674. S. Vincent Yng. *Gallants Acad.* 99."

<sup>8</sup> Noted by the *NED*. Vide *The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism* by Robert Southey, with notes by Samuel Taylor Coleridge and remarks on the life and character of John Wesley by Alexander Know, edited with Introduction and Notes by Maurice Fitzgerald, 2 vols., Oxford, 1925, I, 13.

<sup>9</sup> *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley, Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford*, 3d edition, London, 1829, I, 386.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted by the Reverend L. Tyerman, from *Methodist Magazine*, 1804, p. 46, in *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A., Founder of Methodism*, 3 vols., New York: Harper & Brothers, 1872, III, 646. Not noted by the *NED*.

Oxford."<sup>11</sup> The letter from Samuel to his sons is quoted by Southey thus: "Time has shaken me by the hand, and Death is but a little way behind him."<sup>12</sup>

Thus, *to shake hands*, in a special figurative sense, seems to have been a household expression with the Wesleys. They use it four times in one form or another, and of these the *N. E. D.* cites only one.

Two years before John Wesley wrote his valedictory letter to America, Robert Burns wrote Lady Winifred Maxwell Constable an account of himself and his family, summing up his pride in his humble forebears with these words:

Though my Fathers had not illustrious Honors and vast Properties to hazard in the contest; though they left their humble cottages only to add so many units more to the unnoted croud that followed their leaders; yet, what they could they did, and what they had they lost: with unshaken firmness and unconcealed Political Attachments, they shook hands with Ruin for what they esteemed the cause of their King and their Country.<sup>13</sup>

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the *New English Dictionary* alone has noted this use of *to shake hands*,<sup>14</sup> and it does not cite the most interesting, aside from Shakespeare's. It is in none of the dictionaries of proverbs and quotations—e. g., Lean's, the Oxford, Apperson's, Wander's *Sprichwörter-Lexikon*, Bartlett's, Hoyt's, Brewer's, etc.—that I have examined. It is not in the concordances of standard poets other than Shakespeare. Neither is it, nor anything likely to suggest it, in the great *Thesaurus linguae latinae*.<sup>15</sup> Dr. Richard Jente assures me that he has been unable to find it anywhere in his fine library of proverbs and proverbial

<sup>11</sup> *Op. et ed. cit.*, II, 332.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 23. Not noted by the *NED*.

<sup>13</sup> "16 December 1789." *The Letters of Robert Burns*, Edited from the Original Manuscripts by J. DeLancey Ferguson, 2 vols., Oxford, 1931, I, 376. Not noted by *NED*.

<sup>14</sup> It also notes: "1867 Augusta J. Wilson *Vashti* xxxii. A lonely woman, who has shaken hands with every earthly hope."

<sup>15</sup> Lipsia: Teubner, 1900—. Most of the citations of figurative uses have to do with pledges of peace, signs of submission, and the like; e. g.: Marcus Aurelius: *Epistula ad Frontonem*, p. 26, 18N: *Manus do, vicisti . . . cape coronam*.

*Vulgate*, Jer. 50, 15: *Cuncti filii regis dederunt manum et subiecti fuerunt Solomoni*.

literature. I have been unable to find any note on its history in any edition of the writers cited.

Aside from the Wesley family connections and from the priority and familiarity of Shakespeare to all users of the figure but two, the only possibility of particular influence (and that a tenuous one) lies between Samuel Wesley and John Ford. There is probably a link between them. Samuel Wesley was an Exeter College, Oxford, man.<sup>16</sup> So, probably, was John Ford.<sup>17</sup> The two were eighty-three years apart. That the Reverend Samuel Wesley was interested in belles-lettres and thus might have read Ford's play at Oxford or later seems not improbable from the many evidences of his literary interests.<sup>18</sup> Of the figurative uses of *to shake hands* here noted, Wesley's ("Time has shaken me by the hand") and Ford's "A' has shook hands with time") are closest.

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## THE HITCHITI NAME OF SILVER SPRINGS, FLORIDA

A famous body of water known as *Silver Springs* is situated near Ocala, in Marion County, Florida. Its maximum depth is approximately eighty feet; but even at this great depth the bottom is distinctly visible because of the remarkable transparency of the water, which rushes upwards through large openings in the rocky bed of the spring. No map of Florida records any Indian name for Silver Springs. But last December Chief William Osceola told me that the Indians call the spring [*hantlin* 'kaiki]. This name seems to be a compound of Hitchiti *haintli*, "prairie," in, "its"—with change of [-n] to [-ŋ] before a following [k]—and *kaiki*, "pits," "excavations," a term apparently referring to the deep

<sup>16</sup> Southey, *op. et ed. cit.*, I, 9, says that Exeter College records show that Samuel Wesley deposited his caution money September 26, 1684, and received certain money in return in January, 1687.

<sup>17</sup> Alumni Oxoniensis, *The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, 2 vols., ed. by Joseph Foster, Oxford, 1891, II, 515. A John Ford thought to be the dramatist matriculated in 1601.

<sup>18</sup> For example, he was author of *An Epistle to a Friend Concerning Poetry* (1700). *Vide* Southey and the *DNB*.

clefts through which the water rises from its limestone base. Nevertheless there is a difficulty here; for *haittli* signifies not only "prairie," but also "light," "splendor." The name, then, may be freely translated by "wells of light."

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## A NOTE ON ENGLISH FIGURES OF SPEECH

This note is offered merely as a supplement to the information *The Oxford English Dictionary* gives concerning the first appearance in English of the names of figures of speech. It is composed of two lists. The first gives the dates of publication of Tudor rhetorics which are here relevant. The second shows, for each figure named, a discrepancy between the date of publication of the Tudor rhetoric in which it first appeared and the date given in *The Oxford English Dictionary* as "its earliest known occurrence."

### I

- 1550.... Richard Sherry, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes*.  
 1555.... ———, *Figures of Grammer and Rhetorike*.  
 1577..... Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*.  
 1584..... Dudley Fenner, *The Artes of Logike and Rethorike*.  
 1593..... Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*. A revised edition.

### II

*Anacoenosis*: 1550, 1589;<sup>1</sup> *anastrophe*: 1550, 1577; *antanaclasis*: 1550, 1646; *anthypophora*: 1555, 1589; *antimetabole*: 1577, 1589; *antiptosis*: 1550, 1657; *antistrophe*: 1550, 1625; *antonomasia*: 1550, 1589; *aphaeresis*: 1550, 1611; *apocope*: 1550, 1591; *apodioxis*: 1577, 1657; *apodixis*: 1593, 1623; *apophasis*: 1550, 1657; *aporia*: 1550, 1589; *asyndeton*: 1550, 1589; *barbarism*: 1550, 1579; *cacemphaton*: 1555, 1622; *cacozelia*: 1550, 1579; *catachresis*: 1550, 1589; *climaa*: 1550, 1589; *diaeresis*: 1555, 1611; *dialysis*: 1550, 1586; *diastole*: 1555, 1578; *diasyrmus*: 1550, 1678; *ecthlypsis*: 1577, 1657; *emphasis*: 1577, 1764; *enallage*: 1577, 1583; *epenthesis*: 1550, 1657; *epewegesis*: 1577, 1621; *epiphonema*: 1555, 1579; *epiphora*: 1577, 1678; *epiplexis*: 1550, 1678; *epistrophe*: 1584, 1647; *epitrope*: 1550, 1657; *erotesis*: 1550, 1657; *erotema*: 1550, 1589; *hendiadys*: 1577, 1586; *homoeoteleuton*: 1550, 1586; *hyperbaton*: 1555, 1579; *hypotyposis*: 1577,

<sup>1</sup> In each case, the first date is that of the rhetoric named in List I in which the figure appeared and the second is that given in OED as "its earliest known occurrence."

1583; *hysteron proteron*: 1555, 1565; *icon*: 1577, 1676; *litotes*: 1550, 1657; *macrology*: 1550, 1616; *metabasis*: 1550, 1577; *metalepsis*: 1550, 1577; *metaplasms*: 1577, 1617; *mycterismus*: 1550, 1593; *prosopopoeia*: 1550, 1561; *paragoge*: 1555, 1656; *paroemia*: 1550, 1586; *paronomasia*: 1577, 1579; *perissology*: 1550, 1583; *pleonasm*: 1550, 1586; *polyptoton*: 1584, 1586; *polysyndeton*: 1577, 1589; *procatalepsis*: 1577, 1586; *solecism*: 1550, 1577; *syllipsis*: 1550, 1577; *symploce*: 1550, 1577; *synonymy*: 1550, 1657; *systole*: 1550, 1577; *tautology*: 1550, 1579; *tmesis*: 1550, 1577; *zeugma*: 1550, 1586.

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## A FRENCH FAUSTSPLITTER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Although the French translation of the *Volksbuch* of Faust, published in 1598, was reprinted fourteen times in the course of the following two centuries, A. Tille<sup>1</sup> and A. Kippenberg<sup>2</sup> list only half a dozen, all of them non-literary, works in which Faust was named in France until 1650. Thus, it is of interest to record a passage in Pierre Le Moyne's *Traité du poeme heroique*,<sup>3</sup> forming the preface of his epic poem, *Saint Louys ou la sainte Couronne reconquise* (1653-1658), in which the learned Jesuit poet<sup>4</sup> mentions Faust's name:

La Magie peut estre employée, & contribuer au Merueilleux; mais elle a besoin d'estre moderée; & il ne luy faut pas souffrir de mettre la main à tout, & de se mesler de toutes choses. Elle deuiet importune, quand elle se fait voir trop souuent, & qu'elle affecte d'estre toujours sur la Scene. Et l'on se doit souuenir, que d'ajouter enchantemens à enchantemens, & illusions à illusions, comme a fait l'Arioste; ce n'est pas faire un Poëme, c'est faire une Rapsodie de Sortilèges, pareille à la Vie d'Apulée, ou à celle du Docteur Fauste.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Die Faustsplitter in der Literatur des sechzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts nach den ältesten Quellen*, Berlin, E. Felber, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrbuch der Sammlung Kippenberg*, I (1921), 321 ff.; IV (1924), 282 ff.; VIII (1930), 249 ff.; IX (1931), 198 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. C. Williams, *The Merueilleux in the Epic*, Paris, H. Champion, 1925, p. 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. Chérot, *Etudes sur la vie et les œuvres du P. Le Moyne*, Paris, 1887.

<sup>5</sup> P. Le Moyne, *op. cit.*, Paris, Thomas Iolly, 1666, Preface, no pagination.



The significance of the passage is demonstrated by the fact that aside from Palma-Cayet's translation, Hamilton's *l'Enchanteur Faustus*, written about 1700, was considered by Herzfeld the only proof of the survival of the Faust Legend in France.<sup>6</sup> That *rhapsody of witchcraft*, as Le Moyne contemptuously calls it, was evidently well known among cultured French readers about the middle of the seventeenth century.

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### HAUPTMANN'S UTOPIAN FANTASY, *DIE INSEL DER GROSSEN MUTTER*

No work of Hauptmann's has been so completely and consistently misunderstood as his Utopian fantasy *Die Insel der Großen Mutter*. Its misfortune is the tone of gentle irony and light banter which pervades its pages, leaving the reader with the impression that the novel is entertainment rather than literature. Actually it is both. The fantastic character of the plot, the wealth of romantic description of a paradisaical nature, and its lucid and graceful prose carry the reader from cover to cover with the speed of light fiction. But if we read a little more attentively we find that *Die Insel der Großen Mutter* is a philosophical work of fiction in the same sense as its more pompous forerunner *Atlantis*. The difference is that in *Atlantis* the "philosophy" obtruded itself so strongly on the reader's attention that it destroyed the novel as a work of art. Here the speculative interest has been kept under such rigid control that most students of Hauptmann have missed the philosophical undercurrent altogether.

The key to the proper understanding of Hauptmann's novel will

<sup>6</sup>G. Herzfeld, "Zur Geschichte der Faustsage in England und Frankreich," *Festschrift Adolf Tobler*, etc., Braunschweig, G. Westermann, 1905, p. 191. Prof. H. C. Lancaster has kindly called my attention to another *Faustsplitter* in a French drama somewhat prior to Le Moyne's *Saint Louys*: Charles Beys, in *Les Illustres Fous*, acted probably in 1651 and published in 1653, makes an allusion to "le sçavoir qu'avoit le Docteur Faust." Cf. on this interesting passage H. C. Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932, Part II, p. 736.

be found by relating it to the central theme in all his writings: the conflict between the Pagan and the Christian views of life. I have argued elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that the course of Hauptmann's "thought" may be described as a perpetual oscillation between the polar opposites of Paganism and Christianity in the Nietzschean interpretation of these terms. In his Pagan moods Hauptmann is an aristocratic individualist, a soldier in the war for the emancipation of the flesh, occupied exclusively with the interests of this world—*diesseitig*—, a "naïve" artist. On the other hand, Hauptmann the Christian is a democrat and communist (in the non-political sense of these words), an idealist dreaming of the beyond—*jenseitig*—, a "sentimental" artist. The Utopian fantasy with which we are here concerned is a product of one of Hauptmann's Pagan moods. It is, in fact, the final link in the chain of Pagan works which began with *Die versunkene Glocke*. But *Die Insel der Großen Mutter* differs from Hauptmann's other writings in the same *genre* in that it confines itself largely to one specific Pagan problem: the eternal war between the sexes.

The Pagan attitude towards woman is a mixture of fear and contempt. Only the shallow-minded, says Nietzsche, can dream of equal rights, claims and obligations between the sexes, where the necessary relation should be one of constant tension and hostility. The man who has depth of mind and desires can only think of woman as Orientals do: as a possession, as confinable property, predestined for servitude and fulfilling her mission in this state. He must take his stand in this matter upon the immense rationality of Asia, upon the superiority of Asiatic instinct, as the Greeks from Homer to Pericles did, becoming gradually stricter, more Oriental, towards woman.<sup>2</sup>

In this war between the sexes there is no possibility of truce or arbitration. Either man or woman must win the conflict. Nietzsche complains that modern woman has been pampered by the French Revolution, and even more by "modern ideas."<sup>3</sup> And from the Pagan point of view it is a just complaint. For Johann Rosmer's vision of companionship and equality between man and woman is

<sup>1</sup> *Paganism and Christianity in Gerhart Hauptmann's Work*. A paper read before the annual convention of the Modern Language Association, December 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Nietzsche: *Werke* (Kröner edition), VII, 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 197.

essentially a Christian vision, thoroughly in harmony with the democratic, egalitarian outlook of Christianity as a way of life. And this ideal keeps recurring in times of Christian ascendancy; it is the dream of the "Christian" Goethe of the Iphigenia period, of the German romanticists, of the naturalists and expressionists, ultimately going back to the Christian cult of the Virgin Mary.

The women who are stranded on *Ile des Dames* belong to the intellectual élite of pre-war Europe and have therefore been infected with twentieth century ideas about women's rights and the equality of the sexes. Here is their opportunity to build up a civilization without male interference. They accept the challenge, and they do in fact create a society of their own—a Christian matriarchate. The ideological basis of this new civilization is ably stated by Laurence Hobbema in her programmatic speech at the dedication of *Notre Dame des Dames* Church. The failure of modern Christianity in the Western world, Laurence says, is due to its hostility towards life. "The medieval Christian Church trampled under foot the human ground on which it stood, and deprived it of all dignity and respect. Life cannot be founded on a contempt for life, nor human happiness on a contempt for humanity."<sup>4</sup> Superficially, this sounds very Pagan indeed; for does not Paganism affirm life for its own sake? In the next sentence, however, Laurence explains just what she means by "life." Human society, she says, cannot be founded on contempt for woman, who is the bearer of humanity. This hostility to life which destroyed the effectiveness of the Christian religion is, therefore, the attempt of the Church to put woman on a lower level than man. The decay of Western civilization may be traced back to the principle of *mulier taceat in ecclesia*.<sup>5</sup>

The high priestess then proceeds to demonstrate woman's superiority over man. Man, she says, lacks that earth-bound, fertile way of thinking which is the prerogative of the mother. Woman may think less, but her thinking is more essential. If Europe had been organized on a matriarchal basis, Christ's doctrine of brotherly love would have been realized long ago. For love itself is born of

<sup>4</sup> Gerhart Hauptmann: *Das epische Werk in sechs Teilen* (Berlin, 1935), v, 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121

woman; not only because she is the source of all life, but because she bears the germ of life within her over a period of nine months. Only during this stretch of time and in this relationship is human love effective. From this mystery alone did the pure and lofty idea of *caritas* develop in the course of time, reaching man only at a much later stage. The social conscience, too, is born of woman; its first manifestations are the suckling, care, protection and education which the mother gives her child. Man's normal instinct, on the other hand, is to abandon his children; he is by nature an unsocial animal.

In the same dedicatory speech Laurence emphasizes the fact that the new society which is being created on *Ile des Dames* will have the welfare of all humanity at heart; in other words, it will be cosmopolitan, transcending the narrow bounds of tribe, nation or race. And the new religion which she proclaims is not a Pagan cult, with priests and propitiatory rites, but a spiritual mysticism, a religion in which each human being may commune directly with the Deity. It is an abstract, intellectual faith in comparison with the polytheistic pantheism which later develops on the male section of the island.

Love, *caritas*, suppression of the individual for the sake of the community, the goal of universal brotherhood, the conception of religion as a spiritual experience—these are "Christian" ideals in the Nietzschean use of the term. There are other Christian features in the civilization of *Ile des Dames*; for instance, the vegetarian diet which the women adopt out of a moral aversion to the slaughter of animals, and the banishment of male children to a remote corner of the island as a substitute for killing them. Both practices are prompted by "humanitarian" considerations. And the whole Mukalinda cult, in itself a symbol of woman's desire for independence from man, is of course thoroughly Christian in spirit; indeed it is but the cult of the Virgin Mary thinly disguised.

In sharp contrast to the Christian civilization which the women of *Ile des Dames* have established, stands that which is built up by their male offspring on the corner of the island to which they have been exiled. The symbol of this masculine society is the hand; it is essentially earth-bound, realistic, frankly recognizing the primary importance of the sensuous, material side of life, and erecting the whole scale of spiritual values—religion, science and art—on this solid basis.

The whole enormous realm of human activity [Phaon tells the visiting delegation of women] which comes within the sphere of thinking man, from the lowest to the highest, from the most sordid to the most alluring . . . from the crudest to the most refined . . . makes use of the human hand. . . . It is impossible to exaggerate the revolution that will take place here, once the hand is elevated from its position of contempt to the rank of highest aristocracy.<sup>6</sup>

The fundamental difference in outlook between the two civilizations is ably summarized by Rodberte Kalb when she characterizes the nature of man as centrifugal, while that of woman is centripetal. Woman's horizon is so much narrower than man's, because she is so intimately bound to the family, which is a sedentary institution, whereas man is able to give free scope to his nomadic tendencies, engage in voyage and discovery, penetrate into unknown regions and thus conquer nature. Woman's mission prescribes for her a life of intensity, both in the physical and spiritual spheres.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the Pagan civilization of the men strives to achieve the full development of human individuality, whereas the women, as we saw above, have attempted to subjugate the rights of the individual in favor of the community. "Everything here proceeds with such verve and freedom" remarks Rodberte enviously during the tour of inspection, "one scarcely feels the captivity of *Ile des Dames*."<sup>8</sup> She tries to convince herself that the feminine gifts are superior, since the anarchistic qualities of the male do not make for good citizenship. But the involuntary expressions of admiration which escape the women's lips tell a different tale. "They're above us" Anni Prächel admits. "While we were busy creating a mythology, the 'good-for-nothings' were thumbing their noses at us in a shocking manner."<sup>9</sup>

The Pagan civilization of the males is active, dynamic in character; that of the women passive, contemplative, intellectual. The men are content to worship the spirits of nature, without worrying about dogmas or theologies. Hence they find time to build navies and explore the world. Their imagination spends itself, not in reconciling the ways of God to man, but in conquering empires or achieving such "obvious impossibilities" as human flight.

But the supreme triumph of man over woman lies in the sphere of eros. Women may boast of their indispensibility as the pro-

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216; cf. also p. 231.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 230-1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

creators of the human race. They may invent Mukalinda myths and fables about immaculate conception. But how long would the matriarchate have lasted if Phaon had not been rescued in the boat along with the women? Woman is ultimately dependent on man, as man is on woman. That is the first unpleasant lesson the matriarchate is forced to learn. But that is not all. Whenever the two sexes work together, the natural superiority of the male will not be long in asserting itself. In her inaugural speech Laurence had cited with disapproval the belief of prominent European psychologists that a permanent hostility exists between the sexes. She had implied that in the new State which was being founded on *Île des Dames* that enmity would make way for a new equality. The course of events belies her faith. At every turn the women proclaim their superiority, only to find in the end that their claims have no basis in fact. The 'good-for-nothings' have come out on top after all.

Two qualities of Hauptmann's novel were singled out at the beginning of this paper: its subtle irony and its racy style. These features are certainly not characteristic of Hauptmann's work, not even in its lighter moods. And in this respect *Die Insel der Großen Mutter* is unique among his writings. It is really French rather than German in spirit. One thinks of Anatole France, for example, that master of irony and light grace; and the Hauptmann of the *Insel* does not suffer by the comparison. The analogy with Anatole France might be pursued further. The French novelist, too, makes the conflict between Paganism and Christianity a central theme in his writings. But he never allows his philosophic interest to suppress the artist in him. Hauptmann has not always succeeded in being first and foremost an artist. That he has done so in this instance is clear when we see how completely his Utopian fantasy has been misunderstood by contemporary German criticism, simply because its "philosophy" was not written all over its face.

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SHELLEY AND *PIECES OF IRISH HISTORY*

When Shelley visited Ireland in February, 1812, it is well known that among his many efforts to call to the attention of the world the frightful conditions existing there he projected with John Lawless, an ardent patriot and newspaper man, a history of that unhappy country. A large portion of that work was actually printed.<sup>1</sup> But no one has been able to identify Shelley's hand in it.

Professor Edward Dowden, referring to Shelley's sketches as "passages of Irish history" and as "*Pieces of Irish History*,"<sup>2</sup> asserted that Shelley's portion of it was not included in the published volume. "The manuscript pages," he went on to say, "accompanied him to Devonshire, where Miss Hitchener read them with delight and melancholy indignation."<sup>3</sup> Dowden quoted from a letter of Shelley to Hookham, the London publisher, dated August 18, 1812, the following:

I send you a copy of a work which I have procured from America, and which I am exceedingly anxious should be published. It develops, as you will perceive by the most superficial reading, the actual state of republicanized Ireland, and appears to me above all things calculated to remove the prejudices which have too long been cherished of that oppressed country, and to strike the oppressors with dismay.

"No other clue besides these words," observed Professor Dowden, "remains by which to trace out and identify this work which Shelley regarded as so beneficent and so formidable."

It is the purpose of this article to show that Professor Dowden was in error in ascribing to Shelley *Pieces of Irish History* and that the American work, "so beneficent and so formidable," was a work of the same title compiled and in part written by William James MacNeven.

In a letter from Harriet to Catherine Nugent, of August 11, 1812, we find a very pertinent statement:

Your friend and our friend, Bessy,<sup>4</sup> has been reading '*Pieces of Irish History*,' and is so much enraged with the characters there mentioned that nothing will satisfy her desire of revenge but the printing and pub-

<sup>1</sup> See Letter to Thomas Charles Medwin, March 20, 1812.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Shelley*, I, 257, 337.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 257.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Hitchener.

lishing of them to exhibit to the world those characters which are (shameful to say) held up as beings possessing every amiable quality, whilst their hearts are as bad as it is possible to be. They will be shown to the world in a new light. . . . Percy intends to print some proposals for printing *Pieces of Irish History*, saying that everyone whether Irish or English ought to read them.

And in a short paragraph attached to Harriet's letter Shelley himself said: "We are determined at any rate to publish the *Irish History*. It is a matter of doubt with me whether any bookseller will dare to put his name to it." Professor Dowden, on the basis of this statement, identified "*Pieces of Irish History*" with Shelley's contribution to the Lawless-Shelley *History of Ireland*. If this production had been Shelley's would not Harriet have let it be known in this rather long account of the book? There is nothing in this letter or in any other to lead one to think that Shelley was the author. Neither he nor Harriet ever spoke of the work as Shelley's.

Professor Dowden never suspected that the "work" which Shelley had recently procured from America and "*Pieces of Irish History*" might be identical. And so far as I am aware Shelley students have accepted Professor Dowden's ascription of *Pieces of Irish History* to Shelley. But my search among American publications touching Irish affairs around 1798 brought to light a rare little volume entitled "*Pieces of Irish History*."<sup>5</sup> Here was the "work" from America which Shelley considered "so beneficent

<sup>5</sup> *Pieces of Irish History, Illustrative of the Condition of the Catholics of Ireland of the Origin And Progress of the Political system Of the United Irishmen; And of their Transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government.* New York, 1807. William James MacNeven (1763-1841), a distinguished Irish physician, who joined the United Irishmen, became a leading figure in the rebellion of 1798, labored valiantly for an independent Irish republic patterned after the American and French constitutions, was the Irish emissary to France, was an officer in the French Army, sailed for America, July 4, 1805; became a professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons (Columbia). MacNeven, O'Connor, and Emmet had given to the Anglo-Irish government a full account of the insurrection. This report was printed in garbled form in the British State Papers. Incensed at this gross misrepresentation of the true state of affairs in Ireland, MacNeven had the original document printed in New York under the title of "*Pieces of Irish History*," and copies sent to Dublin for distribution. Shelley naturally wished to see a British edition of a book that was "to strike the oppressors with dismay."



and so formidable"—one calculated to throw the oppressors of Ireland into dismay; but what is more significant, here was a book with the exact title which Harriet had used in her letter to her friend. That Shelley knew MacNeven's *Pieces of Irish History* can hardly be doubted, for he was in contact with MacNeven's closest friends—Lawless, Curran, Finnerty, Stockdale. From them he must have heard of the work or have had a copy of the book, which he was urging Hookham to publish. Then, too, it would be quite unlikely that Harriet would refer to one of Shelley's own writings by the exact title of a work well known to her circle. Shelley, Harriet, and Miss Hitchener were solely interested in seeing a London edition of this "so beneficent and so formidable" book. The British public was in almost complete ignorance of conditions in Ireland, for anything condemning the Anglo-Irish government was never allowed to circulate. But there had been a recent change in the British foreign office, a fact which may have led Shelley to hope that Hookham would publish this important work. No London edition can be found, indicating that Hookham refused. And thus we hear nothing more of "*Pieces of Irish History*."

A brief analysis of the contents of the volume will show that it was "calculated to remove the prejudices which have too long been cherished of that oppressed country." An Introduction sets forth the reasons, strikingly similar to those advanced by Shelley to Hookham, for the publication of the book. The first hundred forty-four pages of the text, by Thomas Addis Emmet, give a history of Ireland and an eye-witness account of the causes of the rebellion of 1798, and the part played by the leaders of the United Irishmen. Then follow a digest of the obnoxious Popery laws, and the Memoirs of Emmet, O'Connor, and MacNeven, with their examination before the Irish House of Lords. To this portion of the book Harriet's description applies.

The two ideas stressed in this book are Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform, and on the same grounds urged by Shelley in his Irish pamphlets. It is argued that all religious disqualifications should be abolished; universal suffrage be granted; tithes be abolished; separation from England be sought by peaceable means, at first—then by force, if necessary; a system of universal education be established; societies be formed to promote

these ideas. Englishmen like Castlereagh and Beresford are held up to scorn, and even certain Irishman, Grattan in particular, are censured. The one underlying purpose of *Pieces of Irish History* was to set forth the true state of conditions in Ireland—the avowed purpose Shelley advanced to Hookham for an English edition.

In conclusion it may be said that it is inconceivable that Shelley would have used the exact title of a book well known to him and his friends, or that Harriet should have fabricated a title of her own for a manuscript production of her husband. It is therefore more logical to assume that the book which Harriet was reading was MacNeven's *Pieces of Irish History*, that the "so beneficent and so formidable book" urged on Hookham by Shelley was the same *Pieces of Irish History*, and that Professor Dowden was in error in ascribing to Shelley a work of the same title.

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## BURNS AT ELLISLAND

On October 18, 1790, Robert Ainslie wrote Agnes McLehose ("Clarinda") an account of a visit he had just paid their common friend Robert Burns. Important as a picture of Burns at a disputed period, Ainslie's letter also reveals his own snobbishness and shows that he and Burns' former sweetheart were on affectionate terms. The letter follows:<sup>1</sup>

Dumfries 18th Octr. 1790

I promised to write my Dear Friend and for that End now Seat myself at Dumfries—I have been with Burns since Friday— and as his duty as Excise-man engaged him this day, I have taken the Opportunity of coming here to Visit this Town— You desired that I should let you hear every thing regarding him & his family and how I was pleased— This is a difficult question as my short room here will not permitt me to be so full as I might—

<sup>1</sup> From a photographic facsimile of the original manuscript in the possession of the Hon. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, of Washington, D. C., through whose kindness I am permitted to publish it. Printed in part in R. Chambers, *The Life and Works of Robert Burns*, Edinburgh and London, III, 142.

and part of the Question admits of Double Answers- I was pleased with Burns' hearty welcome of me- and it was an addition to his pleasure, that my Arrival was upon his *Kirn* night, when he Expected some of his friends to help make merry, but much displeased with the Company when they arrived- They consisted of a Vulgar looking Tavern keeper from Dumfries; and his Wife more Vulgar- Mr. Miller of Dalswinton's Gardener and his Wife- and said Wife's Sister- and a little fellow from Dumfries, who had been a Clerk- These were the Strangers, and the rest of the Company who are inmates of the house were Burns' Sister, who Acts,<sup>2</sup> and Mrs. Burns' Sister, who are Two common looking Girls who act as their Servants- and 3 Male and female cousins who had been Shearing for him- We spent the evening in the common way on Such occasions of Dancing, and Kissing the Lasses at the End of every dance- With regard to the helpmate She Seems Vulgar & Common-place in a considerable degree- and pretty round & fat- She is however a kind Body in her Own way, and the husband Tolerably Attentive to her- As to the house, it is ill contrived- and pretty Dirty, and *Hugry Mugry*- Tho last, not least Our Friend himself is as ingenious as ever, and Seemd very happy with the Situation I have described- His Mind however now appears to me to be a great Mixture of the poet and the Excise Man- One day he Sitts down and Writes a Beautiful poem- and the Next he Seizes a cargo of Tobacco from some unfortunate Smuggler- or Rouns out some poor Wretch for Selling liquors without a License From his conversation he Seems to be frequently among the Great- but No Attention is paid by people of any rank to his wife- Having found that his farm does not answer he is about to Give it up, and depend wholly on the Excise-

Now, having given you such a description of those you wished to hear of, As to myself, that Cursed melancholy, which I was complaining of, has been daily increasing- and All Burns' Jokes cannot dispell it- I sit silent & frail even amidst Mirth- and instead of that joyous Laugh which I used to have I frequently discover the Tear start into my Eyes, and Sigh most piteously- I know of no Sufficient reason for Such Misery, but the Effect of constitution, and am sorry now to be Obliged to go among absolute Strangers- Nothing under the Sun would be so agreeable as Seeing you, and a letter from you would be the next Best- If you address<sup>2</sup> write to me, address to me to be left till called for at the post office of *Ayr*, where I shall be in a few days- and for fear of Accidents in that country, you may use the letter A or any such, if you speak of Burns.

Burns & I drunk your health on Saturday at an inn & to Settle the matter Got both Exceedingly drunk- you need say nothing of this letter to any Body

yours most affectionately  
R. Ainslie

Mrs. McLehose  
Lamont's Land  
Canongate  
Edinr.

<sup>2</sup> The words "who Acts" and "address" are crossed out.

Is it not plain that Ainslie, uncomfortable at Ellisland, was puzzled that Burns seemed "very happy" in his "Hungry Mugry" household, and "tolerably attentive" to his "pretty round & fat" wife? For Ainslie, like many before and after him, forgot or refused to recognize that Burns had spent his first twenty-eight years in just such surroundings as Ellisland and among just such people as those present at his Kirn night. But the appreciative critic should never forget Burns was, in Henley's phrase, "essentially and unalterably a peasant," and it is as a reminder of this cardinal fact that Ainslie's letter is of notable importance.

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#### DID GRANDVILLE INSPIRE THE ILE DES PINGOUINS?

In 1856, when Anatole France was a boy of twelve, he could easily have seen—possibly more easily than he could have failed to see—a picture of a Penguin Island with humanly costumed penguins, accompanied by a text which raised the question of the destiny of their souls on the day of judgment.

The volume containing this is the *Scènes de la Vie privée et publique des animaux*,<sup>1</sup> an illustrated *recueil* by various authors, somewhat resembling *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*<sup>2</sup> but with animal characters, the whole work definitely centered on the animal illustrations by Grandville.<sup>3</sup> The edition of 1856 is not the first; the material contained in it appeared in fascicles as early as 1840-42. France could conceivably have seen these; what is worthy of notice is that there was at least this one edition which appeared and was certainly sold in the *milieu* in which he lived, at a time when we may well assume that it would have made a maximum of impression on him. This edition contained texts by Balzac, Nodier, Janin, Sand, and even Musset, whose *Histoire d'un Merle blanc* was written with Grandville in mind.<sup>4</sup> But about a third of the

<sup>1</sup> Marescq et Cie., *Librairie Centrale des Publications illustrées à vingt centimes*, Paris, 1856. A part had been previously published by Hetzel.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, edited by L. Curmer, 1840-42.

<sup>3</sup> The *nom de plume* of Jean-Ignace-Isidore Gérard (1803-1847).

<sup>4</sup> A fact perhaps less well-known than it should be with relation to this charming tale.

items, together with the essential editing of the collection, were the work of P.-J. Stahl, and among his contributions is to be found the *Vie et Opinions philosophiques d'un pingouin*.

On first glance, Grandville's illustrations are more striking than Stahl's text, and two of them in particular. One represents *L'île des Pingouins*, with four birds, two of them penguins, partially clad in human costume. The most prominent is a penguin with monocle and high silk hat perched gravely on a wave-washed rock in the foreground. The other picture, occupying the climactic position at the end of the story, is that of a female penguin, elaborately attired, with penguin's head but human hands, a hat with many plumes, a fur cape trimmed with ermine, narrow waist, and flowing skirt. It might well inspire a meditation on costume in general. The words beneath the illustration are: *Ne la trouvez-vous pas jolie?* but they might equally well be: *Tombe-t-elle bien?*<sup>5</sup> or perhaps: *elle s'éloigna à pas menus en se balançant sur les hanches.*<sup>6</sup>

Yet it is probably the text which offers the best reasons for making a *rapprochement* between this work and that of Anatole France. The Stahl "autobiography" is that of a penguin philosopher, and while he is given no name it is true of him as of France's Jacquot le Philosophe that he *composa une sorte de récit moral dans lequel il représentait d'une façon comique et forte les actions diverses des hommes; et il y mêla plusieurs traits de l'histoire de son propre pays,*<sup>7</sup> if we allow for the *hommes* being presented as animals. Part of Stahl's narrative is an attack on Fourierism, part is general satire (far from being on a level with France's of course) and the last part deals with the Penguin Island and its king.

All this is hardly definite enough, however, for us to say that it is not coincidence, and the greater part of Stahl's account has no resemblance to that of France. It is the first paragraph of Chapter V of the *Vie et Opinions philosophiques d'un pingouin* which should arrest the attention of whoever has read the opening part of *L'île des pingouins*. Stahl's penguin philosopher meditates:

<sup>5</sup> A. France, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1929, Vol. XVIII, p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Que penses-tu des Pingouins, Dieu suprême? Que feras-tu d'eux au jour du jugement? A quoi as-tu songé quand tu as promis la résurrection des corps?

If to these questions one objects: "But they are not baptised!" and then answers oneself: "They are not human . . . but they look like people . . . they might be baptized accidentally, if the person baptizing could not see very well," one would arrive by natural association of ideas at the apparently very unnatural association of ideas offered by the whole episode of Saint Maël.

It would be presumptuous to say that this *was* the line of thought evoked in the young, or the older, Anatole France by a book which we cannot prove that he read. We have every right to say that if he did read it several of the more surprising concepts of the earlier portions of the *Ile des Pingouins* are accounted for, or can be so, very reasonably. And we repeat that there is every likelihood that he read it; one tends in time to find the things to which one is attracted if they are reasonably available. Young France haunted the bookstalls at some of which this work was available, and he was attracted to monsters, to the fantastic, to engravings, to Callot<sup>s</sup> . . . surely then to Grandville! Already interested in hagiography, he would have been attracted by the question of the disposition of the Penguins' souls, and have related it to the saints' lives where equally strange questions are found.

Whatever the external reasons for thinking it likely that France read this work, the real reasons for thinking so are internal. Here, long before *L'Ile des Pingouins*, is a work containing: A Penguin Island, called so by name; Penguins in human costume;<sup>8</sup> a Penguin philosopher who has commented in comic form both on other lands and on his own; the question of the status of the Penguins at the day of judgment.

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<sup>8</sup> See E. P. Dargan, *Anatole France (1844-1896)*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, and especially Chapter v.

<sup>9</sup> "C'est une chose d'une grande conséquence que d'habiller les Pingouins." France, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

AN ERROR IN THE TEXT OF ALARCÓN'S *LAS  
PAREDES OYEN*

In Ruiz de Alarcón's *Las Paredes Oyen* (II, II), Beltrán, servant of don Juan, thinking it paradoxical for his master to try to win doña Ana by doubling the risk of losing her, applies to the situation an epigram of Martial. According to the text of the edition of Alfonso Reyes, his six line speech is as follows:

Traduzido,  
dize assí, en language nuestro:  
"Queriendo [Fanio] huir  
sus contrarios, se mató"  
¿No es furor, pregunto yo,  
para no morir, morir?<sup>1</sup>

It is evident from the punctuation that the translation of the epigram is to be taken as "Queriendo Fanio huir sus contrarios, se mató." The last two lines of the speech thus must be thought of as Beltrán's comment on the quotation. Reference to other editions finds support for this interpretation; all those consulted punctuate the passage as above.<sup>2</sup> Even the French translation of 1862 reads:

Traduit dans notre langue, voici ce qu'il dit:—"Vannius, voulant éviter ses ennemis, se tua."—N'est-ce pas folie, je vous demande, moi, que de se tuer pour ne pas mourir?<sup>3</sup>

Martial, however, wrote:

<sup>1</sup> Clásicos Castellanos, xxxvii (Madrid, 1922), p. 177. I have corrected *Fano* to *Fanio*, line 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Comedias Escogidas de don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza* (Tomo I, Madrid, 1826; Tomo II, Madrid, 1829), I, p. 435; *Tesoro del Teatro Español . . . por don Juan Eugenio de Ochoa* (Paris, Baudry, 1838), IV, p. 508a; *Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles*, Tomo XX (Madrid, 1852), p. 51a; *Comedias Escogidas de D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón* (Vols. IV, V, VI of Biblioteca Selecta de Autores Clásicos, Madrid, Imprenta Nacional, 1867), V, p. 423; *Teatro Selecto de D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza, Precedido de su biografía por Manuel González de la Llana* (Madrid, Tomás Alonso, 1868), pp. 161-162; *Las Paredes Oyen*, edited by Caroline B. Bourland (New York, Holt, 1914), p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Murs Entendent*, in C. Habeneck, *Chefs d'Œuvre du théâtre espagnol* (Paris, 1862), p. 317.

Hostem cum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit.  
hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriari, mori? <sup>4</sup>

The paradox—the punch of the epigram, so to speak—, is in the “non furor est, ne moriari mori,” and this Beltrán did not overlook.<sup>5</sup> The last two lines of his speech are very obviously not his own words, but a translation of Martial’s second line.<sup>6</sup> In at least seven of the eight printings of *Las Paredes Oyen*, from 1826 to the present,<sup>7</sup> editors have by their punctuation failed to make this fact clear.

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# THE FIRST FRENCH IMITATION OF TASSO'S INVOCATION TO THE MUSE

The earliest printed French translation of any part of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* is, so far as we know, Jérôme d'Avost's version of canto III, reproduced in A. Du Verdier's *Bibliothèque française*, in 1584. The same year appeared Jean de Boyssières' *Croisade* (Paris, Pour Robert le Fizelier, 1584; *privilege* dated

<sup>4</sup> *Epigrammata*, II, 80. Cf. Anthony A. Giulian, *Martial and the Epigram in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), p. 72. Mr. Giulian quotes Beltrán's lines and the epigram, but follows without comment the usual punctuation of the former.

<sup>5</sup> Neither did the late master of paradox, Gilbert K. Chesterton. Cf. “It shows what mistakes one may make,” said the priest sadly. “I never should have thought he would be so illogical as to die in order to avoid death.”

—*The Scandal of Father Brown* (London, Cassell, 1935), p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> The seventeenth century Spaniard could read a Spanish version of the epigram by Manuel de Salinas, included by Gracián in the second edition (1648) of his *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio*:

Fannio ansioso por huir  
del que su muerte procura,  
se mató; ¿no es gran locura  
matarse por no morir?

—*Obras de Lorenzo Gracián. Tomo Segundo* . . . En Madrid: en la Imprenta de Pedro Marín, Año de 1773. P. 29.

<sup>7</sup> I have been unable to consult the *Parte Primera de las Comedias de don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza*. En Madrid, por Juan González, Año MDCXXVIII, or *Teatro de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón con un estudio critico por García Ramón* (Paris, Garnier, 1884). It would be surprising if the *princeps* indicated the presence of a quotation by any sort of punctuation.



June 15, 1583), a mediocre unfinished poem which Michaud's *Biographie universelle* calls a partial translation of Tasso, and in which Goujet, less unjustifiably, saw a desire to imitate Ariosto. E. Picot in his brief note on Boyssières (*Français italianisants*, II, 187-191) lists the work without comment.<sup>1</sup>

The adventures recounted in the poem have nothing to do with Tasso's epic. The author relates, in a tone more reminiscent of Ariosto than of Tasso, the departure of several armies for the Holy Land and their misfortunes in Germany, in Hungary, and before Constantinople. Meanwhile Godefroy de Bouillon waits at Metz for the coming of spring. Now the curious thing about this fragment on the Crusades is that, although the poem itself owes nothing to Tasso, the invocation to the Muse is a direct borrowing from *Ger. lib.*, I, 2-3. This is the first time these famous stanzas appear in French dress, and the passage is at least as early as Jérôme d'Avost's translation of canto III. These verses deserve, for their priority rather than for their excellence, to be reproduced here:

Non, la Muse qui sceint de verdissans lauriers,  
Le front des plus sçauants, le front des plus guerriers,  
Mais celle, qui du Ciel guerdonne les fideles,  
D'vne Couronne d'or d'estoilles immortelles  
Vranie celeste, inspire moy l'esprit,  
Pour dire yci, comment le Sepulchre de Christ  
Emplit les cœurs d'ardeur, de fer les mains françaises  
De pertes les Payens, & l'Asie de noises.

Et si ie mesle vn peu le faux parmy le vray,  
Muse pardonne moy. Tu sçais, & ie le sçay,  
Que tout le monde accourt, ou le menteur Parnasse  
Dit peu de Verité, en beaucoup de falace.  
Ainsi oingt on de miel le vase medecin  
Pour appaster l'Enfant, l'enfant malade, en fin,  
Trompé, boit l'amertume, & de sa tromperie,  
(Ayant beu le breuage) il en recoit la vie.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I have used the copy, not mentioned by Picot, preserved at the Mazarine (22,009). For the opportunity to use this and other Paris libraries during 1935-1936 I wish to express my thanks to the American Council of Learned Societies.

<sup>2</sup> First "course," st. 4 and 5. Boyssières' volume contains several preliminary poems, one of which is an Italian "stanza" by L. Roger, whom Picot does not include in his gallery of *italianisants*.

## REVIEWS

*The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England.* By HOMER G. PFANDER. New York University, 1937. Pp. 66.

*The Vitae Patrum in Old and Middle English Literature.* By CONSTANCE L. ROSENTHAL. University of Pennsylvania, 1936. Pp. [iii] + 172.

*The Holy Eucharist in Middle English Homiletic and Devotional Verse.* By SISTER LORETTA MCGARRY, A. M. The Catholic University of America, 1936. Pp. xix + 283.

The new impulse given to the study of mediaeval preaching by the writings of G. R. Owst and others promises to be felt for many seasons. Evidence of the fertility of the field appears in the three doctoral dissertations now under review. Dr. Pfander, leaning heavily, as all writers on mediaeval preaching must lean, on Owst's work, but himself cultivating his own sector, confines himself to the preaching of the friars. In his Prefatory Note the writer says that the topic of his proposed investigation is the "contributions of the medieval friars to English literature," and that "this present study . . . is merely an introduction to friar sermons; it proposes in no way to be a complete treatment of them." In the three sections now published, the author investigates Conditions of Preaching and the Nature of the Sermon, The English Verse Sermon, and The Popular Prose Sermon.

Much in the first section will appear familiar to the student of the *ars praedicandi*, but Dr. Pfander raises and answers an important question: in what language or languages did the friars preach? His answer is that the popular preacher, even before the common folk, sometimes used French or Latin, or a combination of both, as well as English. When speaking in a foreign tongue he might depend upon "big words" or "foreign phrases" to overawe his unschooled audience, or again might interpret his words in English. Reading this argument, one wonders whether Chaucer in Chauntecleer's famous interpretation of Latin, is not illustrating the attitude of many a preacher toward his ignorant listeners:

For al so siker as *In principio*,  
*Mulier est hominis confusio*,—  
 Madame, the sentence of this Latyn is,  
 "Womman is mannes joye and al his blis." (B. 4353-6)

The second, and longest, section, The English Verse Sermon, is undoubtedly the most important in this study. Here, so far

as I can recall, is the first considerable attempt at generalization regarding a type of poetry to which belong such pieces as *Purity* and *Patience*. Not all didactic poems, however, are intended for the pulpit. The characteristics of the true verse-sermon the author states as follows:

First of all, an obvious address to an audience, not to a person reading the poem to himself, must be present; and in the second place, enough of the characteristics of sermon structure to make the conversion of the poem into a sermon a simple matter. (P. 29.)

Fixation of the type thus early in his studies will greatly facilitate Dr. Pfander's future research by excluding from consideration a body of material that does not properly belong to his discussion. In considering "the contributions of the medieval friar to English literature," however, the writer must interpret liberally the terms of his own definition, since *Purity* and *Patience* for example, though not strictly sermons, may perhaps be numbered among the contributions of the friars.

The third section, on The Popular Prose Sermon, is notable chiefly for the publication of the full text of a long popular sermon *Per Proprium Sanguinem* by the Austin Friar John Gregory of Newport, Monmouthshire, found in MS. Univ. Oxf. 97, pp. 324-339. The importance of printing full texts is enhanced by the very scarcity of specimens preserved to us. As Dr. Pfander remarks:

While I have found few prose sermons of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries written down entirely in English, I can cite a number that were addressed to laymen and not "ad clerum," and were preached in English. So few popular sermons by friars have survived because they were probably preached *ex tempore*; that is, they were not read verbatim from manuscript. (P. 45.)

Readers of this dissertation will await with interest the appearance of Dr. Pfander's future studies of the mediaeval friar.

Dr. Rosenthal, in her study of the *Vitae Patrum* in Old and Middle English Literature, is fortunate in coming first to a rich and attractive subject. Of her subject the writer says:

The *Vitae Patrum* is a collection of biographies and anecdotes concerning the early Christian martyrs who took refuge in the deserts of Egypt and who led there the ascetic life, waging a constant battle against sins of the flesh, and evolving a philosophy of renunciation which has colored Christian thought down to our own times.

In the present study the writer traces the wide dissemination of stories from this collection in the vernacular literatures of Europe, citing editions in Italian, French, Middle High German, Anglo-French, and English. To the appearance of these stories in Old and Middle English, however, she gives most attention, showing how, by direct borrowing from the *Vitae Patrum*, or through inter-

mediate Latin or vernacular sources, the lives of the Egyptian martyrs became familiar in England. It is possible here to mention only a few well known instances. The Casket Story, that in a late form appeared in the *Merchant of Venice*, is found in *Confessio Amantis*, the *Gesta Romanorum*, and the *Alphabet of Tales*; the story of Thais, the Alexandrian courtesan converted by Sarpion, appears in *Jacob's Well*, the *Scotch Collection of Legends*, the *North English Homily Cycle*, and the *Alphabet of Tales*; Mary of Egypt, Chaucer's "Egiptien Marie in the Cave" (C. T., B. 500), in the *Scotch Collection of Legends* and the *South English Legendary*.

This is a thorough, well documented, and pleasantly written thesis, and illustrates once more what a wealth of stories lay before the mediaeval poets in the principal languages of Europe. It is not surprising that many tales from the *Vitae Patrum* passed into such collections as the *Golden Legend* and the *Gesta Romanorum*, and thence into the discourses of the popular preachers.

Sister Loretta McGarry's investigation of the Holy Eucharist in Middle English Homiletic and Devotional Verse is in the true sense of the words a labor of love. Herself a member of a religious order, among whose obligations must be daily attendance at Mass, Sister Loretta has made the supreme service of her Church the subject of both historical and literary study. In an impressively documented introduction she has written a history of the Eucharist in England from the time of the Anglo-Saxons to the reign of Mary Tudor. Investigating the influence of the Eucharist upon Middle English verse, Sister Loretta begins with the year 1300, the period before that date having been treated by Sister Mary Joseph Cravens in her dissertation, *Designations and Treatment of the Holy Eucharist in Old and Middle English Before 1300*, Washington, D. C., 1932. The poetry that forms the body of this study is not the brilliant poetry of a Chaucer or a *Gawain*-poet, but the verse manuals of prayer and worship in which the people read their private devotions or followed the service in the churches. Of all such works the most important is the *Lay Folks Mass Book*, to which the author devotes more than forty pages. The nature of this book is described as follows:

It is not, however, a doctrinal exposition of the Mass, but rather a book of instruction as to how to behave and what prayers to say at this liturgical function. One might almost call it a "Manual of Church Etiquette" as well as a "Book of Devotions for Mass." It differs from the English "Prymer" copies of which have come down to us, in that most of these are of a liturgical character made up of devotional offices and psalms, or else translations approved by ecclesiastical authority, whereas *The Lay Folks Mass Book* presents only a manner of hearing Mass, and the prayers therein are of private composition. (Pp. 178-180.)

In the pages that follow this definition is discussed each part of the Mass as it is treated in the *Book*.

While this dissertation will have its value for the general student of Middle English, its chief appeal will be to the liturgist and the student of English service books, who will find here an important chapter in their special fields.

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*The Place of St. Thomas More in English Literature and History.*

By R. W. CHAMBERS. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1937. Pp. vii + 125. \$2.00.

This book is an expansion of a lecture which Professor Chambers delivered in the Old Hall of Lincoln's Inn before the Thomas More Society. It takes the form of four short essays, and though it contains almost nothing which Professor Chambers has not already given us in his admirable *Thomas More* (1935) it does include in the third essay entitled *More, Henry VIII and the Reformation*, Professor Chambers' reply to some of his critics. As one of those upon whom he has laid a chastening though friendly hand, it may not be inappropriate for me to speak a further word.

Professor Chambers in his biography of More was not content with proving that More was a very great man, a very good man and a very unjustly treated man, which few scholars were disposed to question, but he also undertook to prove that More's adversary had little or no claim to any of those qualities. In short he declared that Henry VIII "destroyed more things of beauty and more things of promise than any other man in European history," that he "left England poor," that "he killed laughter" and that his reign "marks a distinct set back" in practically every department of English life. I ventured in my criticism of those passages to raise the question as to whether Henry's contribution to the progress of the English Reformation and to the development of parliamentary institutions did not set up some claims in his favor. But Professor Chambers will have none of them. He rather evades the issue of the Reformation by a quibble over words,—wants to know what we mean by Reformation and declines to agree, without a clearer definition of terms, that it was a blessing. He asks of parliamentary institutions whether we mean the spirit of parliamentary government or the form of parliamentary government, and just misses quoting the phrase "the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." Taken that way he intimates that More was a better parliamentarian than Henry was. Finally he resents the implication that one of the richest fruits of Henry's reign was the golden age of Queen Elizabeth. This he brands as a *non sequitur*, a *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* kind of reasoning.

Now it is not easy, in any brief space, to deal adequately with arguments of this sort, so far as they are arguments and not simply *obiter dicta*. No one can seriously believe that Henry was the greatest iconoclast in European history, or for that matter that he killed laughter. At the worst he could only have put her to sleep for the time being, as Sir John Falstaff will rise to testify.

As for Parliamentary institutions,—if we are to wait until they are informed by what we should now call the spirit of parliamentary government, we shall have to wait for a good three centuries or more. What Henry did was to save the institution of parliament, to infuse it with new vigor and new significance, to incorporate it definitely and permanently into the English pattern of government at a time when parliamentary institutions were rapidly declining everywhere else in Europe. It really did matter that the old bottle should be saved even if the vintage it contained was not of the best. The acceptance of the principle of parliamentary participation in government was important even if Henry for the moment exploited it for his own ends. We have only to compare what happened to representative institutions elsewhere in Europe with what happened to them in England to see how important Henry's attitude was,—the more important since it marked a definite break from the parliamentary policy of his father and of Wolsey, his first great minister.

And as for the Protestant Reformation, we may be in doubts about its blessings but we can hardly question that Henry's break from Rome was the door through which the Protestant Reformation entered England. It might have come some other way under more favoring auspices, but come it did that way. And all things considered I suppose it came in England with less disturbance, less bloodshed and on the whole less damage to things of beauty and things of promise than anywhere else in the western world. Professor Chambers does not present many specific instances of Henry's destructive iconoclasm. He bewails the untimely execution of the earl of Surrey. I wonder if he remembers that the Howards, father and son, were the leaders of the reactionary party in England, and that the whole course of English history might have been changed if they had been in power when the old king died. Surrey might have survived to write a few more forgotten sonnets, but we should almost certainly have lost Cranmer's Prayer Book. Of the two, Surrey's sonnets could better be spared, though no doubt he was done to death. It is strange, by the way, that Professor Chambers, in enumerating the English literary productions between the age of More and the age of Shakespeare, omits any mention of the Book of Common Prayer, certainly one of the great ornaments not only of devotional literature but also of the English language. He goes on to enquire what would have become of the Elizabethan Golden Age if Elizabeth had beheaded Sidney, Raleigh and Bacon.

He might have enquired whether, without the break from Rome, there would have been any Sidney or Raleigh or Bacon to behead. Certainly there could not have been any *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

But it is futile to talk about what might have been. Professor Chambers makes much of his *non sequiturs*, yet the fact is that Elizabeth was the child of the break from Rome just as her half-sister Mary was the child of the period before the break. If Professor Chambers is seeking for a completely barren period in sixteenth-century English art and letters we commend him to the five years of Mary's reign.

Suppose Henry had never broken from Rome, suppose Elizabeth had never been born, suppose Mary Tudor had been succeeded by Mary Stuart,—what then? Do we still get the golden age of English literature? I doubt it. We need not assume that Henry foresaw all the things. No more did Elizabeth foresee them. The most that the Tudors did was to create a condition that made them possible.

Let us admit that Sir Thomas More, or if you like Saint Thomas More, was a great and a good man and that his death was immediately at any rate a great calamity (though in the long view it was indeed a perfect end to a nearly perfect life). Admit that Henry lacked almost all of More's great qualities. Yet Henry,—Bluff King Hal his people called him,—probably came nearer to the hopes and aspirations of the average Englishman than even More did. We must lament that it was so, but it is probably safe to say that Henry gave to his people what they wanted, more than they wanted intellectual freedom or freedom of conscience. Otherwise he could hardly have survived. For in the long run, with no bureaucracy, no police force, no standing army, his government had to rest upon general consent, or at least upon general acquiescence.

CONYERS READ

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*An Introduction to Middle High German, A Reader and Grammar.*

By ALFRED SENN. New York: Norton, 1937. Pp. 377. \$3.45.

Im Gegensatz zu Bachmanns wohlbekanntem Übungsbuch bietet uns hier der Verfasser im 1. Teil (S. 1-130) eine auf 15 Lehrstunden aufgebaute, englisch geschriebene mhd. Grammatik, die uns in mehr als einer Hinsicht etwas Neues bietet. Auf ein paar Strophen mhd. Textes folgt in englischer Sprache in der Länge von je 5-10 Seiten alle einschlägige Grammatik nebst Erklärungen und Übersetzung ins Englische. Im Vorwort verteidigt der Verfasser den ausschliesslichen Gebrauch des Englischen

mit der zweifachen Begründung, dem Schuler das Nachschlagen zweier Wörterbücher ersparen und irreführende semantische Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Mhd. und Nhd. vermeiden zu wollen. Besonders in letzterem Falle wird man dem Herausgeber dankbar beipflichten; denn jeder Lehrer des Mhd. muss mit Entsetzen wahrnehmen, wie sehr die äussere Ähnlichkeit zwischen Mhd. und Nhd. beim Übersetzen zum oberflächlichen "Faseln" führt. Trotzdem könnten gerade daran jene Unterrichtsanstalten Anstoss nehmen, —und ihre Anzahl ist im Osten nicht gering—die den Schuler schon von Anfang seines Deutschunterrichtes an daran zu gewöhnen trachten, nicht zu übersetzen, sondern im Deutschen zu fühlen, zu denken, zu leben. In den meisten Fällen wurden vorausgehend frühnhd. Stücke (Hans Sachs, Luther usw.) gelesen, weshalb dem Schüler ein Anmarschweg vom Nhd. ins sinn- und artverwandte Mhd. keine unüberwindliche Schwierigkeit bieten dürfte. Durch die Ausschaltung des Nhd. sah sich der Verfasser gezwungen, fast jedes 2. Wort seines mhd. Textes ins Englische zu übersetzen (z. B. *sich frowen*: with gen., to take pleasure in a thing, to enjoy; *ob*: conj., if; *vil*: much; *tiutsch*: German; etc.), ein Verfahren, das seinem Wesen nach den *bilingual texts* ziemlich nahe kommt, das es aber auch einem des Deutschen völlig Unkundigen möglich macht, die äusserst gewissenhaft übersetzten Wörter zu einem Satze zusammenzustellen. Es lässt sich nicht vermeiden, dass dabei manche mhd. vollblütige Ausdrücke und Idiome sich im Englischen etwas bleichsüchtig ausnehmen müssen, z. B. *bin ich dir unmære?*: do you not care for me at all?; *daz solt du vermeiden*: you must not do that, etc. Bietet die Übersetzung ins Englische für den Schüler durch die getreue Mitarbeit des Verfassers überhaupt kein Problem, so ist die Grammatik für den Anfänger um so schwieriger. Ausgehend von der geschichtlichen Grundlage kann es uns der Verfasser öfters nicht ersparen, vom Ahd., ja gelegentlich vom Urgerm. und Idg. her seine Regeln abzuleiten. Auch zu den Dialekten findet er begrüssenswerter Weise des öfteren seinen Weg, besonders zum Obd. Wenn die übrigen mhd. Dialekte dabei vernachlässigt werden, so hat das darin seinen Grund, dass die behandelten Texte eben nur obd., bzw. mfrk. sind.

Im 2. Teil (*Selected Readings*, S. 120-302) bietet der Verfasser Textproben aus dem NL und Gudrun, ausgewählte Gedichte von Dietmar, dem Kurenberger, Heinrich v. V., Reinmar d. A., Hartmann, Walther, Neidhart, dem Stricker und einigen weniger bekannten Sängern. Wer hätte es nicht gerne gesehen, ausser der Lyrik auch Kostproben aus Parzival, Tristan, dem Armen Heinrich usw. vorgesetzt zu bekommen? Bachmann geht hier viel weiter und bietet sogar mhd. Prosa. In den folgenden *Bibliographical Notes on MHG Authors* bespricht Senn in knapp zwei Seiten die oben genannten mhd. Dichter. Grossen Wert legt der Verfasser auf die Metrik, die unter *Versification*, *Rhyme combinations*,



*Rhythm, Metrical patterns* in Anbetracht ihrer allgemeinen Vernachlässigung eine dankenswerte Ausführung gefunden hat. Wer jedoch der Metrik weniger hold gesinnt ist, hätte sich an Stelle dieser acht Seiten vielleicht eher Literaturgeschichte, Dialektgeschichte oder Dialektgrammatik gewünscht. Am Schlusse des Buches finden wir noch ein für die wenigen Textproben sehr ausführliches und musterhaft angelegtes Wörterbuch mit Index (S. 317-378).

Wie bei einem so umfangreichen Werke nicht anders zu erwarten ist, kann man in einzelnen kleineren Punkten gelegentlich anderer Meinung sein. Zur Vereinheitlichung der Aussprache bringt der Verfasser in der Einleitung Vorschriften, die zwar ihren Zweck erfüllen, vom geschichtlichen Standpunkt aus jedoch von zweifelhaftem Werte sind. Wenn wir schon nicht mehr wissen, wie Goethe und Lessing und Luther sprachen, wie sollen wir den Wert der fast vor 800 Jahren verstummten mhd. Laute festlegen können, noch dazu in dem mit Recht viel umstrittenen sogenannten "klassischen Mhd.," das als solches nach den Ergebnissen der neuesten Forschung wahrscheinlich niemals existiert hat? So wird auch wohl der Unterschied zwischen dem geschwänzten *z* und einfachen *z* (S. 6) nur als modernes Hilfsmittel zu betrachten sein, denn ein Unterschied zwischen beiden hat in der mhd. Zeit nie bestanden, auch nicht zu Zeiten eines Konrad. Es ist zum mindesten zweifelhaft, ob (S. 6) *s* in den Verbindungen *sl*, *sm* etc. im Mhd. ein Zischlaut war. Dass die von Senn in der Einleitung angekündigte normalisierte Schreibung, mit der man bei einem Schultext für Anfänger gerne einverstanden ist, besonders bei der *c*-Schreibung nicht immer beobachtet wurde, muss als belangloses Übersehen ausgelegt werden.

Ausser diesen weniger bedeutenden Punkten, die zumeist einer persönlichen Betrachtungsweise entsprechen, macht das Buch einen äusserst soliden Eindruck. Es wird besonders für englisch sprechende Anfängerklassen vorzügliche Dienste leisten und kann nur bestens empfohlen werden.

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*Old Norse Poems: The Most Important Non-skaldic Verse Not Included in the Poetic Edda.* By LEE M. HOLLANDER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. 115.

Old Norse poetry consists of two rather markedly different types, skaldic and non-skaldic. The latter preserves the older tradition both in content and technique; it is popular rather than courtly; it is less ornate in meter as well as in other poetic embellishment; in large part because of this greater simplicity, its dramatic or

elegiac power is stronger. Yet in the days of Harold the Fair-haired, upper class taste definitely swung away from it to the more ornate poetry of the skalds. But love for the old was strong enough to keep a considerable amount of non-skaldic verse alive in oral tradition until it was gathered together in the *Elder Edda* (12th cent.) or elsewhere preserved.

The present unpretentious little volume is a collection and translation of all the more important non-skaldic verse not found in the *Edda*, and as such is complementary to Hollander's earlier translation of the *Edda*. It consists of sixteen poems loosely grouped according to subject matter as follows: (1) eight heroic lays ("Biarkamól," "Hervararkvitha," "The Lay of Hloth and Angantýr," etc.), (2) three contemporary poems of praise ("Hákonarmól" by Eyvind Skaldaspillir, etc.), (3) four "arch-heathen" poems ("Darratharlióth," which inspired Gray's *The Fatal Sisters*; "Buslubœn," a curse; "Tryggthamól," an oath of truce; and "Heithreksgátur," riddles), and (4) a didactic Christian poem "Sólarlióth."

As to the translation (apart from the matter of accuracy) there is bound to be difference of opinion. Hollander has chosen to give us a "true, rather than a smooth, rendering," i. e., he has adhered to the original *form* as closely as possible, retaining the alliterative meters, the kennings, the archaisms. With his theory of translation I am in entire accord, but I believe that he holds to it too rigidly—especially in the case of archaisms. The thing that he is after, "the feel of Old Germanic poetry," can be just as well achieved without his constant resort to obsolete or obsolescent words.

The volume is professedly designed not for the specialist in Old Norse but for the layman—more specially, for "those interested in Anglo-Saxon literature." Unfortunately both the layman and the student of "Anglo-Saxon" will be dissatisfied. The layman will be disappointed with the Introduction, for, though it is clearly intended as a layman's introduction, it is too limited in scope, and it is written in a style so awkward as to be almost unintelligible in one or two passages. Once he gets beyond the Introduction, however, he will find that the author treats him very decently. The introductory comments preceding each of the poems are informative and clear. Together with the notes, they enable him to understand the poems. He will be pleased to find explanations of terms like *kenning*, *high-seat*, and he will therefore wonder why there is no similar explanation of *litotes*, *veregild*, *Valholl*.

The student of Old English literature will consider the following as an overstatement: "Common to all this material, however, is its unliterary, that is, unbookish, character which is in marked contrast to virtually all of Anglo-Saxon epic literature. . . ." He will not like the terms "Anglo-Saxon" or "epic" as they are used here and elsewhere in the book. He will find that some of the

statements concerning the history or legends reflected in these poems and *Widsith* ought to be changed or modified in the light of relatively recent investigation (cf. the second paragraph of the introduction to "The Lay of Hloth and Angantýr" and Malone, "Widsith and the Hervararsaga," *PMLA* [1925], pp. 769 ff.).

But these faults are relatively minor. The author's main purpose—to make this body of poetry conveniently available to the reader who does not know O. N.—is fully achieved.

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*The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book.* By OLOF VON FEILITZEN. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1937. Pp. xxxii + 430. (Nomina Germanica, 3.)

The purpose of Dr. von Feilitzen in this dissertation has been "to record the names of all the persons mentioned in Domesday Book and the subsidiary surveys as holding land in the time of King Edward the Confessor . . . or earlier, and to contribute towards the elucidation of the etymological and phonological problems raised by those names." The result is a volume of value to the student of English culture, the historian of the language, and the onomatologist alike.

After an introduction, in which one finds wise comments on the various strands of eleventh-century English nomenclature, there is a section of nearly one hundred pages concerned with the phonology of the Domesday personal names. Here, the author distinguishes the two main factors at work in his material, the native sound-development and the Anglo-Norman influence, and he proceeds to give a careful survey, which "does not pretend to be exhaustive," of the sound-system of Domesday nomenclature. This may well be the most valuable part of the book. And yet the etymological survey, running to three hundred pages, is excellent. It goes beyond Ellis and Searle in the inclusion of hitherto unnoted names, and new etymologies are frequently advanced when older interpretations seem no longer tenable. The diligence and the learning of the author are constantly evident throughout this section.

An extensive bibliography that is divided into two parts, "sources" and "other works consulted," prefaces the book. In it are to be found not a few cases of unnecessary repetition, as the references to Sweet's *Oldest English Texts* on pp. xii, xxvi. Klaeber's *Beowulf*, also twice cited, pp. viii, xx, is apparently known only in the 1922 edition. The inclusion of such journals as *JEGPh* and *MLN* is to be expected, but the exclusion of *MP* and

*PMLA* is hardly justified. Henry of Huntingdon, furthermore, is not listed, although his three important contemporaries are included. The list of abbreviations, pp. xxix<sup>ff.</sup>, contains several cases of needless repetition, as *ERY* and *YE*; and an observation made on p. 13, n. 2, need hardly have been repeated on p. 26, n. 1. There are, finally, not a few errors that one does not find listed on p. 430; but all this—even the failure to note in the article on *Maccus* Klaeber's remarks in *ESL* LV (1921), 391-92, detracts but little from a study worth doing and well done.

HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF

Louisiana State University

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*The Development of Welsh Poetry.* By H. I. BELL. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936. Pp. xi + 192. \$2.50.

In 1925 Dr. Bell published a volume of translations from the Welsh to which he appended an essay on the development of Welsh poetry. It is this essay, rewritten and greatly expanded, which makes up the present study. The author modestly states that his work makes no pretensions to be a history of Welsh poetry; his aim has been "to sketch in broad outline, primarily for English readers and for those Welshmen (now alas! all too numerous) who have no effective knowledge of their native tongue, the general course of Welsh poetic development, to characterize in more detail the outstanding figures, and to attempt some aesthetic appreciation of this poetry as a whole." Despite the fact that this scheme did not call for either biographical or bibliographical details the book is more useful than any literary history that has yet appeared in either Welsh or English. Approaching the subject as he says, "from outside the circle of Welsh culture," Dr. Bell is able to give a fresh point of view and to appraise this poetry more justly than a native Welshman could.

The first chapter deals with the general characteristics of the poetry, in which the author finds a feeling for tradition and a continuity from the earliest times to the present.<sup>1</sup> The eight remaining chapters deal with the individual periods; the outstanding writers, and a number of lesser ones, are characterized and discussed, and brief selections from their work are given. Welsh poetry can be fairly well represented by short extracts because the poets tend to concentrate their attention upon individual couplets or stanzas and to neglect the larger aspects of the poem. Poems

<sup>1</sup> This section is an expansion of an address delivered at the Welsh Book Festival in Cardiff on February 24th, 1934, and later printed in the *Cardiff Welsh Bulletin* for December of that year.

are apt to be very uneven and a part may be better than the whole. Dr. Bell gives the original text, and translations which represent faithfully the thought of the author and give a good idea of the feeling. In the case of poems in the native metres it is impossible to reproduce the characteristic form, the *cynghanedd*; he does give a brief account of the system, so that those who wish to experiment may try to apply it to the Welsh texts. The book concludes with a brief bibliography of editions, critical works, and translations.

JOHN J. PARRY

*The University of Illinois*

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*America in English Fiction 1760:1800, The Influences of the American Revolution.* By ROBERT BECHTOLD HEILMAN. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press. 1937. Pp. x + 480. (Louisiana State University Studies, 33.)

*The Old World and the New, A Synopsis of Current European Views on American Civilization.* By WILLIAM T. SPOERRI. Zürich und Leipzig: Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten Max Nienhans Verlag. 1936? Pp. 236.

*Letters in Canada 1936.* Edited by A. S. P. WOODHOUSE. Reprinted from The University of Toronto Quarterly VI (April and July, 1937), 338-587.

For some time historians have been interested in literature for the promotion of English colonization, studying it for indications of the attitude toward America encouraged among the English people and for evidences of social and political philosophy implicit in it. By the end of the eighteenth century it is possible that more Englishmen derived their ideas of America from the circulating library than from promotion literature, and Professor Heilman has followed out the excellent notion of studying English novels from 1760 to 1800 for the purpose of discovering the representation of America in these obscure and almost forgotten documents. He has examined 438 of the 1834 novels known to have been published during those years and has found that 225 of them contain discussions of or references to that part of America which is now the United States. Approximately two-thirds of his book is devoted to a summary of the subject matter of these novels and one-third to an analysis of their contents from four significant points of view: America as a land of promise and as "the lesser evil," and the American character and American institutions as seen by the English novelists.

The chosen period, divided neatly by the American revolution, is a critical one, and Professor Heilman's findings are interesting: The novelists appear to have been altogether free to express their opinions, and, like later historical novelists, their sympathies were largely with the underdog. They almost always stressed the horrors rather than the glory of war, particularly of that which they designated "civil" war; they generously criticised the English government, especially during the war years; and they seemed most generally aroused by loss to English trade caused by the struggle with the colonies. After the revolution, the English writers grew more severely critical of America and became less willing to see the new country as a setting for Utopia than as a convenience for the unhappy and unsuccessful—an attitude regularly encouraged by the reviews. Washington and Franklin were generally admired, but no attempts were made to sketch American character as distinct from European. A few writers professed admiration for American institutions, but the majority were skeptical or derogatory in their opinions especially after these institutions had become formally established by an independent government. Except for the glorification of the underdog during the war, Professor Heilman sees throughout the period a steady growth of the "new realistic" attitude (James Russell Lowell had another name for it) which characterized English writers during the nineteenth century.

The book is note-bound in its method of presenting material, vitiated by the self-conscious erudition of the graduate school and the style of the Ph. D. thesis, and lacking in historical depth. Yet in spite of these defects, which make it difficult to read and fuzzy in retrospect, it is full of detailed information to which the student of English and American cultural relationships must turn. It contains bibliographies of novels dealing with the East and West Indies as well as the North American mainland and a number of statistical tables.

Dr. Spoerri attempts "to diagnose the various reactions . . . of some eminent European observers to the fierce impact of New-Worldliness" and comes to the personal conclusion "that America liveth not by bread alone." These observers are comparatively few in number, but his book may direct attention to several that deserve to be better known.

*Letters in Canada: 1936* is a continuation of the excellent bibliography and brief discussion of Canadian writings which was begun last year. It is useful to the student and valuable in stimulating a greater awareness of Canada's growing importance in the field of letters.

LEON HOWARD

*The Huntington Library*

*The Early Wordsworth.* By ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. Presidential Address. The English Association, 1936. Pp. 28. 1 sh.

This address is a brief description of unpublished manuscripts which are now in the Wordsworth Museum at Grasmere. They are of prime importance, for they throw new and important light on the development of the poet's genius, as they represent his own work from school days to well beyond his twentieth year. By all odds the most important of these manuscripts are the sheets which preserve several hundred lines of *The Vale of Esthwaite* (completed in 1787) and thus confirm the poet's statement that, while yet a schoolboy, he wrote a poem of many hundred lines running on his own adventures and the scenery of the country in which he was brought up. In these fragments Professor de Selincourt finds the originals of some of the early pieces, and shows that the poet dated them from their first forms in the long poem rather than from the later published text. Thus we must date several poems from one to five years later than the dates given by even the latest editors, to the certain confusion of those who have drawn a clear line of distinction between the earlier periods and that of Alfoxden and the *Lyrical Ballads*. When the fragments of this poem are published in full we shall know much how it was "dispersed" through his other writings, and so add to our knowledge of how the poet's first-hand experiences which are recorded in the school-boy poem passed into other forms. We have always known the history of the conclusion of the long poem which occupies the first place in the collected verse: a piece of fourteen lines with a long history as an independent poem and one equally long as a part of *The Prelude*. One fragment quoted by De Selincourt gives us the clue to that famous passage in the twelfth book of *The Prelude* which records the death of the poet's father and the associated feelings and circumstances. Both of these are what Wordsworth calls "spots of time,"—those outstanding first-hand impressions and experiences which persist in consciousness and become the foundations of the maturest imagination and poetry. A full presentation may demonstrate that in many instances the poet's deepest imaginings have their ultimate origins "in Nature and the language of the sense," and provide examples of how the Fancy in the "unripe time" of Youth "could feed at Nature's call Some pensive musings which might well beseem Maturer years." And further, we might find instances of imaginative language struck out in youth and remembered long years after, such as "The unimaginable touch of time" which appears as the concluding line of the great sonnet on Mutability. But the long poem is not wholly made up of material such as this, for there are passages of morbid melancholy, of Gothic horrors, and vapid, moralizing sentimentality: qualities which linger on like guests who have long over-stayed their time, in the early poems, some of which were published very late.

There are various other pieces some of which imitate the Latin and Greek classics, others are imitations of the ballads and of Spenser. Most of these are interesting trifles, but one is of great importance in view of the animated discussion about Wordsworth and Annette Vallon. It is an imitation of Horace's *Septimi Gades*, Odes, II, vi, dating from 1794, in which the poet invites his love to "Grasmere's quiet vale"; and that lady is not Annette Vallon but Mary Hutchinson. There is an early version of *Guilt and Sorrow*, 1793, containing unpublished stanzas, and also important revisions of *An Evening Walk*, 1794. One of the most surprising items is a long fragment of the second part of "The Three Graves." In 1809 Coleridge published the third and fourth parts of this poem in *The Friend*, with a prose summary of the first and second parts, but he never completed the poem. We now understand why this was so, for the manuscript proves that the second part was Wordsworth's and that the first probably was his also. This conclusion is fortified by Wordsworth's express statement that he gave the subject to Coleridge, as registered by Barron Field in the last note in the pamphlet.

When Professor de Selincourt is able to turn aside from his other important undertakings and can print and edit these manuscripts he will do a service almost as great as any of the many services done by him over a space of years,—contributions which have established him as the outstanding living scholar in this spacious field.

ARTHUR BEATTY

*The University of Wisconsin*

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*Three Rossettis. Unpublished Letters to and from Dante Gabriel, Christina, William.* Collected and Edited by JANET CAMP TROXELL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. xii + 216. \$3.50.

This is an *omnium gatherum* of important and unimportant materials put together in a loose series of chapters. No one would have complained if the letters had been printed by themselves, with the usual editorial annotation; for the real value of the book is in the details of the letters which illuminate the familiar biographical facts and occasionally add to the knowledge of those who know the biographies intimately. But Mrs. Troxell has made her collection more *readable* by developing the narrative links. These links are admirably done, though they vary in usefulness. In some instances they are helpful, as in the chapter on "Charles Augustus Howell and the Exhumation" (part of which was already printed in the *Colophon*) where she adds a short summary of the career of that amazing agent and intimate of Ruskin, Rossetti, Swinburne, and



others. But sometimes much of the running commentary, necessarily fragmentary, is in danger of misleading those who are not already familiar with the biographies, as in the chapter on William Bell Scott, which leaves a one-sided view of that peculiar figure—and comparatively little of which has to do with the Rossettis.

About two-thirds of the volume is devoted to Dante Gabriel, in eight chapters. These contain four letters of Ruskin, three of Holman Hunt, one each of Madox Brown, Meredith, Mrs. Gaskell, and ten others of lesser account, to Rossetti, besides two notes of Lizzie Rossetti to her husband; and also fifteen of Rossetti to Miss Losh, seven to Howell, ten to Watts-Dunton (most of them mere notes), and one each to a dozen various correspondents, besides twenty short letters to his mother, nearly all on trivial domestic matters. The most interesting, I think, are those to Miss Losh, not so much because of his financial relations with her, or even because they add something to our knowledge of the difficult period of Rossetti's life just before and after the publication of his *Poems* in 1870, as because they are written in a different key from most of the published letters and illustrate some of that charm and friendliness which his intimates felt so strongly and of which we of a later day have only second-hand reports.

Among the letters of Christina are a long one discussing details of her first book, a short one giving her first impression of *Atalanta*, and a note to Mrs. Julia Cameron referring to Gabriel's "poor short-lived Lizzie"; and in the chapter on William Michael a note from her showing their mother exercising "the monitory blue pencil" and beginning that long record of reticences which have been so troublesome to the biographers. William Michael's letters have survived in great numbers; Mrs. Troxell has one to Swinburne of special interest.

It goes without saying that the volume is well printed. There are several illustrations, including a drawing of Fanny Cornforth and one of Rossetti's wife; and there is a full index. There might well have been a formal list of the various letters, since they (as Mrs. Troxell implies in her Preface) are the justification of the book.

PAUL F. BAUM

Duke University

## BRIEF MENTION

*Medio Evo e Rinascimento.* By ITALO SICILIANO. Milano: Soc. Anon. Editrice Dante Alighieri, 1936 (Biblioteca della "Rassegna," No. XIX). Various recent authors with various pet theories, standards, or prejudices have so belabored the word Renaissance, so extended its scope backward into the Middle Ages, so Gallicized, or septentrionized, or even Christianized the phenomenon, that it runs some risk of losing not only its name but its local habitation. Professor Siciliano here makes a vigorous protest against these tendencies and refutes the theories of Neumann, Funck-Brentano, J. Boulenger, and others. He demolishes particularly the recent work of J. Nordström which would seem to be a compendium of the erroneous ideas that have circulated for several years in English, French, and German studies. He then passes in review various criteria which have been used too exclusively as definitions of the Renaissance (individualism, paganism, discovery of Man and Nature, immorality, etc.) and concludes that Burckhardt was nearer the truth, that the Renaissance as such had its beginning in Italy, with the appearance and predominance of the intellectual or classical faculties, the thirst for knowledge, the imperative need for criticism, synthesis, equilibrium and harmonious beauty; that the central problem of the Renaissance was neither philosophical nor religious, but aesthetic and cultural; that there still remains as an unexplained miracle the energy and vitality of all Renaissance forms of expression of life and of the spirit, and the steady and simultaneous appearance of so many exceptional personalities. The author makes continual contrasts and comparisons with the Middle Ages, of which the essential characteristics are gradually and sharply delineated. He fully realizes the dangers of so vast a synthesis in so compact a volume and manages to avoid them. The work is well documented, readable, spirited, and intelligent.

CHANDLER B. BEALL

*The University of Oregon*

*Italian Studies.* A Quarterly Review edited by W. L. BULLOCK, K. T. BUTLER, C. FOLIGNO, C. PELLIZZI, E. R. VINCENT. It is perhaps still timely to call attention to this new review of Italian Studies in England published at the University of Manchester under the general editorship of Prof. Walter Bullock, formerly of the University of Chicago. Resembling in some respects the American *Italica*, the numbers which have appeared to date (No.

1 of Vol. I was published in July, 1937) offer, in addition to various articles, studies and reviews, a much needed bibliography of Italian studies in England, thereby filling a lacuna long regretted by American scholars.

C. S. S.

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*A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier.* By THOMAS FRANKLIN CURRIER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. xviii + 694. \$8.00. Praise of bibliographers and concordance makers is impertinence, for theirs are lonely joys and they are well aware before they begin that rewards will mostly be self-conferred. Mr. Currier describes his task as "fascinating"; to try after that to add to his satisfaction would be presumptuous. All one can say is that this handsome volume is evidently a labor of love and, humanly speaking, no less evidently an exhaustive performance.

H. S.

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*The Formation and Use of Compound Epithets in English Poetry from 1579.* By BERNARD GROOM. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1937. Pp. 293-322. \$.85. (S. P. E. Tract, XLIX.) Because of its fresh, illuminating comments on the work of many English poets this essay deserved to win the prize of £50 offered by the S. P. E. It lists nine varieties of compound epithets, calls attention to the various purposes which such epithets serve, and to the perfunctory or the vital (and often highly characteristic) use of them by different writers.

B. D. H.

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*Hymns Attributed to John Dryden.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by GEORGE RAPALL NOYES and GEORGE REUBEN POTTER. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937. Pp. x + 222. \$2.50; paper, \$2.00. The present volume seeks to refute the theory that Dryden was the translator of some or all of the 112 anonymous hymns in the 1706 edition of *The Primer, or, Office of the B. Virgin Mary*, a Catholic book of devotions for laymen. This theory, originated by Shipley in 1883, has been widely accepted by students and editors of Dryden, but it has never been studied objectively and thoroughly before. Professors Noyes and Potter subject the evidence to a searching analysis, and prove (conclusively, in the opinion of the present reviewer), first, that the arguments advanced by previous scholars in support of Dryden's authorship are either unconvincing or fallacious, and second, that

the diction and style of the hymns preclude the possibility that Dryden can have written them.

An accurate reprint of the hymns is included, and supplies a long-felt need, for *The Primer* of 1706 is a rare and generally inaccessible book.

University of Delaware

CYRUS L. DAY

*Richardson's "Familiar Letters" and the Domestic Conduct Books; Richardson's "Aesop."* By KATHERINE HORNBEAK. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1938. Pp. 50. (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XIX, No. 2.) Richardson's *Familiar Letters* has heretofore been studied, if at all, only with reference to its anticipations of the themes of the novels, and to its background in the tradition of epistolary manuals. Miss Hornbeak has already given us the best study of the latter subject in her *Complete Letter-Writer in English* (Smith College Studies, xv, Nos. 3-4). She now shows, with admirable documentation and analysis, that the content of the book is to be understood in terms of the domestic conduct manuals which had long been familiar to middle-class readers, and makes clear its historical importance in the transition from the literature of edification, the accepted pabulum of the middle class, to more secular and belletristic works. Thus she offers confirmation of the general account of this process given by Schöffler and Schücking. The *Collection of Moral and Instructive Sentiments* (1755) is briefly considered from the same point of view, as a reversion to straight didacticism even after Richardson's full discovery of his own literary power. Miss Hornbeak also rescues from almost total neglect the *Aesop* which Richardson edited for John Osborn, and points out the peculiarities of style and thought which appear in his revision of L'Estrange's version of the fables. It is to be hoped that another monograph on the relation of the *Familiar Letters* to the manuals written especially for apprentices and tradesmen will round out this series of valuable studies.

ALAN D. MC KILLOP

The Rice Institute

*Herman Melville, eine Stilistische Untersuchung.* By WALTER WEBER. Pp. xviii + 242. Basel: Philographischer Verlag, 1937. Prefacing his inaugural dissertation with the statement that Melville is "well-nigh unknown among us" (i.e., in Switzerland), Dr. Weber presents a technical analysis of his style. His procedure, though precise and formal, is not pedantic, and it serves to clarify Melville's relations with German romanticism, his affinities

with Rabelais, the Elizabethan dramatists, Sterne, and Carlyle, and his essential originality. In the section on 'Rhythm,' the interesting suggestion is made that *Moby Dick* was first conceived as a poetic drama, and retains in parts the iambic rhythms of this first form.

MORRIS W. CROLL

Princeton University

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*The Swan of Lichfield, Being a Selection from the Correspondence of Anna Seward.* Edited by HESKETH PEARSON. New York: Oxford U. Press, 1937. Pp. 316. \$3.50. Like Horace Walpole, Anna Seward kept copies of her letters, or at least of those parts of them that might be significant for future publication (pp. 222-223). These letters breathe the charm of eighteenth century rural elegance, and recall to our mind an age that could watch the French Revolution at close range and yet retain its own stately serenity. Mr. Pearson's volume, however, for all its charm, has little scholarly value: it is a mere selection from the already published letters, introduced with a sketchy biography, accompanied with very occasional footnotes that leave much unexplained, and followed by a scanty bibliography and by an index limited to personal names. One wonders, moreover, that the readers of the Oxford University Press permitted such mis-prints an "niceh onour" (p. 164) and "deva," the Latin name of the River Dee (p. 174).

JOHN W. DRAPER

West Virginia University

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*The Poetry of the "Gentleman's Magazine": a Study in Eighteenth Century Literary Taste.* By CALVIN DANIEL YOST, JR. Philadelphia: 1936. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. Pp. 147. Mr. Yost's analysis of the poetry in *The Gentleman's Magazine* covers the years 1731-1780. He divides the 5,243 poems into types, and bases his findings on the number of poems which follow each type. His conclusions are that there was a "surprising unanimity of taste"; that "the tendency was to follow set patterns"; and that, although romantic trends are present, "the age was primarily and completely neo-classical and that it remained so almost without change up to 1780." The chief value of this study lies in substantiation of the work of other scholars.

Conclusions based on what Mr. Yost calls "quantitative" figures are liable to the objection that the *number* of poems in any type does not show the emphasis placed on that type inasmuch as the space devoted to it is not indicated. If, for instance, a poem in blank verse fills a whole page, while four epigrams take up only

eight lines, the epigram cannot be said to be four times as popular as blank verse. Mr. Yost, at the beginning of his study, says: "To obtain an accurate report and estimate of all the poetry of the eighteenth century would be an impossible and probably undesirable achievement." Until, however, we have an accurate report (by title, first line, and author) of the appearances of individual poems in periodicals and miscellanies, exact bibliographies of eighteenth-century poets are impossible.

CLAUDE E. JONES

*University of California at Los Angeles*

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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LENGUAGES (*MLN.*, LIII, 20-21). Mme G. Frank (Bryn Mawr) et Mlle R. Burkart (Istanbul) objectent à ma note 2 de la p. 21 que ce sont pourtant les indigènes (les Orientaux) qui doivent avoir vendu dans l'église leurs "palies, teiles, siries . . . espices." *Lenguages* seraient donc bien les Européens de Jérusalem, mais le *car* ("explication philologique du mot *Latine* par l'auteur," Burkart) se rapporte au mot *Latme*: l'église est appelée ainsi par les 'hommes de la terre' *parce que* les différents groupes nationaux chrétiens y trouvent leur centre religieux. Il du v. 210 se rapporte d'après Mme Frank à *li home de la terre*: les indigènes y viennent (précisément parce qu'ils sont sûrs d'y trouver les chrétiens) vendre leur marchandise. L'auteur a donc su qu'il y avait un marché—nous dirions un bazar—oriental près de (ou dans?) l'église chrétienne. Une réplique du geste du Christ chassant les marchands du temple peut être vue dans le v. 213, mais il peut aussi indiquer tout simplement, à ce temps où la cause des croisés était devenue aléatoire, que Dieu 'fera justice' des païens qui s'étalent si près de son sanctuaire. J'ajoute que le *car* supposé par mes deux critiques serait alors ce *car* ne se rapportant pas à des faits énoncés antérieurement, mais à l'attitude du sujet parlant: '[je dis 'Latine'] *car* . . . , cf. le v. 96 de la Passion: [j'énumère, se dit le poète, ceux qui sont allés à l'Enfer avant le rachat des hommes par le Sauveur] *gar anc no fo nul om carnals / en el infern non fos anaz*, cf. E. Richter, *Arch. rom.* xvi, 197 et Spitzer, *Ztschr. f. frz. Spr.* LVIII, 443. Un exemple moderne: (Colette, *La Vagabonde* p. 253): "Combien de temps va durer cet état d'amointrissement! *Car* je me sens diminuée, affaiblie, comme saignée" ([je dis 'amointrissement'] *car* . . . ).

LEO SPITZER

GLOSARIOS LATINO-ESPAÑOLES (*MLN.*, LIII, 145). Au proverbe *de cel sepe facit femjna cepe* M. J. E. Gillet ajoute le proverbe espagnol qui corrobore mon explication de *cepe* = 'oignon': *tomar el cielo por cebolla* et à *catulus alatitor nunquam bonus venator* le proverbe *gato maullado nunca buen cazador* (Oudin): ceci me suggère l'idée que *alatitor* pourrai être tout simplement une faute pour \**glatitor*, de *glattire*, qui se dit en latin du geignement ou glapisement des jeunes de chien et qui pourrai avoir été employé pour d'autres animaux (le chat) dans le latin d'Espagne où le verbe a survécu dans un sens assez particulier (*latir* 'battre, dit d cœur').

LEO SPITZER

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A PROPOS D'UN ARTICLE DE M. H. MEIER. Dans la revue *Romanisch Forschungen*, que le nouveau directeur M. Schalk a réorganisée avec succès M. Harri Meier publie (LI, 125-186) un article magistral "Personer handlung und Geschehen in Cervantes' *Gitanilla*." Il découvre dans cette nouvelle un principe cervantin, poursuivi avec conséquence, d'ordonner les membres de la phrase S (sujet) et P (prédicat) dans l'ordre soit PS soit SP, selon le critérium du "devenir" ou de l'"action personnelle" (= "l'activité des personnages"). Par exemple dans *Salíó la tal Precios la más única bailadora . . .* l'ordre PS (qu'on est convenu d'appeler "ir version" avec les grammairiens français) n'est nullement "affectif" et "archaïque," comme le veulent nos grammaires historiques courantes; mais indique que l'auteur voit en premier lieu la suite des événements pour ainsi dire se superposant aux personnages, alors que, avec SP: *y a en pie como estaban, el mancebo les dijo . . .* le jeune homme Andrés fait voir sa volonté, son activité (dans le cas particulier, sa volonté de prétendre à la main de la bohémienne). M. Meier, dont j'apprécie hautement la terdence à ramener les résultats de la linguistique moderne à la philosophie idéaliste et romantique de l'Allemagne des XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles, rattache sa façon de voir à une distinction de Schiller opposant la personne agissant avec liberté, à l'état ("Zustand") dépendant du temps et se déroulant comme une suite ("der Zustand . . . muss erfolgen") et fait voir que le principe grammatical en question reflète la "Weltanschauung," au sens littéral: la conception du monde épique du romancier Cervantès, qui fait surgir l'activité des personnages du flot du devenir et l'y replonge, sans par exemple opposer exclusivement des activités humaines, comme Lesage (*Elle s'est avisée de faire venir un médecin. Il arrive; elle le consulte; il ordonne un remède . . .*), ou une personne à un on, comme Maupassant ("Il avait connu des jours meilleurs . . . il mendiait . . . il ne savait rien faire . . . Dans les villages, on ne lui donnait guère; on le connaissait trop . . ."). La liberté relative de l'espagnol (*vienen ellos—ellos vienen—vienen*) vis-à-vis de la limitation du français (*trois chevaliers viennent—viennent trois chevaliers—il vient trois chevaliers*, ces deux derniers tout assez moins usuels) et de l'allemand (*es kommen drei Reiter—drei Reiter*

*kommen*) est dûment mise en relief (l'anglais, avec *says the king—the king says*, presque aussi libre que l'espagnol, n'est pas mentionné).

M. Meier oppose ses vues à la conception du prétendu "réalisme" des *Novelas ejemplares* (réalisme soit de la description du milieu ou de la psychologie cervantine) que chérissait la critique espagnole d'antan, ainsi qu'aux écoles plus modernes qui, d'après lui, séparent, dans une antithèse, la forme du contenu, soit en séparant les idées de la forme (A. Castro), soit en séparant la forme stylistique du contenu (Hatzfeld) : il faudrait d'après l'auteur un *Ineinander*, un *junctum* où l'analyse des problèmes du contenu serait rapprochée ou mise en contact avec ("herangeführt an") l'expression stylistique et où les détails de style seraient intégrés dans la considération de la totalité de l'œuvre d'art.

Cet *Ineinander*—qui me rappelle cet autre *Ineinander*, cette synthèse de la considération historique et statique des faits de langage, que demande, après d'autres savants, M. v. Wartburg, et qui doit toujours se faire après qu'un ordre d'idées nouveau a été préconisé avec l'unilatéralité nécessaire aux débuts—, cette synthèse est en effet un desideratum des plus importants. Mais qu'il me soit permis, puisque la tête de turc de M. Hatzfeld n'est visée ici que par la nécessité, courante dans la science allemande du jour, de ne pas nommer le nom des émigrés, à moins de les couvrir d'épithètes dénigrantes—qu'il me soit permis de dire que c'est précisément ce que l'analyse stylistique telle que Hatzfeld, U. Leo et moi-même la pratiquent, a voulu faire *depuis toujours*. Si un "stylisticien" isole d'une façon provisoire un fait de langue dans une œuvre d'art, il ne le fait que pour des besoins d'exposition, devant le lecteur, pour le replonger ensuite dans l'œuvre totale. Qui dit analyse, dit isolement (artificiel et provisoire) d'éléments qu'on veut considérer séparément, sous le microscope. C'est ce que doit faire aussi M. Meier qui dans les trois chapitres centraux de son ouvrage isole le problème linguistique de l'ordre des membres S et P dans les phrases de la nouvelle de Cervantès, et dans les chapitres I et V formant le cadre ("Poetische Realität"—"Die epische Perspektive bei Cerv.") place et replace ce détail—car c'en est un, et je suppose qu'il y en a d'autres, linguistiques et non linguistiques, dans une *novela ejemplar*—dans le tout de l'œuvre. C'est ce que j'ai dû faire aussi dans mon article publié en 1931 (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*) "Das Gefüge einer cervantineschen Novelle," où je montrais l'architecture, structure ou texture du *Celoso extremeño* et où j'isolais tour à tour, en général dans les notes au bas de la page, donc d'une façon subordonnée, les détails de style, de "construction" dans lesquels se manifeste et se reflète le plan, l'"architecture" du tout. Chose curieuse, M. Meier, qui, bibliomane s'il en fut, par exception ne cite pas mon travail, fait exactement ce que je fis : il *re-raconte* une nouvelle cervantine entière, en la commentant à la fois du point de vue du contenu et de la forme et en explicitant par des termes scientifiques ce qui était "involué" ou latent dans la narration, la philologie devenant une sorte de langue scientifique dont les termes traduisent l'œuvre de l'artiste. Il est également faux de dire que le *es* "grammatical" dans l'all. *es regnet Steine* n'a "à peine" été traité :



l'article de Brugmann et un mien travail (qui de nouveau a chastement été noyé dans la citation d'un traité d'Amado Alonso s' appuyant sur moi) en parle amplement; de-même le passage (p. 161) sur les chansons intercalées dans les nouvelles cervantines se ressent d'un passage analogue de mon article sur le *Celoso*.

Si je relève ces minuties, je n'obéis pas à un mesquin désir de reprendre "mon bien," mais au sentiment légitime de révolte contre des procédés antiscientifiques qui se développent à l'abri d'une situation politique favorisant toutes les formes de la piraterie littéraire: le geste brutal et lâche de faire table rase de ce qui a été fait par la génération précédente, est peut-être indiqué dans le système de certains régimes politiques qui veulent produire devant des inavertis l'impression de faire de l'imprévu, de l'inouï—il ne peut être que légal à la science, qui *ne doit pas vouloir produire* des impressions fausses et qui ne vit qu'en elle-même, sans appui de forces extra-scientifiques. Que M. Meier ne me réplique pas que ma génération a aussi connu le problème des pères et des fils et a dû aussi secouer le joug de la génération précédente: la différence entre notre lutte contre la génération de Meyer-Lübke et celle de Harri Meier contre la mienne est qu'un Meyer-Lübke ne faisait pas, et ne voulait pas qu'on fît, ce que faisaient et voulaient faire les jeunes—alors que ces jeunes d'aujourd'hui font exactement ce que nous faisions en se posant, avec une faconde creuse de faux idéologisme, comme des novateurs introduisant un *new deal* ou, aussi, incidemment, comme des restaurateurs de la "bonne vieille science," soi-disant altérée par "14 ans d'ignominie." Je me rends bien compte que l'opposition des jeunes aux vieux est légitime—*d'abord* le progrès scientifique, *amicus Plato* . . . !—mais ces jeunes ne devraient-ils pas user au moment où les vieux sont dans l'impossibilité de répondre *là-même* où ils ont été attaqués et où des facteurs politiques exploitent cette opposition pour salir leur mémoire,—d'une probité scientifique, d'un sentiment de justice chevaleresque, d'une politesse du cœur redoublés?

J'ai tenu à parler à cœur ouvert à M. Meier—l'excellence de son travail, de sa méthode et de ses résultats n'est pas le moins du monde en question.

LEO SPITZER

SHAKESPEARE AND MILTON. The similarity between the Stanley epitaph and Milton's lines on Shakespeare, to which Professor Theodore Spencer called attention in the May issue of *Modern Language Notes*, was pointed out in Todd's edition of Milton (1801, vi. 84-5).

W. P. PARKER

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# Modern Language Notes

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## THE PARADOX OF THE FALL IN *PARADISE LOST*

In a recent article Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy<sup>1</sup> notes a number of writers earlier than Milton who expressed the idea that the Fall of Adam and Eve was not an evil but a good, a paradoxically "Fortunate Fall." The form that the paradox takes in *Paradise Lost* is of particular interest, for it reveals how complex were the traditional and philosophical influences that went into the shaping of Milton's mind. The present article analyzes the effect that some of these influences had on Milton's presentation of the Fall.

Every reader of *Paradise Lost* will have noticed that there is a significant difference between the Fall of Eve and the Fall of Adam. Eve falls because she is deceived by the reasoning of the Serpent, so that at the moment of her transgression she thinks that she is pursuing the good. When Satan ended his temptation speech,

in her ears the sound  
Yet rung of his perswasive words, impregn'd  
With Reason, to her seeming, and with Truth. (ix, 736-8)

Adam, on the contrary, had no such excuse:

He scrupl'd not to eat  
Against his better knowledge, not deceav'd,  
But fondly overcome with Femal charm. (ix, 997-9)

If for no other reason, Milton as Puritan was bound by the Bible and by tradition to present the Fall in this way. There can be no doubt that he had in mind *The First Epistle to Timothy* 2, 14: "And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." It is also possible that he was thinking of St. Augustine's words that quote this remark of St. Paul:

<sup>1</sup> "Milton and the Paradox of the Fortunate Fall," *MLN*, iv (1937), 161-79.



We cannot believe that Adam was deceived, and supposed the devil's word to be truth, and therefore transgressed God's law, but that he by the drawings of kindred yielded to the woman, the husband to the wife, the one human being to the only other human being. For not without significance did the apostle say, "And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression."<sup>2</sup>

More than Biblical tradition, however, is behind Milton's account "of Mans First Disobedience," for besides being a Puritan and a profound student of the Bible, Milton, it is now needless to insist, was a Humanist. And so, theoretically, is Adam, as becomes clear from a study of the following lecture in psychology and ethics that Adam addresses to Eve:

O Woman, best are all things as the will  
Of God ordain'd them, his creating hand  
Nothing imperfet or deficient left  
Of all that he Created, much less Man,  
Or aught that might his happie State secure,  
Secure from outward force; within himself  
The danger lies, yet lies within his power:  
Against his will he can receive no harme.  
But God left free the Will, for what obeyes  
Reason, is free, and Reason he made right,  
But bid her well beware, and still erect,  
Least by some faire appeering good surpris'd  
She dictate false, and misinforme the Will  
To do what God expressly hath forbid. (ix, 343-56)

Here is a peculiarly Miltonic blend of Christianity and Platonism, with sharp emphasis on the primacy of reason. It is therefore tragically ironic that when Eve falls she does so, one may say, because she has been an attentive listener to Adam's Platonistic instruction; for her will obeys her reason, which has unfortunately been deceived, "surpris'd" by a "faire appeering good." Dr. Herbert Agar has made this point admirably clear:

When Satan tempts Eve, he does not pretend that God wishes her to eat the fruit, but merely that her own happiness will best be secured by disregarding God's command, since his word is not the law of the universe. He tricks her, in other words, by confusing the issue. If Eve had *known* that God's will and the moral law were one and the same, and that a transgression of this law would bring disaster upon her, Eve would not have sinned. But she did not *know* this—although she had been told it—since

<sup>2</sup> *The City of God*, tr. Marcus Dods, Edinburgh, 1913, xiv, xi.

Satan made her believe that she could profit by disobeying God. She falls; being, as Milton says, "much deceiv'd."<sup>3</sup>

Eve pursues evil, but not what she "thinks to be evil."<sup>4</sup> Her error is intellectual, not moral. According to the system of psychology outlined by Adam and according to one meaning of "free will" in the poem, Eve's reason once deceived, her will cannot act otherwise than it does, and is therefore blameless; for it could not *antecedently choose* to have its director, reason, deceived.

In his own Fall, Adam, the theoretical Platonist, goes against his own teaching and acts contrary to the law of the universe, in spite of the fact that he is "not deceav'd"—not deceived, we must believe Milton to mean, as to what that law is. Dr. Agar, having satisfactorily explained Eve's behavior in terms of Platonism, attempts to explain Adam's in the same way.

Adam learns of what has happened [to Eve]; and in the passage which follows, Milton appears to contravene the whole Platonic doctrine of virtue and knowledge. For Adam understands that Eve's act is one which will involve her ruin, and that if he joins her in sin he too will suffer a like penalty. Nevertheless, he sins. . . . In other words, Adam does what, according to the strict Platonic theory, no one would do. The contradiction, however, is only on the surface. . . . Milton conceived of the Fall as the subjugation of reason by passion, and if Adam's reason had been "overcome with Femal charm" when he sinned, that is merely another way of saying that he too had been deceived. He did not *know* the consequences of his act at the time he performed it. This knowledge may have been at the back of his mind, but he had temporarily forgotten it. He was deceived by passion into thinking it was worth his while to sin, just as Eve had been deceived by the subtlety of the serpent. (P. 8)

Is it not unlikely, however, that at so crucial a point Milton wrote the reverse of what he meant? It seems certain that if Milton had meant to say that Adam was deceived he would have said so—especially if Milton was attempting to apply consistently the Platonism that Dr. Agar thinks he was. But since Milton really says that Adam is not deceived, the difference between the two trans-

<sup>3</sup> *Milton and Plato*, Princeton, 1928, pp. 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the *Protagoras*, in *The Dialogues of Plato*, tr. B. Jowett, 3rd ed., London, 1931, I, 183. See also Milton, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, in *Works* (Columbia University ed.), III, ii, 464: "it is the constant opinion of *Plato* in *Protagoras* and other of his dialogues agreeing with that proverbiall sentence among the *Greeks*, that no man is wicked willingly; which also the *Peripateticks* doe rather distinguish then deny."

gressions needs an explanation consistent with the unmistakable difference in the phrasing.

Before going on to what I believe is a consistent explanation, in fairness to Dr. Agar I should like to say a word about the lines that almost immediately precede Adam's Fall.<sup>5</sup> After having lamented Eve's rash act, Adam, trying to find some comfort even in the face of imminent calamity, says:

But past who can recall, or don undoe?  
Not God Omnipotent, nor Fate, yet so  
Perhaps thou shalt not Die, perhaps the Fact  
Is not so hainous now, foretasted Fruit,  
Profan'd first by the Serpent, by him first  
Made common and unhallowd ere our taste;  
Nor yet on him found deadly, he yet lives,  
Lives, as thou saidst, and gaines to live as Man  
Higher degree of Life, inducement strong  
To us, as likely tasting to attaine  
Proportional ascent, which cannot be  
But to be Gods, or Angels Demi-gods. (ix, 926-37)

Obviously he is doing his best to convince himself, as Eve was earlier convinced, that the Serpent spoke the truth and that the eating of the "defended Fruit" will lead to a "higher degree of Life." But there is great force in the repetition of "perhaps" in line 928; so that despite the fact that the mere *possibility* of the earlier lines becomes a weak *probability* in line 935, Adam leaves the impression that he cannot bring his mind to believe what his tongue utters. He goes on to argue (lines 938-951), nevertheless, that it seems unthinkable that the "Creator wise" would destroy "his prime Creatures," and so give "the Adversary" a chance to gloat over the fickleness of God. But at the end of his argument he reveals how little it has appealed to the saner side of his mind. Whatever force there may be in these arguments, he says to Eve—and he implies that there is very little—I am resolved to die with you, for I should lose myself if I lost you.

However I with thee have fixt my Lot,  
Certain to undergoe like doom, if Death  
Consort with thee, Death is to mee as Life;  
So forcible within my heart I feel

---

<sup>5</sup> The necessity of taking these lines into consideration Professor Lovejoy has pointed out to me.

The Bond of Nature draw me to my owne,  
 My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;  
 Our State cannot be severd, we are one,  
 One Flesh; to loose thee were to loose my self. (ix, 952-9)

These are not the words of a Sophist bent upon making "the worse appear the better reason," but are among the noblest in a noble poem. It cannot be thought, then, that Adam is here deceived. He attempts to "rationalize" what he knows he is going to do, but he recognizes his rationalization for what it is, and at last honestly and nobly rejects it.

When, therefore, Milton says that Eve is "much deceav'd" but Adam "not deceav'd," one must believe him, and try to understand why, apart from Biblical tradition, the two transgressions are thus differently presented. The difference, I suggest, is in large part due to Milton's peculiar use of the word *reason* in at least two separate senses, senses that have distinctly different philosophical implications. It is probable that Milton himself was not always conscious of the distinction in sense. Nevertheless, in *Paradise Lost* "reason" is at once the rational faculty, whose function, Milton generally but not always implies, is to direct the activity of the will; and it is also, to borrow Dr. Agar's phrase, "the moral law of the universe"—that which is "right," the Platonic Idea. Adam's lecture to Eve in Book Five describes some of the functions of reason in the first sense:

But know that in the Soule  
 Are many lesser Faculties that serve  
 Reason as chief; among these Fancies next  
 Her office holds; of all external things,  
 Which the five watchful Senses represent,  
 She forms Imaginations, Aerie shapes,  
 Which Reason joyning or disjoyning, frames  
 All what we affirm or what deny, and call  
 Our knowledge or opinion. (v, 100-8)

The chief function of the rational faculty is to direct the activity of the lesser faculty the will, as God makes clear in his explanation to his Son of his purpose in creating both man and the angels free. Obedience, he says, must be free, not constrained.

What pleasure I from such obedience paid,  
 When Will and Reason (Reason also is choice)

Useless and vain, of freedom both despoild,  
 Made passive both, had servd necessitie,  
 Not mee. (III, 107-11) \*

In Adam's lecture to Eve (IX, 343-356), quoted above, "reason" is used with a high degree of ambiguity, both senses seeming to be imbedded in it. If in the phrase "Reason he made right" no emphasis is placed on "made"—and the natural rhythm of the line indicates that none should be placed there—the second meaning of *reason* emerges; for if the rational faculty were always "right," it would be impossible for reason ever to "misinform the Will." On the other hand, if "made" is emphasized, the meaning of the phrase is that in the beginning the rational faculty was perfect but at the same time capable of becoming imperfect. In any case, however, there is a standard of rationality suggested: it may be called the Platonic Idea or "the moral law of the universe." According to this interpretation of the phrase, any given rational faculty is merely a particular "instance" of rationality, and like all such instances capable only of "participating" to a *greater* or *less* degree in the "universal"—though Milton's language indicates that originally the participation amounted to absolute identity. In a later passage of great importance the two senses are again present. Michael says to Adam fallen:

Since thy original lapse, true Libertie  
 Is lost, which alwayes with right Reason dwells  
 Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being:  
 Reason in man obscur'd, or not obeyd,  
 Immediately inordinate desires  
 And upstart Passions catch the Government  
 From Reason, and to servitude reduce  
 Man till then free. Therefore since hee permits  
 Within himself unworthie Powers to reign  
 Over free Reason, God in Judgement just  
 Subjects him from without to violent Lords;  
 Who oft as undeservedly enthrall  
 His outward freedom. (XII, 83-95)

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\* For Milton's prose statement of the argument in this place attributed to God see *De Doctrina Christiana*, Bk. I, chaps. iii-iv. Compare *Areopagitica*, IV, 319: "many there be that complain of divin Providence for suffering *Adam* to transgresse, foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had bin else a meer artificiall *Adam*, such an *Adam* as he is in the motions."

Of particular significance in these lines is the admission that the will is free *not* to obey reason: "Reason in man obscur'd, or not obeyd." The "reason" of this line is the rational faculty, which bears the same relation to the "free Reason" of line 92 as any imperfectly participating instance of rationality bears to a perfectly participating instance. The "right Reason" of line 84, on the other hand, is the "moral law of the universe"; that is to say, it is the standard of rationality in which "free Reason" participates to the extent of identity.

To understand Milton and his treatment of Adam and Eve, however, it is essential that one not only be aware of his double use of the word *reason* but also know what he considered to be the relationship between reason (in both senses) and will. Milton's mind was the product of conflicting traditions, among them the medieval traditions of "intellectualism" and "voluntarism," which were fused in his mind not only with Platonism proper but also with Renaissance Platonism and in particular with the Platonism of Spenser.<sup>7</sup> In the *Defensio Secunda* Milton tells us that even before his father sent him up to Cambridge, he had "gotten no slight taste of the sweetness of philosophy," a taste that he never lost. As a student in the "Free Schole of Poules" he had doubtless been introduced to the works of the Church Fathers, which he continued to study in his maturity, though at times his attitude toward them was extremely hostile.<sup>8</sup> As a Humanist believer in the value of knowledge and the efficacy of reason, nevertheless, he must have felt a kinship with patristic intellectualism; and as a believer in the freedom of the will he must have felt at least an equal kinship with patristic voluntarism.

In Milton's account of the Fall intellectualism and voluntarism meet. Eve transgresses because her deceived mind misinforms her will, the subservient faculty. The account of her Fall is therefore intellectualistic: her *reason* is primary. Adam, however, trans-

<sup>7</sup> For Spenser's influence see Edwin Greenlaw, "A Better Teacher Than Aquinas," *SP*, xiv (1917), 196-217; and "Spenser's Influence on *Paradise Lost*," *SP*, xvii (1920), 320-59.

<sup>8</sup> See A. F. Leach, "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1908; J. P. Pritchard, "The Fathers of the Church in the Works of John Milton," *Classical Journal*, xxxiii (1937), 79-87; K. E. Hartwell, *Lactantius and Milton*, Cambridge, Mass., 1929; Denis Saurat, *Milton, Man and Thinker*, New York, 1925, pp. 264-9.

gresses "against his better knowledge, not deceav'd." The account of his Fall is voluntaristic: his *will* is primary.<sup>9</sup> Milton, one may say, was a voluntarist with a strong desire to be an intellectualist; or, better perhaps, an intellectualist with a strong conviction that the will is frequently irrational. He wished to believe that a reason

<sup>9</sup> It seems to me quixotic to attempt to find specific sources for Milton's ideas in the maze of medieval doctrine. In the first place, Milton, as his controversial pamphlets and *De Doc. Chr.* reveal, frequently searched the writings of his predecessors for statements that supported views that he himself had arrived at independently. And in the second place, when it came to finding support for a belief in the primacy of either reason or will, he could have found support, or what could easily have been interpreted as support, in dozens of earlier writers. In Boethius (*The Consolation of Philosophy*, tr. "I. T." and H. F. Stewart, London, 1918, p. 371), for example, he could have found support for his intellectualism; for when Boethius asks Philosophy whether men have "any free-will," she replies: "We have . . . for there can be no reasonable nature, unless it be endued with free-will. For that which naturally hath the use of reason hath also judgment by which it can discern of everything by itself, wherefore of itself it distinguisheth betwixt those things which are to be avoided, and those which are to be desired. Now every one seeketh for that which he thinketh is to be desired, and escheweth that which in his judgment is to be avoided. Wherefore, they which have reason in themselves have freedom to will and nill." Also in St. Thomas Aquinas, who, to be sure, according to Professor Etienne Gilson (*The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy*, London, 1936, p. 313), always sought "the point of equilibrium between opposed tendencies," and endeavored "to allot, both to understanding and to will, the place their nature assigns them in the production of the free act," Milton could have found the following pronouncement in seemingly unequivocal support of the primacy of reason: "The root of liberty is the will as the subject thereof; but it is the reason as its cause. For the will can tend freely towards various objects, precisely because the reason can have various perceptions of good. Hence philosophers define the free-will as being *a free judgment arising from reason*, implying that reason is the root of liberty." (*Summa Theologica*, tr. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 2nd ed., London, 1927, Ia-IIae, 17, 1 ad 2). On the other hand, if Milton read Duns Scotus as carelessly as Professor C. R. S. Harris (*Duns Scotus*, Oxford, 1927, II, 287-8 and notes) seems to have proved that some modern historians of philosophy have read the Subtle Doctor, he could have found equally unequivocal support for his voluntarism in such a statement as the following: "Dices, ista indeterminatio est ex parte intellectus sic representantis ipsum objectum voluntati, ut fore vel non fore. Contra; intellectus non potest determinare voluntatem indifferenter ad alterum contradictorium, puta hoc fore vel non fore." (Quoted by Harris, *ibid.*, 293 n.) The *liberum arbitrium indifferentiae* here described is precisely the kind of free will that Adam exercises when his mind,

sufficiently well-informed would prove triumphant over all manner of vice. Hence he could not

praise a fugitive and cloister'd virtue, unexercis'd & unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evill, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whitenesse is but an excrementall whitenesse; Which was the reason why our sage and serious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than *Scotus* or *Aquinas*, describing true temperance under the person of *Guion*, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bower of earthly blisse that he might see and know, and yet abstain.<sup>10</sup>

Yet as a student of life Milton knew that even the best-informed mind is not invariably sufficient to guard man against sin. Doubtless remembering his own early subjection to those "violent Lords" his emotions, in the person of Michael he warns not only Adam but mankind in general that "inordinate desires and upstart Passions" constantly threaten to undo the clearest mind by "obscuring" it, blinding it to its own best interests; so that, as Adam in his turn

presented with the highest good, deliberately rejects it in favor of what his mind recognizes as a lesser good. And, as Saurat says (*op. cit.*, p. 277), "it is curious that even in Augustine, whose name and influence have been weighty on the opposite side, Milton may have found authority for his belief in free will"; for St. Augustine says: "We all were in that one man, since we all were that one man who fell into sin by the woman who was made from him before the sin. For not yet was the particular form created and distributed to us, in which we as individuals were to live, but already the seminal nature was there from which we were to be propagated; and this being vitiated by sin, and bound by the chain of death, and justly condemned, man could not be born of man in any other state. And thus, from the bad use of free will, there originated the whole train of evil, which, with its concatenation of miseries, convoys the human race from its depraved origin, as from a corrupt root, on to the destruction of the second death, which has no end, those only being excepted who are freed by the grace of God." (*Op. cit.*, XIII, xiv.)

<sup>10</sup> *Areopagitica*, in *Works*, IV, 311. Milton prefers Spenser, I take it, because he prefers the "philosophy teaching by example" of Spenser's poetry to the formal teaching of the Philosophers (see Greenlaw, "A Better Teacher Than Aquinas," *SP*, XIV, 199), not because he repudiates the doctrines of Scotus and Aquinas.



says, the mind commands the will to sin. This view is consistent with Plato's opinion concerning the dangers and shortcomings of "vulgar Hedonism."<sup>11</sup> Milton's purely voluntaristic views, however, are inconsistent with Platonism. Milton believed that besides the danger of having one's mind corrupted by passion, there is another danger, which casts a kind of blight on one of man's dearest possessions—his free will. It is good that the will is free, since there can be no virtue in an automaton, in "a meer artificiall *Adam*." But this very freedom is a kind of evil, because when it acts contrary to the dictates of the clear mind, as does Adam's, it calls down calamity on the head of the unhappy agent. Before one can fully understand the hazards of freedom, however, one must understand the various senses in which, according to Milton, the will is free.

In his speech to the Son concerning the freedom of men and angels, God prophesies Adam's Fall, and then concludes:

So without least impulse or shadow of Fate,  
Or aught by me immutable foreseen,  
They trespass, Authors to themselves in all  
Both what they judge and what they choose; for so  
I formed them free, and free they must remain,  
Till they enthrall themselves: I else must change  
Thir nature, and revoke the high Decree  
Unchangeable, Eternal, which ordain'd  
Thir freedom, they themselves ordain'd thir fall. (III, 120-8)

"'Free' here means," writes Mr. Basil Willey, "'not constrained,' exempt from the rigour of the divine 'decrees' which otherwise bound nature fast in fate. It has, that is to say, the negative sense of 'freedom from' external coercion." The only other meaning of "freedom" in the poem, thinks Mr. Willey, "is *the service of reason*, or voluntary submission to the law which preserves the stars from wrong."<sup>12</sup> He is certainly right in pointing out that "freedom from coercion" is purely negative; it implies nothing concerning the positive freedom of the will, its freedom of *choice*, which implies action. To lump all of the other meanings of

<sup>11</sup> See A. E. Taylor, *Plato, The Man and His Work*, New York, 1936, pp. 259-61.

<sup>12</sup> *The Seventeenth Century Background*, London, 1934, p. 253. Mr. Willey derives this second meaning from Michael's speech to Adam (XII, 83-95), already quoted (p. 562 above).

"freedom" under "*the service of reason*," however, makes for confusion. For, as I have said, "reason": sometimes means the rational faculty and sometimes "the moral law of the universe." To be sure, God says that "Reason also is choice (III, 108), as if "reason" always meant the same thing, but Milton, as poet, even though he was fully aware of his double use of the word (in itself a hazardous assumption) could not pause every time he used it to explain the sense that he was giving to it. Clearly Eve's freedom in obeying reason when she falls is different from Adam's in disobeying it. Moreover, Eve's will is free in a different sense from which it would be free if her rational faculty were in harmony with "right Reason" (the moral law of the universe). And Adam's will is free in a different sense from which it would be free if it were to choose to obey "right Reason," with which his rational faculty is in harmony. Therefore, according to the implications of Milton's language, the will is free in four distinct senses: (1) free from external coercion, (2) free to obey the undeceived rational faculty (Platonism, intellectualism), (3) free to obey the deceived rational faculty (Platonism, intellectualism), (4) free to disobey the undeceived rational faculty (anti-Platonism, voluntarism).<sup>13</sup> Eve's will is free in the third sense, and the account of her Fall is therefore in accordance with Plato's belief that the will is capable of choosing that which the reason thinks good, even though the thing chosen be really evil. Adam's will is free in the fourth sense, so that the account of his Fall results from the streak of pure voluntarism in Milton. The will that is free in the second sense is the completely rational will that Milton as a Humanist wished to believe in but that Milton as a Puritan and as a student of human nature could not believe in. His failure to make Adam and Eve behave quite rationally is therefore due in part to his keen awareness of the irrationality and sinfulness of the human will. And in part his failure is due to the exigencies of Biblical tradition.

<sup>13</sup> Logically, of course, the will ought to be free to disobey the deceived rational faculty, but *P.L.*, for all Milton's voluntarism, affords no evidence that it is. The fourth sense in which the will is free is, in the same manner, an implicate of the second sense. I have distinguished the two for the obvious reason that Adam's disobedience is voluntaristic, whereas his obedience would be intellectualistic, as Eve's obedience, or disobedience (depending on what one considers her to be obeying, her rational faculty or God), actually is intellectualistic.

Much of the frequent dissatisfaction with Milton's treatment of the Fall should, it seems to me, be dissipated by the foregoing analysis. By making Milton's difficulties more understandable, it makes the reader's objections less petulant. And just as Milton benefits by the clarification, so also do Adam and Eve. One's sympathy for Eve, in particular, is deepened; for though one must confess that she violates God's "easie Prohibition," one must likewise confess that she does so in good faith as a Humanist, whose proper business is to search out knowledge, the prerequisite of true virtue. Convinced of "the magic virtue of the fruit," she cannot "easily" abstain from eating.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, *qua* Humanist she is bound not to abstain. The critics who have condemned Eve's conduct have done so at times a little too readily.

The tendency of critics, it seems to me, has been to treat Adam more leniently than Eve—partly, no doubt, because he is the more intelligent of the two, his mind having been disciplined in "high dispute" with angels; and partly because the injustice of his doom *seems* more obvious than Eve's. His intelligence rejects the reasoning of the Serpent as well as his own effort at rationalization. It is only his nobly human love for Eve that prompts his violation of the Divine prohibition. And love it is, I think—not passion in its baser sense, not lust—that prompts him. He has been duly warned by Raphael to distinguish between the two:

In loving thou dost well, in passion not,  
Wherein true Love consists not; love refines  
The thoughts, and heart enlarges, hath his seat  
In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale  
By which to heav'nly Love thou maist ascend,  
Not sunk in carnal pleasure, for which cause  
Among the Beasts no Mate for thee was found. (VIII, 588-94)

At the moment of the fatal act, Milton tells us, Adam's mind is clear. "Sensuality," Professor Tillyard is certainly right in saying, is "the effect rather than the cause of the Fall."<sup>15</sup> Adam doubtless is injudicious and in some sense "overcome with Femal charm," but nevertheless his reason is not unseated. Unlike Eve, who mis-

<sup>14</sup> Compare Willey, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

<sup>15</sup> *Milton*, New York, 1930, p. 263. Compare St. Augustine, *op. cit.*, XIII, xxiv. Greenlaw ("A Better Teacher Than Aquinas," *SP*, XIV, 213) and Saurat (*op. cit.*, pp. 152, 275) believe that lust overcomes Adam and causes the Fall.

takes the wrong for the right, he sees the right, or what Milton in the poem *calls* the right, and deliberately chooses the wrong. Herein lies the injustice of Adam's doom, or at least the appearance of injustice. Milton represents obedience to the will of God ("right Reason") as the truest freedom, and yet God, by his decrees concerning men and angels, renders Adam capable of freeing himself even from this truest freedom. "His freedom," writes Mr. Willey, "is only a freedom-to-lose-freedom, a freedom-to-become-en-slaved."<sup>16</sup> How, we may ask, can anyone win at a game like this?—Heads I win, tails you lose. "Foolish tongues!" "The knowledge and survey of vice is in this world . . . necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth."<sup>17</sup> Without such knowledge not only Hadleyburg but Eden itself can be deceived and corrupted by an ill-disposed interloper. It is essential to man's welfare. And therefore neither Milton nor god condemns Adam and Eve for acquiring real knowledge, which is not present in the apple. The fruit they eat is "false."

The tree was only named of good and evil, [Milton] assures us, "*from the event*"; not because it taught man the difference between right and wrong, but because through the *disobedience* with which the tree was associated man came to know "good lost, and evil got."<sup>18</sup>

But the knowledge that Adam and Eve gain through disobedience is real, as real as its consequences—pain and death. And their condemnation is inseparable from their new knowledge, which is precisely the sort of knowledge that in *Areopagitica* Milton insists upon as indispensable to the acquisition of virtue—the knowledge, that is to say, of their former innocent virtue and of their present vice.

Milton's thought is mangled on the horns of its own dilemma. As a Platonist and a believer in the primacy of reason Milton agreed with Socrates that

no man voluntarily pursues evil, or that which he thinks to be evil. To prefer evil to good is not in human nature; and when a man is compelled to choose one of two evils, no one will choose the greater when he may have the less.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>17</sup> *Areopagitica*, in *Works*, IV, 311.

<sup>18</sup> Willey, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>19</sup> *Protagoras*, *loc. cit.* Compare the passage in *The Doc. and Dis. of Div.* (*supra*, note 4.).

As a follower of Biblical tradition Milton had to represent Adam, at least, as "willingly" pursuing the greater of two evils: disobedience to "right Reason," followed by pain and death, rather than obedience, followed by the relatively mild pain of immortal loneliness. And as a voluntarist Milton was not wholly averse from doing so.

To leave the problem here, however, is to leave Milton no less Satanic than Satan himself. It is hard to believe that any pain could be worse than the pain of immortal loneliness, or that death is worse than paradisaical ignorance and obedience to a "whimsical Tyrant."<sup>20</sup> Nor did Milton so believe. As a Humanist he had to get Adam out of Paradise, where real knowledge and its consequence, ethical evolution, were impossible; and, paradoxically, it was as a combined intellectualist and voluntarist that Milton got him out. Adam's Fall must be seen not only from Adam's own limited point of view but from Milton's less limited one. For Adam, from his own point of view, does what Socrates says it "is not in human nature" to do: he chooses the greater of two evils; whereas from Milton's point of view Adam does what Socrates says any man must do: he chooses the lesser of two evils, namely, the Paradise "happier farr" within himself (xii, 587). Indeed, in the eyes of the Humanist he chooses a positive good, in the absence of which there can be no Incarnation and no Redemption, two ineffable goods in the eyes of the Christian.

Thus Adam's sin—and also, indeed, the sins of his posterity which it "occasioned"—were the *conditio sine qua non* both of a greater manifestation of the glory of God and of immeasurably greater benefits for man than could conceivably have been otherwise obtained.<sup>21</sup>

Although Adam is represented as acting like a man whose will is superior even to "right Reason" itself, by dint of Milton's pulling of the strings Adam's will really obeys "right Reason" after all. But the "right Reason" that his will disobeys is different from the "right Reason" that his will obeys. The first is the arbitrary will of God, obedience to which means perpetual ignorance of the difference between right and wrong. The second is a human mind fully informed with the knowledge of the issues of actual human life. Adam's rational faculty, then, but not Milton's, though it is

<sup>20</sup> The phrase is Sir Walter Raleigh's (*Milton*, London, 1900, p. 129).

<sup>21</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 163. Compare Willey, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-9.

said to recognize the good at the same time that it directs the will to choose the evil, as a matter of fact mistakes good for evil and directs the will to choose what to Adam's really mistaken mind is evil but what to Milton's mind is good. In short, Adam turns out to be a kind of "*Adam* as he is in the motions," for he is a Platonist *malgré lui*.

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## MARGINALIEN ZU HEINE

### 1. *Heine und Hölty*

Schon Jules Legras, *Henri Heine poète* (Paris 1897, S. 57 ff.) wies auf Hölty's Gedicht *Der arme Wilhelm* als wahrscheinliches Vorbild der *Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar* hin; das hat sein Landsmann Pierre Gauthiez (*H. Heine*, Paris 1913, S. 105) als gesichertes Forschungsergebnis übernommen, aber Elster (<sup>2</sup>I, S. 464) sieht in der (immerhin erstaunlichen) Ähnlichkeit nur Zufall. Sehr mit Unrecht. Erwägt man, daß beide Gedichte nicht nur in den wesentlichen Inhaltszügen, sondern auch im Namen Wilhelm zusammentreffen, daß ferner Heine die Gedichte Hölty's kannte und schätzte (Walzel VI, S. 7; VII, S. 37; Hirth II, S. 57), so wird man die Abhängigkeit nicht gut leugnen können. Sie wird zur Gewißheit durch die (soweit ich sehe, noch von niemand gemachte) Beobachtung, daß auch ein anderes hochberühmtes Gedicht Heines seine Vorstufe bei Hölty hat: der *Tannhäuser*. Wie dieser in den *Venusberg*, so wird der Held von Hölty's burlesker Ballade *Leander und Ismene* von einer liebestollen Hexe auf eine paradiesische Insel gebracht, und beidenorts wird in allen sinnlichen Genüssen geschwelgt; aber hier wie dort folgt der Üppigkeit entsprechender Katzenjammer. *Tannhäuser* klagt:

Von süßem Wein und Küssen  
Ist meine Seele geworden krank;  
Ich schmachte nach Bitternissen.

Wir haben zu viel gescherzt und gelacht,  
Ich sehne mich nach Tränen.

Mit auffälligem Gleichklang auch im Wortmaterial heißt es ähnlich von dem entführten Leander: (Ausgabe Karl Halm, Leipzig 1870, S. 21; Ausgabe Wilhelm Michael, Weimar 1914, I, S. 75):

Die Küsse, Weine, das Konfekt,  
Die Zuckerbissen alle,  
Wonach er sonst den Mund geleckt,  
Verkehrten sich in Galle.  
Der Vogel buhl'risches Konzert,  
Das er, in Lust verloren,  
Mit solcher Wonne jüngst gehört,  
Mißklang itzt seinen Ohren.

Nun floh er mehr als Tod und Grab  
Den Pallast und Ismenen,  
Schlich am Gestade auf und ab  
Und weinte große Tränen.

Die verzweifelnde Ismene muß ihn ziehen lassen.—

Nicht ganz abzuweisen dürfte schliesslich die Vermutung sein, dass der Eingangsvers von *Heimkehr* xxvii ("Was will die einsame Träne") eine Reminiszenz an Höltys *Mainacht* bedeute, in der auch schon (V. 12) "die einsame Träne rinnt."

## 2. Zum *Almansor*

### a) Die Quelle

Elster <sup>2</sup>III, S. 181, 431 zeigt sehr richtig, daß für eine ganze Reihe von Handlungszügen und Motiven die Quellenfrage noch ungelöst ist, und hält ihre Beantwortung erst dann für möglich, "wenn es gelingen sollte, einen spanischen Roman wieder aufzufinden, den Heine in diesem Zusammenhange ganz allgemein erwähnt, ohne jedoch den Titel auch nur anzudeuten." Im Erstdruck der Romanzen *Donna Clara* und *Almansor* nämlich, die sich stofflich und thematisch eng mit dem Drama berühren, setzte der Dichter jeweils hinter die Überschrift die Parenthese "Aus einem spanischen Romane" (Elster <sup>1</sup>I, S. 527). Aber es wäre verfehlt, diese Angabe ernst zu nehmen; sie ist pure Fiktion, um die allzu persönlichen Bezüge beider Stücke nachträglich zu verdecken. Genau so hat etwa A. W. Schlegel, als er im *Musenalmanach* auf 1796 zwei Liebesgedichte an Caroline veröffentlichte, sie durch den Zusatz "Aus einem ungedruckten Roman" harmlos gemacht. (Vgl. F. Schlegels Briefe an seinen Bruder August Wilhelm hg. von O. Walzel, Berlin 1890, S. 251.)

## b) Motto

In der Vorspruch-Stanze zu Heines Jugenddrama wird dieses so angekündigt: "es ist halb episch und halb drastisch."

Elsters Note (<sup>2</sup>III, S. 430), "das Wort *drastisch* offenbar = dramatisch," konnte zur Mißdeutung Anlaß geben, der Dichter hätte aus metrischer Not gewaltsam das dreisilbige Wort um einen Fuß kürzer gemacht. Davon kann die Rede nicht sein. Im Brief an Friedrich Steinmann vom 4. Februar 1821 (Hirth I, S. 166) übt Heine am eignen Werk strenge Kritik mit dem—unterstrichenen!—Schlagsatz: "Eine Tragödie muß drastisch sein!" Dies ist aber nichts andres als Friedrich Schlegels paradoxes Athenäumfragment Nr. 42: "Gute Dramen müssen drastisch sein." Heine kannte und schätzte die geistreichen Aphorismen des genialen Romantikers und hat dessen Aussprüche auch in eigenen Schriften oft und gern angeführt (sich Walzel I, 428; VII, 49; VIII, 226; x, 267) Vgl. übrigens schon J. Fränkel bei Walzel, I, S. 496.

## c) Vers 697 ff. (Walzel I, S. 334)

*Don Enrique* (andächtig gen Himmel schauend)

Ich danke dir, du Vater in der Höh!

*Don Diego*

Ja, freilich in der Höh, denn luftig schwebt er  
Am hohen Galgen zu San Salvador.

Elster (<sup>2</sup>III, S. 433 f.) schildert erstaunlicherweise diese Verse unklar und versteht sie, nach seiner abwegigen Deutung zu schließen, in der Tat nicht. Dennoch ist ihr Sinn höchst einfach. Das Hochstapler- und Gaunerpaar Diego und Enrique sind würdige Söhne ihrer Erzeuger; mindestens Enrique. Der ironische Diego mißversteht absichtlich seines Kumpanen Anrufung des *himmlischen* Vaters als Erinnerung an den *leiblichen*, dem der Galgen von San Salvador sein Berufsschicksal bereitet hat.

3. *William Ratcliff* V. 579

Der von Graf Douglas im Zweikampf besiegte und dergestalt vor sich selber geschändete Ratcliff verflucht sich und die ganze Schöpfung (Walzel I, S. 407):

Nordwind, zerause und zerreiß die Welt!  
Brich, Himmelsdecke, und zermalme mich!  
Erde, vernachte und verschlinge mich!



Elster (<sup>2</sup>III, S. 442) bemerkt zu der Stelle: "Vernachte ]Seltsam, aber in allen Drucken; wage das naheliegende «vernichte» nicht einzusetzen." Er hält es also immerhin für möglich. Sehr mit Unrecht, denn es würde so nur der Sinn des vorausgehenden Halbverses ("zermalme mich") pleonastisch wiederholt, das grandiose Bild des ins Chaos sich auflösenden Kosmos ("Erde, vernachte!") zum bloß irdischen Untergang eines Erdenfloh's verniedlicht. Freilich ist "vernachten" ein Hapaxlegomenon bei Heine, aber es stehen ihm immerhin gleich kühne Parallelbildungen zur Seite: Walzel I, 236 (Gedichte 1822):

In des Todes kalten Armen  
Kann das Leben erst erwarmen  
Und das Licht der Nacht enttagt;

Walzel I, S. 342 (*Almansor*):

Das Licht des Tages ist ein Zauberstab,  
Der all die Blumen und die Lieder weckte,  
Der selbst Almansors Seele konnt entnachten.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. *Buch der Lieder*: Vorrede zur zweiten Auflage

Elster's Gelehrsamkeit hat in die bislang dunklen Anspielungen, mit denen Heine hier (Walzel I, S. 425) Ludwig Tieck hänselt, den "ehemaligen romantischen Strohmian, der jetzt ein alter rüddiger Muntsche geworden," erstmals Licht gebracht durch den Nachweis, daß der letztangeführte Name eine Hundegestalt aus Tiecks später Novelle *Eigensinn und Laune* (1836) zitiert (Elster <sup>2</sup>I, S. 430). Elster sieht aber nicht, daß auch der andre Name an einen tierischen Helden erinnert, an das geheimnisvolle Hündchen *Strohmi* aus Tiecks Jugendmärchen *Der blonde Eckbert* (1796; vgl. Witkowskis Tieck-Auswahl I, S. 84), einer Dichtung, die Heine besonders schätzte. So wird durch die bloße Antithese der beiden Hundegestalten—mit gleichviel stilistischer Feinheit wie Bosheit—über den bedauerlichen Abfall des enthusiastischen Romantikers zu philiströsem Rationalismus kurz und scharf dasselbe ausgesagt wie in dem ausführlichen Tieck-Abschnitt der *Romantischen Schule* (Walzel VII, S. 88 f.).

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. die Aeneis-Übersetzung des jungen Schiller: *Der Sturm auf dem Tyrrhener Meer* V. 142: "Himmel entnachtet."

5. *Atta Troll*, cap. xxvii

Weder Elster (<sup>2</sup>II, S. 407) noch J. Fränkel (Walzel II, S. 431) verlieren ein Wort darüber, welches die Quelle für die vielzitierten angeblichen Worte des Kardinals von Este an Ariost gewesen sein mag. Nach allem, was wir von Heines Arbeitsweise wissen, ist im voraus anzunehmen, daß es eine abgeleitete Quelle war. Sicherlich nicht die von Eduard Grisebach (auf den Elster a.a.O. verweist) in seinem Buche "Die deutsche Literatur seit MDCCLXX" (Stuttgart 1877), S. 219 mit dem Esteschen Ausspruch in Beziehung gesetzte Zueignung zum Gockelmärchen. Denn die betreffende Stelle (Cl. Brentanos *Gesammelte Schriften* v, S. 5): "Du fragst mich [dasselbe], was mich meine leibliche Großmutter oft gefragt: 'Woher hast du nur all das wunderliche Zeug'?"—verwertet zwar den berühmten Ausspruch des Kardinals, weist ihm aber nicht seinen historischen Ort an. Ich glaube nicht fehl zu gehen, wenn ich Heines Quelle in einem andern Buche sehe, das er nachweislich <sup>2</sup> gekannt hat: in Hitzigs Hoffmannbiographie (1823,<sup>3</sup> 1839), die auch von der "Romantischen Schule" angeführt wird (Walzel VII, S. 148). Dort heißt es von Hoffmann: "Hätte ihn ein anderer Kardinal von Este gefragt: Aber Meister Theodor, wo habt ihr all das *tolle Zeug* her?—wahrlich, er hätte nichts anderes antworten können, als: Ich habe es *so gesehen*, und mir ist es gar nicht so toll vorgekommen." (E. Th. A. Hoffmanns *Ausgewählte Schriften* xv = Hitzigs Biographie <sup>2</sup>III, S. 138 f.).

Die angezogene Atta-Troll-Strophe zeigt jedenfalls ein nicht um die geringste Kleinigkeit größeres Wissen, als Hitzigs Zitat ausweist: beidenorts wird etwa der Vorname des Kardinals (*Ippolito*) verschwiegen. Entscheidend aber ist die fast wörtliche Übereinstimmung in der Frage selbst, die umso schwerer ins Gewicht fällt, als Hitzig die authentische Überlieferung: "Dove avete preso tante corbellerie?" <sup>3</sup> mit Hinblick auf das von den witzigen Erfindungen Ariosts ins fast Aberwitzige abweichende Werk seines Helden und Freundes eigens umbiegt zu der Formel "*tolles Zeug*," die Heine

<sup>2</sup> Hirth I, S. 247 (an M. Moser 23. August 1823): "Hitzigs Biographie Hoffmanns lese ich jetzt." S. 379 (an denselben 8. September 1825): "Sag ihm [= Hitzig], dass ich mich in Norderney viel mit ihm beschäftigt, indem . . . ich dort . . . « Hoffmanns Biographie » . . . nochmals las."

<sup>3</sup> Cesare Castà, *Della letteratura italiana*, Torino 1892, I, S. 213; corbelleria = Dummheit, Torheit.

übernimmt, die er *nur* von Hitzig übernommen haben kann. Ob er sich dieser Herkunft im Augenblick der Niederschrift bewußt war, ob dem Dichter selbst gänzlich unbewußte Reminiszenz vorliegt, ist natürlich unentscheidbar, aber für unsere Frage auch völlig gleichgültig.

#### 6. *Symbolik des Unsinnns*

Das so betitelte, erstmals in der dritten Auflage (1852) der *Neuen Gedichte* veröffentlichte Poem, vom Dichter selbst als minderwertiges Füllsel erachtet (vgl. Hirth III, S. 192), enthält nach allgemeinem Urteil die unverstandensten Verse von Heines lyrischem Gesamtwerk. Jonas Fränkels—anscheinend von Helene Hermann (Bongsche Ausgabe xv, S. 164) übernommene—Deutung (Walzel II, S. 400) eines Spotts über Schellings Offenbarungsphilosophie wird durch nichts gestützt und darum von Elster (<sup>21</sup>, S. 497) mit Recht verworfen; aber was dieser selbst zur Erklärung beibringt (es ist wenig genug), führt nicht weiter; ja es fuhr vom rechten Wege ab, wenn Elster die in V. 21, 33, 37 genannten Handwerker (Schuster, Kürschner, Schneider) als Anspielung auf ein abgelegenes Aktualereignis versteht. Eine vollständige und gänzlich befriedigende Erklärung des Gedichts vermag ich freilich auch nicht zu bieten, aber immerhin wesentliche Teile zu erhellen.

Die "Nummer Drei" symbolisiert jene "unsinnige" Trinitätslehre, die Heine auch sonst (Walzel I, S. 481; III, S. 176 f., 181, 498; IV, S. 18 f., 164; VII, S. 245 f.) gern verhöhnt. Strophe I kündigt den Inhalt des ganzen Gedichts, das erst die Freuden, dann die Leiden des Dreieinigkeitsdogmas, sein Glück und Ende besingen will. Jenes Dogma, dessen Zeichen die arabische 3, stellt gewissermaßen den innersten Kern christlicher Glaubenslehre dar, und unser Dichter, dem eine so gewaltige Anschauungskraft eignete, daß in seinen sämtlichen Schriften nicht eine einzige Katachrese sich findet, sieht die rundliche Ziffer sogleich als eine behäbige Weibsperson, die zunächst,—i. e. während des ganzen Mittelalters, solange die Herrschaft der Kirche unbestritten blieb—ein moralisch wie physisch unproblematisches Dasein führt, dem bürgerlichen Menschen vergleichbar, dem der unerschütterte Bestand seiner Welt ein philisterhaftes Behagen so gewährt wie gestattet. Die Bildbeziehung zwischen Zahl und Mensch steht übrigens bei Heine nicht vereinzelt da. Wie in dem Gedicht eine Nummer personifiziert

ist, so werden in den *Memoiren des Herrn von Schnabelewopski* (Kap. iv; Walzel VI, S. 334) Personen numerofiziert: "... als ich die [auf dem Hamburger Jungfernstieg] vorüberwandelnde Menschen genauer betrachtete, kam es mir vor als seien sie selber nichts anders als Zahlen, als arabische Chiffern; und da ging eine krummfüßige Zwei neben einer fatalen Drei, ihrer schwangeren und vollbusigen Frau Gemahlin; dahinter ging Herr Vier auf Krücken; einherwatschelnd kam eine fatale Fünf, rundbäuchig mit kleinem Köpfchen; dann kam eine wohlbekannte kleine Sechse und eine noch wohlbekanntere böse Sieben " usw.<sup>4</sup>

Dem geruhsam unangefochtenen Dasein des Dreieinigkeitsdogmas macht die Reformation ein Ende. "Die protestantische Kirchenlehre," so bedeutet uns O. Kirn in Haucks *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* IX (Leipzig 1908), S. 117, 119, "stellt der Entwicklung der Trinität regelmäßig das Bekenntnis zum Monotheismus voran. Es ist nur Ein göttliches Wesen, *una essentia divina*; aber an ihm haben drei Subjekte, Vater, Sohn und Geist in gleicher Weise teil. Es gibt so *tres habentes Deitatem*, aber nur Einen Gott. . . . Nachdem schon im Zeitalter der Reformation vereinzelte Stimmen die kirchliche Trinitätslehre verworfen hatten (Denk, Haetzer, Campanus, Servet), bekämpfte der Socinianismus das kirchliche Dogma als schrift- und vernunftwidrig von dem Standpunkt eines abstrakt unitarischen Gottesbegriffs und einer moralistischen Auffassung der Religion. Der Arminianismus berührt sich mit ihm nur insoweit, als er die Koordination der trinitarischen Personen für unzulässig erklärt. Der Rationalismus erneuert, wenn auch unter mannigfacher Anpassung an die kirchlichen Wendungen, die socinianische Bestreitung, der Supranaturalismus die arminianische Abschwä-

<sup>4</sup> Hier dürfte Heine übrigens nicht ganz original sein, sondern sich von Eichendorff haben anregen lassen. In der Taugenichtsnovelle, deren starken Eindruck auf Heine schon die unten anzuführende Reminiszenz erweist, steht das Vorbild (Kap. 2; Grolman II, S. 375): "... das fatale Rechnen wollte mir nun erst gar nicht mehr von der Hand, und ich hatte, wenn der Sonnenschein durch den Kastanienbaum vor dem Fenster grüngolden auf die Ziffern fiel und so fix vom Transport bis zum Latus und wieder hinauf und hinab addierte, gar seltsame Gedanken dabei, so daß ich manchmal ganz verwirrt wurde und wahrhaftig nicht bis drei zählen konnte. Denn die Acht kam mir immer vor wie meine dicke, enggeschnürte Dame mit dem breiten Kopfputz, die böse Sieben war gar wie ein ewig rückwärts zeigender Wegweiser oder Galgen."

chung des Dogmas. Leibniz und Lessing waren für den spekulativen Gehalt der Trinitätslehre nicht unempfänglich, während die durch den Pietismus neu erweckte Frömmigkeit an ihren lehrhaften Bestimmungen entweder mit achtungsvollem Schweigen vorbeiging oder sie auch kritisch reduzierte<sup>5</sup> . . . Jakob Böhme trennt sich dadurch von der Kirchenlehre, daß ihm für die Lebensfülle der Gottheit eine trinitarische Entfaltung nicht genügt. Indem er eine Siebenzahl schöpferischer Kräfte als «Natur in Gott» statuiert, läßt er erkennen, daß es bei seiner Konstruktion nicht auf den Unterbau der Heilslehre, sondern auf die Erklärung der Schöpfung abgesehen ist.” Danach kann es keine Frage sein, daß mit dem “Schuster” der 6. Strophe der solches Handwerk treibende *Philosophus teutonicus* gemeint ist, den Heine freilich nicht aus eigenem Studium (vgl. Walzel VII, S. 95, 270), sondern nur aus zweiter Hand kannte. Der “Oberbonze von Babel” (V. 30) ist natürlich der römische Papst, was aus der (Walzel II, S. 401 mitgeteilten) handschriftlichen Variante mit besonderer Klarheit hervorgeht.<sup>6</sup>

Hingegen war es mir nicht möglich, mit gleicher Sicherheit auszufinden, welche historische Figur hinter dem “Kürschner” der 9. Strophe stecken mag, bei dem man nach dem Zusammenhang am ehesten noch auf einen Pietisten des 18. Jahrh. raten dürfte. Aller erdenklichen Mühe des Suchens und Kompendienwälzens zum Trotz stellte sich zunächst überhaupt kein Name ein, auf den die spärlichen Angaben der Strophe halbwegs passen möchten; bis mir der Zufall eine Persönlichkeit der deutschen Volks- und Geistesgeschichte in Erinnerung brachte, die tatsächlich dem Kürschnergewerbe zugehört hat. Es ist der aus Horb am Neckar stammende Kürschnergesell Sebastian Lotzer, spätestens seit 1523 als Bürger in Memmingen ansässig, wo er sich aufs engste dem bekannten (einen apostolischen Kommunismus befürwortenden) Reformator Schappeler anschloß und dessen Lehren in einer Reihe eigener

<sup>5</sup> Dem entspricht eine handschriftlich bewahrte, in der Druckfassung gestrichene Strophe:

Welch eine kalte Höhe ist  
Der protestantische Norden!  
Von diesem kritischen Schnüffeln ist  
Mein Herze krank geworden.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. auch in einer Streichung der *Französischen Zustände* (Walzel VI, S. 498 f.) die Metonymie “babylonische Dame” für die katholische Kirche.

Flugschriften verfocht. Als dann 1525 der große Bauernaufstand losbrach, wurde Lotzer auf Schappellers Empfehlung Feldschreiber des Baltringer Haufens und verfaßte als solcher—das steht nach den jüngsten Forschungen von Alfred Götze (*Historische Vierteljahrsschrift* v, 1903, S. 1 ff.) und Günther Franz (*Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, München und Berlin 1933, S. 197) unbezweifelbar fest—die berühmten sog. "Zwölf Artikel," das politische Programm der Bauernschaft.

Die entscheidende Frage, ob Heine von Namen und Leistung Sebastian Lotzers denn überhaupt etwas gewußt haben kann, glaube ich bejahen zu dürfen. In den Jahren 1823/5 hat er für ein geplantes "Historisches Staatsrecht des germanischen Mittelalters," das als Unterlage der angestrebten Habilitation gedacht war, zu Göttingen und Berlin weitschichtige Quellenstudien getrieben, besonders viele alte Chroniken durchstöbert. Auf diese Studien führt Georg Mücke, der *Heines Beziehungen zum deutschen Mittelalter* (Berlin 1908) gründlich untersucht hat (S. 68), des Dichters genaue Kenntnis des Bauernkriegs, auch jener "Zwölf Artikel," zurück, die schon in den Englischen Fragmenten von 1828 (Walzel V, S. 158), stärker beleuchtet in den *Französischen Zuständen* von 1832 (ebd. vi, S. 254 f.) aufscheint; an der zweiten Stelle wird zumal Thomas Münzer, "einer der heldenmütigsten und unglücklichsten Söhne des deutschen Vaterlandes," verherrlicht, dem auch noch die Denkschrift über Ludwig Börne (1840; VIII, S. 412) Reverenz erweist. Das alte Interesse wird kräftig erneut worden sein, als ein naher Bekannter Heines, der bilingue Schriftsteller Alexander Weill, ein französisches Buch über den Bauernkrieg veröffentlichte (Paris 1847), das Heine in seinem empfehlenden Vorwort zu Weills *Novellen* (1847) rühmend erwähnt (Walzel x, S. 4). Leider lag es mir nicht vor, so muß ich es dahingestellt lassen, ob sich Lotzers Namen dort findet. Freilich würde auch der geglückte Nachweis von Heines Bekanntschaft mit Lotzer nicht ohneweiters die Beziehung der 9. Strophe auf diesen Bauernführer gestatten; denn die dem "Kürschner" zugemutete Leugnung der Trinität paßt schlecht zu ihm, ist unvereinbar mit seinen bekannten Ansichten. In der Tat findet sich in den von A. Götze herausgegebenen Schriften Lotzers (Leipzig 1902) keine einzige Stelle, die mit den Heineschen Versen vereinbar wäre; es hieße die Dinge allzu willkürlich pressen, wenn

ich besonderes Gewicht auf den Umstand legen wollte, daß Lotzer wiederholt ein Bibelwort zitiert, das etwan in trinitätsfeindlichem Sinn deutbar wäre: I. Timotheus 2, 5: "es ist Ein Gott und Ein Mittler zwischen Gott und den Menschen, nämlich der Mensch Christus Jesus" (S. 30, 44). Immerhin bliebe denkbar, daß Heine aus mißverständener Lektüre oder trügendem Gedächtnis zu falscher Deutung von Lotzers Lehren geraten sei. Ich will aber nicht verhehlen, daß der beste Kenner der Bauernkriegliteratur, Günther Franz in Marburg, dem ich meinen Einfall zur Begutachtung vorlegte, den Bezug für abwegig hält, weil dem Dichter (was aber wohl zu skeptisch ist) die Kenntnis von Lotzers Namen und Person nicht zuzutragen sei. Einen andern Kürschner freilich, auf den die Verse besser passen würden, weiß auch G. Franz nicht anzugeben. Eh ein solcher gefunden ist, darf sich mein zager Erklärungsversuch, dem ich ja selber das Fragezeichen beischreibe, vielleicht doch hervorwagen.

Weit leichter und sicherer fährt die Deutung der nächsten Strophe; der dort erwähnte skeptische "Schneider" ist der Kommunist Wilhelm Weitling (1808/71), um den sich neueste Geschichtsforschung eifrig bemüht<sup>1</sup> und über den sich Heine auch in den *Geständnissen* (Walzel x, S. 165, 168 ff.) hochmütig-abweisend geäußert hat. Er erwähnt dort Weitlings Schrift "Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit" (1842), die "lange Zeit der Katechismus der deutschen Kommunisten war" und fährt fort: "Die Handwerker bilden den Kern einer Unglaubensarmee, die vielleicht nicht sonderlich diszipliniert, aber in doktrinellem Beziehung ganz vorzüglich einexerziert ist. Diese deutschen Handwerker bekennen sich größtenteils zum krassesten Atheismus" (S. 170).

Daß die kommunistisch-sozialistische Propaganda für den Weiterbestand der christlichen Konfessionen gefährlichste Bedrohung schafft, hat Heine zu dutzenden Malen in Vers und Prosa ausgesprochen. Ich erinnere nur an das Einleitungskaput des Wintermärchens *Deutschland*, wo der Dichter selber dem "alten Entsa-

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. die einschlägigen Arbeiten von E. Barnikol (1929-32), ferner K. Mielcke, *Deutscher Frühsozialismus* (Stuttgart 1931); O. Brugger, *Geschichte der deutschen Handwerkervereine in der Schweiz 1836-43* (Leipzig 1932), und die biographische Skizze von A. Schreiber in *Mitteldeutsche Lebensbilder II* (Magdeburg 1927), S. 266/90.

gungslied, dem Eiapopeia vom Himmel, womit man einlullt, wenn es greint, das Volk, den großen Lümmel" entgegensetzt "ein neues Lied, ein besseres Lied" vom hiesigen Himmelreich, vom Himmelreich auf Erden; an den Eingang der *Romantischen Schule*, wo über den fleischverdammenden hypokritischen Nazarenismus der Stab gebrochen wird: "Die Menschen haben jetzt das Wesen dieser Religion erkannt, sie lassen sich nicht mehr mit Anweisungen auf den Himmel abspeisen, sie wissen, daß auch die Materie ihr Gutes hat . . ., und sie vindizieren jetzt die Genüsse der Erde . . . Eben weil wir alle Konsequenzen jenes absoluten Spiritualismus jetzt so ganz begreifen, dürfen wir auch glauben, daß die christkatholische Weltansicht ihre Endschaft erreicht." (Walzel VII, S. 7 f.; vgl. noch S. 140, 201 und den Brief an Laube vom 10. Juli 1833 [= Hirth II, S. 37].) Damit wäre denn auch die weitere Existenz unserer "armen Drei" bedroht, sie hat alle Ursache (Strophe 11) zu jammern und zu flennen. Was sie dann weiter monologisiert, wird verständlich aus einer in den *Geständnissen* (x, S. 152) erwähnten Arbeit des als journalistischer Vorkämpfer des französischen Neokatholizismus wirkenden Baron d'Eckstein; dieser zu Unrecht ganz vergessene, durch eine Fribourger These<sup>8</sup> aber kürzlich wieder ins Licht gehobene, merkwürdige Mensch und Schriftsteller, Abkömmling norddeutscher Juden, hatte in seiner Zeitschrift *Le Catholique* den Nachweis versucht, daß sich "das Dogma der Trinität schon in den indischen Trimurtis befunden"—also auf eine Jahrtausende alte Vergangenheit zurückblicke. Aber die hilft nichts—so darf man wohl den Schluß des Gedichtes verstehen—gegen die weltumstürzende Impietät eines neu anbrechenden Zeitalters der Vernunft, das allem Unsinn den Glauben verweigert.

### 7. Der Apollougott

Helene Herrmann (*Studien zu Heines Romanzero*, Berlin 1906, S. 70 ff.) und Elster<sup>2</sup> II, S. 9 f., 350 f. bemühten sich mit viel Eifer um Verständnis der gedanklichen Hintergründe dieses eigenartigen Gedichts. Ohne seinen tieferen symbolischen Gehalt, den Frau Herrmann sehr feinsinnig herausarbeitet, leugnen zu wollen,

<sup>8</sup> Nicolas Burtin, *Un semeur d'idées au temps de la Restauration. Le Baron d'Eckstein* (Paris 1931).



möchte ich dennoch vor überspitzten Deutungen warnen. Erstaunlicherweise haben die bisherigen Erklärer fast gar nicht darauf geachtet,<sup>9</sup> daß die großartigen, in echt Heinescher Weise Erhabenes und Gemeines oxymorisch verlötenden Verse dem Inhalte nach völlig in den (unserem Dichter so lieben!) Motivkreis der *Götter im Exil* gehören und ein metrisches Gegenstück bilden zu den dort in Prosa erzählten Geschichten. Erscheinen dort (Walzel x, S. 94-102) Gott Bacchus zum Superior seine Begleiter Priapus und Silenus zum Keller- und Küchenmeister eines Franziskanerklosters "degradiert," Mercurius zum schäbigen Krämer (S. 102-8) verwandelt, so begegnen wir in dem *Romanzero*-Stück einem zum Judenkanor und Schmierenkomödianten herabgekommenen Apollo, sehen seine neun Musen zu gemeinen Dirnen erniedrigt. Den Deutungswert des Bezugs steigert noch die zeitliche Nahe von *Romanzero* (1851) und *Götter im Exil* (1853) und die auffallende Tatsache, daß in dem Prosawerke nebst den eben genannten Göttern auch Pluto, Neptun, Jupiter einläßlicher behandelt, Apollo und Mars aber nur ganz nebenbei (S. 93 f.) erwähnt sind; dergestalt darf unser Gedicht mit nicht viel geringerem Recht als die so bezeichnete "Göttin Diana" als eine Art "Nachtrag zu den Göttern im Exil" (Walzel x, S. 121) gelten.

### 8. *Spanische Atriden*

Die Schlußstrophe zeigt im Erstdruck des *Romanzero* (1851), also in der einzigen von Heine durchgesehenen Ausgabe, und danach in allen späteren Editionen diese Form:

Don Diego stockte plötzlich,  
Denn der Seneschall des Schlosses  
Kam zu uns und frug uns  
Höflich: ob wir wohlgespeist? — —

Daß der dritte dieser Verse nicht in Ordnung ist, merkt Elster in beiden Auflagen seines "Heine" an (<sup>1</sup>I, S. 556; <sup>2</sup>II, S. 357). Die Strophe wird durch den fehlenden Verstakt arg lädiert, wie man besonders beim lauten Lesen empfindet, und da es sich um die Schlußstrophe handelt, muß das ganze so großartige Gedicht darunter leiden. Einen übersehenen metrischen Fehler solcher Härte

<sup>9</sup>Nur Helene Herrmann (Bongsche Ausgabe xv, 164) erkennt "burleske Verwendung des Motivs von den exilierten Göttern."

wird man dem Meister des *Romanzero* nicht zutrauen, absichtliche Verletzung des Schemas an dieser Stelle ergibt weder sachlichen noch rhythmischen Sinn. Beides trifft umso mehr für die Schlußzeile zu. Höhnisch geht die blut- und qualüberfüllte Ballade in ein banales Alltagskompliment aus, das jäh die schier unerträgliche Geschichte abbricht. Da wär es freilich sehr passend, dieses schrille Ende metrisch zu untermalen durch rhythmische Dissonanz. Darauf deuten doch wohl auch die beiden Gedankenstriche, Ersatzzeichen gewissermaßen für zwei fehlende Silben. Ich schlage vor, künftig so zu lesen:

Kam zu uns und frug uns höflich:  
Ob wir wohlgespeist? --

#### 9. *Das Sklavenschiff*

Daß in diesem Gedicht umgekehrt ein Vers (132) um einen Takt zu lang geriet, hat Elster natürlich gleichfalls bemerkt (<sup>1</sup>II, S. 509, in <sup>2</sup>II, S. 196, bzw. 366 ist die Notiz auffälligerweise nicht wiederholt). Alle Strophenschlußzeilen des Stücks sind dreihebiger steigend, die viertletzte Strophe aber endet vierhebiger (Walzel III, S. 221):

*Musik! sagt Albions großer Dichter.*

Auch dieser Fehler kann nicht beabsichtigt sein, sondern beruht auf leicht zu bessernder Flüchtigkeit. Eine von Strodtmann mitgeteilte handschriftliche Variante:

*Musik! sagt Shakespeare, der Dichter*

bezeugt, daß auch V. 132 dreihebiger werden sollte; aber Heine vergaß bei Umformung des allzu dämlichen "sagt Shakespeare, der Dichter" den Verstakt, mit dem V. 131 in die Folgezeile einschreitet, nahm den ganzen Versraum für den Ersatz in Anspruch und hat die Streichung des leicht entbehrlichen Attributs "großer" entweder ganz unterlassen oder in der Druckvorlage nicht deutlich genug durchgeführt. Man sollte, meine ich, künftig lesen:

*Musik! sagt Albions Dichter.*

JOSEF KÖRNER

## BAUDELAIRE AND LISZT

Baudelaire first expressed his admiration for Liszt in the magnificent article written in defence of Wagner on the occasion of the first performance at Paris of *Tannhäuser* in 1861. Referring to him as "an illustrious pianist, who is also an artist and a philosopher," Baudelaire quotes freely from a work published ten years earlier, which he recommends in these terms:

Ici je laisse humblement la parole à Liszt, dont, par occasion, je recommande le livre [*Lohengrin et Tannhäuser*] à tous les amateurs de l'art profond et raffiné, et qui sait, malgré cette langue un peu bizarre qu'il affecte, espèce d'idiome composé d'extraits de plusieurs langues, traduire avec un charme infini toute la rhétorique du maître.

Two years later, he mentions Liszt's "delightful study" on Chopin and writes the editor of *Le Pays* that he intends to include the Hungarian virtuoso and composer in a series of portraits of *Dandies*, together with Chateaubriand, Barbey d'Aurevilly and others. During his self-exile at Brussels, he wrote Manet to send him a copy of one of the famous *Rhapsodies*. The most impressive tribute which he paid to the genius of Liszt is found in the prose poem "Le Thyrsé," where the expression of his homage recalls the fervor of his tone in writing of those three great idols of his: Wagner, Delacroix and Poe.

Cher Liszt, à travers les brumes, par delà les fleuves, par-dessus les villes où les pianos chantent votre gloire, où l'imprimerie traduit votre sagesse, en quelque lieu que vous soyez, dans les splendeurs de la ville éternelle ou dans les brumes des pays rêveurs que console Gambrinus, improvisant des chants de délectation ou d'ineffable douleur, ou confiant au papier vos méditations abstruses, chanteur de la volupté et de l'Angoisse éternelles, philosophe poète et artiste, je vous salue en l'immortalité!

Of the relations between the two men, nothing is known except the information furnished by this passage in Wagner's autobiography:

Another time we (Liszt and Wagner) met for lunch at Gounod's when we had a very dull time, which was only enlivened by poor Baudelaire, who indulged in the most outrageous witticisms. This man, *criblé de dettes*, as he told me, and daily compelled to adopt the most extravagant methods for a bare subsistence, had repeatedly approached me with adventurous schemes for the exploitation of my fiasco. I could not on any account

consent to accept any of these, and was glad to find this really capable man safe under the eagle-wing of Liszt's 'ascendency.' Liszt took him everywhere there was a possibility of a fortune being found. Whether this helped him into anything or not, I never knew. I only heard that he died a short time afterwards, certainly not from an excess of good fortune.

There is no mention of Liszt in any of Baudelaire's published letters nor any reference to Baudelaire in those of Liszt. Thanks to the kindness of Baron von Matzehm, Director of the Goethe Museum, I have been given permission to publish for the first time the following letter which is contained in the collection of the Liszt Museum at Weimar:

Monsieur,

J'ai rencontré aujourd'hui Madame Wagner qui m'a instruit que vous aviez reçu une brochure de moi sur Wagner, et que vous seriez bien aise de me voir. J'ai voulu prévenir votre visite, craignant que vous ne me trouviez pas, car je suis plein d'affaires. Je sais que vous partez le 20. Je reviendrai vous voir. Il y a bien des années que je désirais trouver l'occasion de vous témoigner toute la sympathie que m'inspirent votre caractère et votre talent.

Ch. Baudelaire.

This letter bears only the address: "Monsieur Liszt," which leads me to think that it must have been written at Liszt's residence where Baudelaire had called and found him not at home. Although there is no date, it is not difficult to approximate it within a few days, since the pamphlet on Wagner appeared around the first of May, 1861, a few days before Liszt arrived in Paris on his return from Weimar. Liszt left again for Vienna on June 7-8, although he had intended getting away sooner (on the 20th of May?), for Wagner, in one of his letters to Mathilde Wesendonck, expressed surprise at finding him still in Paris on his arrival there, May 26th. Therefore, it is likely that this note was written in May, 1861, between the first and twentieth of the month. Short as it is, this letter reveals the interesting fact that Baudelaire's acquaintanceship with Liszt did not begin before 1861; it is highly probable that they never saw each other again after Liszt's departure in June. The luncheon at Gounod's mentioned by Wagner can be dated with certainty as belonging to this period.

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THÉOPHILE DE VIAU'S *FRAGMENTS D'UNE HISTOIRE COMIQUE* AND A LETTER OF SAINT-EVREMOND'S

Saint-Evremond was born in 1616;<sup>1</sup> Théophile de Viau died in 1626. Hence if Théophile exerted any influence whatever upon Saint-Evremond it was not through personal contact. But a few years later, when Saint-Evremond began to frequent the home of Marion de Lorme, he must have met several of Théophile's former friends and admirers like Des Barreaux, *libertins* eager to familiarize him with the poetry of *libertinage*. Indeed he wrote long after at the age of sixty-seven:

Dans ma jeunesse, on admirait Théophile malgré ses irrégularités et ses négligences, qui échappaient au peu de délicatesse des courtisans de ce temps. Je l'ai vu décrier depuis par tous les versificateurs, sans aucun égard à sa belle imagination et aux grâces heureuses de son génie.<sup>2</sup>

Frédéric Lachèvre<sup>3</sup> has shown that Théophile was widely read throughout the 17th century and has indicated no less than seventy-three editions of his work between 1626 and 1700. Saint-Evremond could scarcely have failed to know Théophile's little prose narrative entitled *Fragments d'une histoire comique* published for the first time in 1623.<sup>4</sup> The first chapter of these *Fragments* is a remarkable exposition of Théophile's literary ideas. He says in part:

Ces larcins qu'on appelle imitation des auteurs anciens, se doivent dire des ornemens qui ne sont point à nostre mode. Il faut escrire à la moderne; Desmosthene et Virgile n'ont point escrit en nostre temps, et nous ne scaurions escrire en leur siècle; leurs livres, quand ils les firent, etaient nouveaux, et nous en faisons tous les jours de vieux.<sup>5</sup>

M. Bray, citing this passage as well as one from Saint-Amant, notes that: "En général le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle sera moins absolu que Théophile et Saint-Amant."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See F. Verdier, "Date de la naissance de Saint-Evremond," *RHL*, XVIII, 620-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres mêlées de Saint-Evremond* (Ed. by Charles Giraud), Paris, 1865, II, 465.

<sup>3</sup> *Une seconde révision des œuvres du poète Théophile de Viau*, Paris, 1911, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Frédéric Lachèvre, *Le procès du poète Théophile de Viau*, Paris, 1909, II, 369.

<sup>5</sup> *Œuvres complètes de Théophile*, Paris, 1855, II, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *La formation de la doctrine classique en France*, Paris, 1931, p. 164.

In one of Saint-Evremond's letters to Madame de Mazarin, dated 1677, he expressed himself in language strikingly similar to Théophile's:

Je veux qu'ils (les anciens) nous apprennent à bien penser; mais je n'aime pas à me servir de leurs pensées. *Ce que nous voyons d'eux avait la grâce de la nouveauté, lorsqu'ils le faisaient: ce que nous écrivons aujourd'hui a vieilli de siècle en siècle, et est tombé comme éteint dans l'entendement de nos auteurs.*<sup>7</sup>

It is not a question here of showing any influence of the *Fragments* on Saint-Evremond's fundamental literary ideas. But he may have taken from Théophile the argument that the ancients were in fact the moderns of their own day. Certainly, in this instance, the phrasing of Saint-Evremond's letter is enough like the *Fragments* to suggest at least a reminiscence on the part of the author. The only importance of such a reminiscence is to reaffirm by a minor detail the known relationship between the "moderns" in the second half of the 17th century and their precursors in the first half.

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### BRETON, ELYOT, AND *THE COURT OF HONOUR*

In 1679 there was printed in London a little pamphlet consisting of four leaves (an elaborate title-page and seven pages of text) and bearing the following title:

The Court of Honour or, The Vertuous Protestant's Looking-glass: being the true and lively characters (or descriptions of the chief and most noble worthies that maintain any pious princes crown, or make happy a kingdom: with their several qualifications, dignities and tytles. Wherein good kings may view their own images, virtuous noblemen see their own pictures, subjects learn loyal obedience, and all sorts of men, behold (as in a mirrour) their own excellencies and graces, vices or defects: to persevere in the one, and forsake the other. [Here follow the titles of eleven characters.] The like not extant. Written by a royalist, a person of quality: one that fears God, and honoureth the king.

With { God save the king, preserve his crown, } Allowance.  
           { Defend the church, tread rebels down. }

Printed by A. Purslow, and Tho. Haly. 1679.

<sup>7</sup> *Œuvres mêlées de Saint-Evremond*, Paris, 1865, III, 178.

It is evidently a rare work.<sup>1</sup> The copy in the Newberry Library is in a pamphlet volume with the binder's title, "Satirical &c. 1641-82. XXXII Tracts." The title-page makes two false claims for the work: it is said to be entirely new ("the like not extant") and to have been "written by a royalist, a person of quality." The fact is that the eleven characters which make up three-fourths of the text are drawn from Nicholas Breton's *The Good and the Badde*,<sup>2</sup> printed by George Purslowe in 1616, and the remainder is from Sir Thomas Elyot and probably another source as yet unidentified.

Breton's work consists of fifty characters of the worthy and unworthy king, worthy queen, worthy and unworthy prince, worthy and unworthy privy councilor, and so on down the scale. The anonymous compiler of *The Court of Honour* has elected to reprint only the "worthy" characters of the king, prince, privy councilor, nobleman, bishop or minister, judge, knight and commander in the wars, gentleman, lawyer, soldier, and physician. In reproducing these he has made very few changes except to "improve" the style and in several instances to insert a phrase to make the matter more relevant to the situation involving Charles II and his counselors. For example, "A Worthy Prince" of Breton is changed to read

<sup>1</sup> Although it is primarily a character-book, it is not listed in Gwendolen Murphy's *Bibliography of English Character-books, 1608-1700* (Oxford, 1925), and I have found no trace of it either in a number of printed catalogues of well-known collections or in the standard bibliographies.

<sup>2</sup> The full title runs as follows: "The Good and the Badde, or Descriptions of the Worthies, and Unworthies of This Age. Where the best may see their graces, and the worst discern their basenesse. London, printed by George Purslowe for John Budge, and are to be sold at the great south-dore of Paules, and at Brittaines Bursse. 1616." The dedicatory epistle is signed "Nicholas Breton." This work was reprinted by Sir Egerton Brydges in *Archæica*, 2 vols. (London, 1815), vol. I, pt. 5, and by A. B. Grosart in his edition of *Breton's Works*, 2 vols. [Edinburgh], 1879, vol. II. The latter text is used here. A reprint of about half of Breton's characters, with some changes and additions, appeared as "England's Selected Characters, Describing the Good and Bad Worthies of This Age. Where the best may see their graces, and the worst discern their basenesse. The particulars be these, [Here follow the titles of twenty-eight characters.] London, printed for T. S. 1643." On this Miss Murphy comments (*op. cit.*, p. 28): "The book is carelessly printed and new characters inserted to suit the current taste are out of harmony with Breton's work." I have not seen a copy of this edition.

"(A Worthy Prince) such is our King, whom God long preserve"; to his characterization of the privy councilor as "a watch-towre to give warning of the enemy" is added the duty "to discover treason, & apprehend the traitors, and bring them to condign punishment"; in the character of the bishop or minister Breton's "who with a generall pardon upon confession of sinne, upon the fruit of repentance, gives assurance of comfort" is changed to "who with a pronounciation of a general pardon upon a general and a particular confession of sin, the fruit of Repentance and faith in the merits of Christ, gives a full assurance of comfort"; and into Breton's character of "A Worthy Souldier" the compiler has inserted the requirement that his soldier is to be "the refeller of Rebellion, and the chastizer of the Rebels."

Following the last character in *The Court of Honour* is an extract of almost a page in length from Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), in which Elyot employs the illustration of the colony of bees to prove that a monarchy is the best form of government.<sup>3</sup> The work concludes with what is probably an excerpt from another author on the relationship of a king and his counselors, the source of which, though probably an obvious one, I have been unable to learn. Thus, almost if not all the pamphlet is a compilation of older authors brought out in a time of fear and uncertainty to serve as a piece of propaganda in support of King Charles II against his enemies.

Something may be surmised regarding the choice of Breton for this purpose. His *The Good and the Badde* had been printed by George Purslowe, who, after his death in 1632, was "succeeded by his widow Elizabeth, who made over the business to John Haviland, Robert Young and Miles Flesher."<sup>4</sup> In time George Purslowe, in all probability the son of the elder George and Elizabeth, took over the business.<sup>5</sup> Upon his death in 1664, his widow, Anne Purslowe, carried on, and about 1677 became associated with

<sup>3</sup> Ed. H. H. S. Croft, 2 vols. (London, 1883), I, 11-13. The passage begins, "Wherefore undoubtedly the best and most sure governance," and ends with "expelled from that company." The compiler has here freely modernized his text and again made alterations to suit his purpose.

<sup>4</sup> *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers . . . 1557-1640* (London, 1910), p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers . . . from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), p. 150.



Thomas Haley, the firm which brought out the pamphlet under discussion.<sup>6</sup> It is thus probable that a copy of Breton's *The Good and the Badde* had been in the family of its original printer for some sixty-three years and in 1679 was made use of by his daughter-in-law and her partner in the manner indicated.

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### A NOTE ON *THE SPANISH TRAGEDY*

Hieronimo's soliloquy in *The Spanish Tragedy*, III, xiii, 1-44, is of the utmost importance, for in it he first determines to match with deceit and hypocrisy the villainy of his opponents. Since Hieronimo enters with a book in his hand and in the course of the speech quotes lines from Seneca's *Agamemnon*, *Troades*, and *Oedipus*, it is a natural inference that the book is a volume of Seneca and that he is turning the leaves and commenting on passages which seem to him most appropriate for his present state of mind. Accordingly, Kyd's editor, Mr. F. S. Boas, assigns the opening line of the soliloquy, "*Vindicta mihi*," to the pseudo-Senecan *Octavia*, "*Vindicta debetur mihi*." However, the actual line in *Octavia* (849) takes the form of a question, "*haec vindicta debetur mihi?*" which Nero flings at his prefect who has reported mildly that the rebellion "*Populi furorem caedem paucorum . . . compressum affero*." It is, therefore, a bloodthirsty and ironical query, since Nero's idea of a proper revenge follows in line 861: "*Caedem sororis poscit et dirum caput*."

Such a question, especially in its Senecan context, has no bearing on the lines which immediately follow in Hieronimo's soliloquy:

I, heauen will be reuenged of euery ill;  
Nor will they suffer murder vnrepaide.

On the contrary, these lines indicate that Hieronimo is thinking of the well-known biblical injunction "*Mihi vindicta: ego retribuam, dicit Dominus*" (*Romans* 12:19), since he first agrees with

<sup>6</sup> Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers . . . from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), p. 245.

and then paraphrases this divine promise. Certainly on hearing *Vindicta mihi* from his lips the Elizabethan audience would inevitably recall not Seneca but the Bible, for this was the standard and familiar text quoted in sermons and tracts against private revengefulness.<sup>1</sup> Recognition of this fact is necessary if we are fully to share in the shock to the Elizabethan audience when Hieronimo enters meditating revenge, with God's injunction naturally predominant in his thoughts, and is then seduced by reading in his volume of Seneca to cut himself off from God's protection in seeking his own means of vengeance. No other dramatic device could so sharply contrast the Christian ideal of revenge which Hieronimo refuses with the pagan which he thereafter follows. But fully to appreciate this contrast we must recognize that *Vindicta mihi* comes to his mind from his meditations on God's promise and not from his volume of Seneca, and that the soliloquy dramatizes his rejection of a Christian revenge by quotations from Seneca matched against this from the Bible.

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### SIR CLEGES AND UNSEASONABLE GROWTH IN HAGIOLOGY

When þe bowȝhe was in hys hond  
Gren leuys þer-on he fond  
And ronde beryes in fere.<sup>1</sup>

Folk-lore motifs in the legends of the saints are more numerous than a cursory examination of the popular collections would lead one to believe. Many materials which are preserved in romances and tales have contemporary and often earlier positions in hagiology. The collector of miracles finds many an interesting parallel to the wonders told by the minstrels. Preservation of so much folk-lore

<sup>1</sup> See especially, Thomas Becon, *The Early Works*, ed. Ayre, p. 323, and his *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, p. 287; also Cotton MS. Titus C IV, fol. 39v. A full discussion of the significance of this divine promise to the Elizabethans is given in L. B. Campbell, "Theories of Revenge in Renaissance England," *MP.*, xxviii (1931), 281-96.

<sup>2</sup> *Middle English Humorous Tales in Verse*, ed. by G. H. McKnight, *The Belles-Lettres Series* (Boston, 1913), p. 45, ll. 198-200.

is in itself important. There is no need to suggest that there was any borrowing at all from saints' legends. The presence of the material would be enough to make the lay-author aware of its existence, since the legends of the saints were so numerous and so widely disseminated.

The appearance of cherries ripened on Christmas is one of the motivating forces in the pleasant tale of Sir Cleges, the generous knight, who regains his lost prestige by means of this miraculous event. Hagiology presents a number of similar unseasonable growths. Most of these curiosities have remained isolated. An interesting group is that found in Celtic legends. The phenomenon appears several times in sources not far from the setting mentioned in the tale:

They dwellyd by Cardyff syde (l. 87)

One day in the early autumn St. Ciaranus of Saigir (Kieran, Piran) spread his cloak (a clean cloth or a wisp of straw in some versions) over a fine patch of blackberries. The following spring King Aengus and his queen stopped at the house of his chief Conchrid. During the festivities, the queen fell in love with the chief. ('In convivio iam illo regina amavit predictum ducem Conchrid valde.') Conchrid, although he liked the lady very much, did not want to sin. The queen became love-sick and fell into a dangerous languishment. She expressed a longing for blackberries. Her host took his troubles to the saint, who, 'misit ad veprem sub sindone candido tenentem in silva moros ab auptumpno usque ad Aprilem; et vas plenum moris regine inde allatum est.' The lady was so surprised at this miracle that she was cured of her love and confessed her sin.<sup>2</sup>

Blackberries (or mulberries, *morum* may mean either) appear again in the legend of St. Kentigern. The whim of a minstrel creates a dilemma. A certain Irishman, who played so well on the timbrel and harp that the king offered him a choice of rewards, all of which he refused because he said all such things were better in Ireland, demanded a dish of blackberries. It being shortly after Christmas, the king could see no way of fulfilling the request. St. Kentigern reminded the king of an incident which he had

<sup>2</sup> C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), I, 224. See also Bollandist Society, *Acta Sanctorum* (=ASS.), Mar. I, 395, col. 2, and C. Plummer, *Lives of the Irish Saints* (Oxford, 1922), I, 105.

forgotten. During a summer hunt when he had become excessively warm, the king had cast off his cloak and left it behind him on a bush. The saint told him to find the cloak, and he would discover berries well-preserved beneath the garment . . . 'super dumum veprium expassum, invenies et subtus mora matura satis, adhuc recentia et ad sumendum ydonea.'<sup>3</sup>

A man urged St. Barrus to do a miracle. The saint knew he was being tempted, but he good-naturedly complied. Although it was spring, the nut-tree under which they were sitting matured nuts so that it was full.<sup>4</sup>

A certain king's son was sick and pining. It was winter and he demanded apples and certain herbs . . . 'ad refrigerandum calorem intolerabilem, quo interius uxoror, pomis, et accidolis opus mihi est pro remedio sanitatis opportuno.' By St. Berrachus' prayer this was accomplished in a surprising fashion, for the fruit grew upon willows . . . 'fiat ut hii salices poma producant, et terra accidulas germinet.'<sup>5</sup>

It is told that St. Aidus made apples to grow on unfruitful trees.<sup>6</sup> However, the legend of St. Brynach (Bernacus) carries us definitely to The Land of Cockayne. Not having food to feed a royal guest, the saint went to an oak tree and picked bread, drew wine from a brook and changed stones in the brook to fish.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A. P. Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern. The Historians of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1874), chap. xxviii, p. 227: Quo modo jocator quidam dona regis respuens, discum plenum moris recentibus, post natalam Dominici postulavit: et per Sanctum Kentegernum acceperit.

<sup>4</sup> 'nux, sub cuius umbra erant, fuit in sinus eorum nuces maturissimas, ita ut pleni essent.' Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, 69.

<sup>5</sup> C. Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, 78; *ASS.*, Feb., II, 834, col. 2. St. Coemgenus also produced apples on a willow. 'Et illa salix adhuc omni anno poma Dei nutu producit.' Plummer, I, 251; *ASS.*, June, I, p. 320, col. 1. See also St. Carthacus (Mochudus) who 'in hieme arborem poma jubet ferre.' *ASS.*, May, III, 381, col. 1. St. Maedoc produced apples upon both birches and alders. Plummer, II, 161.

<sup>6</sup> A man who brought the saint the seeds of apples, also brought unfruitful trees with the others. This made no difference to the saint, 'sed sanctus Aidus omnia communiter plantans, et de his arboribus infructuosas, ligna fructifera cum pomis fecit.' W. J. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro British Saints* (Llandoverly, 1853), p. 249.

<sup>7</sup> W. J. Rees, *ibid.*, p. 298. See also La Bienheureuse Jeanne-Marie de Maillé, P. Guérin, *Les Petits Bollandistes* (Paris, 1878), IV, 36. Bread grows from a flower in this instance.

In none of these examples which might geographically have been associated with Sir Cleges do we have mention of cherry trees. Perhaps cherries were not native to Celtic regions. Cherries in winter are found upon the continent. Blessed Gerard produced this fruit in January for a sick man.<sup>8</sup> St. Lasreanus caused filberts to come to being in the spring,<sup>9</sup> and St. Francisca made a grapevine grow grapes in January.<sup>10</sup> St. Rita is more versatile; she made both figs to ripen and roses to bloom in her garden during the winter.<sup>11</sup>

We are told of winter-blooming trees in many instances without knowing whether they bore fruit or not.<sup>12</sup>

The cherry miracle in Sir Cleges has much precedent in hagiology. In nearly every case the legends quoted are older than the tale. Sir Cleges, however, loses none of its pleasantness for having used material which was familiar to the readers of saints' biographies.

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<sup>8</sup> *ASS.*, May, III, 249, col. 2: 'Aliquando aegrotans Januario mense, quatuor cerasa appetiuit, et cuidam suae sorori viduae mandavit ea carptum iret.' See also Le Bienheureux Sanctés D'Urbino, *Les Petits Bollandistes*, IX, 539-540, and St. Jean-Joseph de la Croix, who produced peaches, *ibid.*, III, 174.

<sup>9</sup> *ASS.*, Apr., II, 546, col. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *ASS.*, Mar., II, \*95, col. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Surius, *Historiae seu Vitae Sanctorum* (Turin, n. d.), XIII, 448. St. Julian's tomb was covered with fresh roses in November. See H. L. Bordier, *Georges Florent Grégoire, Evêque de Tours, Les Livres des Tours, Les Livres des Miracles* (Paris, 1857), I, 386. Fennel bloomed all winter at St. Wihorada's tomb. Cf. *ASS.*, May, I, 291, col. 1. See also St. Leopardus, *ASS.*, Nov., III, 376, col. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Blessed John the Good caused a fig tree to bloom in November, *ASS.*, Oct., IX, 761, col. 1; at the translation of St. Zenobius, an elm tree put forth leaves in the middle of January, *ASS.*, May, VI, 53, col. 2; a plantain sprouts leaves under the snow, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XVIII, 325; and unspecified trees show surprising winter growth in the following legends: St. Gratianus, *ASS.*, Oct. X, 21, col. 2; St. Benedict, *ASS.*, Mar., III, 305, col. 1; St. John Abbot, *ASS.*, Mar., III, 31, col. 2; St. William the hermit, *ASS.*, Feb., II, 498, col. 2; St. Eulalia, Gregory of Tours, *op. cit.*, I, 250; St. Gudule, *Petits Bollandistes*, I, 228; and St. John of Perugia, B. Mombrinius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum* (Paris, 1910), II, fol. 33<sup>r</sup>.

## KNIGHT'S TALE, A 1881 ff.

If Chaucer had not displayed himself as a mathematician or, at least, as an amateur of more than random talents by his translation of the *Treatise on the Astrolabe* and by not infrequent references to mathematical affairs in his other works, one might ignore the plain inferences to be drawn from the opening lines of the third book of the *Knight's Tale*. But Chaucer had a mind which was curious over details and which was given to a sort of meticulous care when scientific subjects were involved. That he could combine this characteristic with unblushing exaggeration and "romancing" is apparent throughout the tale, and sometimes in his haste when he attempts to give verisimilitude to his fanciful descriptions by being apparently factual in details, he fails by giving information which will not bear scrutiny.

The passage in question is a perfect illustration. Chaucer had before him the one hundred and eighth and the one hundred and tenth stanzas of the seventh book of the *Teseide*, which gave him the dimensions of Theseus' stadium. Of these he accepted the mile circumference but balked at the idea of five hundred tiers of spectators. Well he might. He reduced the number to sixty, but failed to apply *ars-metrike*, *geometrie* or *acontynge*—his *augrym* stones layen faire apart. If we allow twenty inches for each spectator and two feet for the width of each tier, it will be seen by a fairly simple calculation that the gross capacity of Chaucer's revised structure was 203,552. Deducting ten percent for aisles and vomitoria leaves a net of over 180,000, at least four and a half times the population of fourteenth-century London. In his attempt to avoid the manifest absurdity of his source, he made a substitution which he did not test and produced an absurdity differing only in degree from that which he had rejected. Swift's scrupulous care in handling dimensions and proportions in *Lilliput* offers an excellent contrast.

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AN IRISH VERSION OF *THE FALSE KNIGHT UPON THE ROAD*

Although half a dozen versions of *The False Knight upon the Road* (Child, 3) have been found in America, the existence of this haunting ballad in the British Isles has been attested hitherto only by the two versions in Motherwell's *Minstrelsy* (Child A and B) and the one from Galloway collected by Macmath (Child C). We have had no clear evidence therefore of its circulation outside of Scotland, although the interesting version printed by Mr. Phillips Barry in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxiv, 344, was sung by a French girl, who had learned it from an Irish source.

In these circumstances it is enlightening to discover that an Irish version of the ballad has been of record for nearly a century and a quarter. C. R. Maturin, in his very feeble novel *Women; or, Pour et Contre*, Edinburgh, 1818 (I, 27-28), makes a madwoman sing as follows:

Oh, I wish you were along with me,  
Said the *false-knight*, as he rode;  
And our Lord in company,  
Said the child, and he stood.

Oh, I wish you were in yonder well,  
Said the false knight, as he rode;  
And you in the pit of hell,  
Said the child, and he stood.

That Maturin had heard this sung is clear from his comment, to the effect that the woman "was singing a fragment of an Irish ballad evidently of monkish composition, and of which the air has all the monotonous melancholy of the chaunt of the cloister." As Motherwell did not publish his collection until 1827, this Irish version is thus the earliest of which we have any record. One wonders whether it caught the eye of Sir Walter Scott, since he recommended *Women* to Constable, read the preface before the book was published,<sup>1</sup> and wrote an elaborate notice of it for the *Edinburgh Review*.<sup>2</sup> He scarcely could have failed, one would think, to notice the ballad.

<sup>1</sup> See his tactful letter of advice to Maturin, February 26, 1818, Lockhart, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, v, 300-303.

<sup>2</sup> xxx, 234-257.

Apart from its interest as showing that the ballad was sung in Ireland during the early years of the nineteenth century, Maturin's fragment throws some light on two of the versions found in America. It resembles only remotely those from Maine and Missouri, but is similar to Sharp's version B from North Carolina<sup>3</sup> and extraordinarily close to the one published by Professor Davis from Virginia.<sup>4</sup> The striking parallelism must convince one, I believe, that at least the version of which the two specimens mentioned are variants was brought to America by Irish settlers.

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### BRACK

An unrecorded use of the word *brack* occurs in the will of Henry Darnell of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 1711,<sup>1</sup> in the phrase 'at head of Western *Brack* of Patuxent River.' It is difficult to determine exactly the sense in which the word was used in this instance. There is, of course, the possibility of an error in orthography and that *brack* is merely a misspelling of "branch," for this stream is at the present time called "The Western Branch."<sup>2</sup> The possibility of an error in transcription has been checked and can be dismissed. In the original will the word stands as quoted, *brack*.

If we assume that the word was correctly written, there are several possible explanations of this use of *brack*, but for a more complete understanding of this term it is first necessary to throw further light on the information already given in the *NED*. and Thornton.<sup>3</sup>

The *NED*. gives several definitions for *brack* which are of interest

<sup>3</sup> Campbell and Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, ed. M. Karpeles, 1932, I, 4.

<sup>4</sup> A. K. Davis, Jr., *Traditional Ballads of Virginia*, 1929, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Jane Baldwin Cotton, *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, Baltimore, 1907, III, 196.

<sup>3</sup> Although this stream was for some time called "The Western Branch of the Patuxent River" it is now simply "Western Branch"; indicating a slight transition in the meaning of *branch*. In the former case it implies a "subdivision," while in the latter it is used as "stream."

<sup>3</sup> Richard H. Thornton, *An American Glossary*, London, 1912, I, ii.



for the purposes of this note: 1— a breach or break; 2— a freshet; 3— a cliff, crag, or rock; 4— brackish water.

Under *brack* in the third sense, the *NED.* gives two quotations showing its use. The first, taken from "Hickscorner" in Hazlitt's edition of Dodsley,<sup>4</sup> consists of two lines:

Then thrown in a raft, and so about borne  
On rocks or *bracks* for to run, . . .

Unfortunately, the *NED.* overlooked Hazlitt's footnote on this word in which he said, 'This word, in its present sense, *shoals*, seems to be unglossed.' This example, then, by no means fits the definition under which it stands. The other quotation given by the *NED.* in illustrating *brack* as "a cliff, crag, or rock," is also open to question. The example given is from Florio (1598): '*Bricche*—crag, cliffs, or *brackes* in hills.' But in the word list given in Farmer's<sup>5</sup> edition of "Hickscorner" *brachs* is defined as "an opening in a coast, cliff, or anything similar: *breach* is still good Scots. Also shoals." Hence in the two quotations given by the *NED.* to illustrate *brack* as "a cliff, crag, or rock," the first probably uses the word as "shoals," and the other may possibly be using it as "an opening or breach."

Thornton<sup>6</sup> in his foreword gives an American use of *brack*, which, incidentally, is not included in the *DAE.* although the word in this sense is obsolete in England. He defines the word as "cliff or rock" and quotes several lines from an American newspaper:<sup>6</sup> 'Then keep the south *brack* aboard (sic) until they get to the point of South Beach.' If Thornton had quoted a little more fully, it is probable that he would have given not only a different definition for this word, but also an explanation of its source. A more complete quotation is:

Then run . . . until they are within the bar, which they will easily see, by the breaking of the sea upon it; then keep the south *brack* aboard until they get to the point of Tucker's, or South Beach. . . .

From this it would seem that the word was used to mean "shoals" and that it got its meaning from the "breaking" of the water over the bar.

<sup>4</sup> W. Carew Hazlitt, ed., *A select collection of Old English Plays originally published by Robert Dodsley in the year 1744*, London, 1874, I, 185.

<sup>5</sup> John S. Farmer, *Six Anonymous Plays*, First Series, London, 1905, 235.

<sup>6</sup> *Gazette of the United States*, Philadelphia, September 10, 1796, p. 3.

In attempting to determine the use of *brack* as found in Darnell's will, several of the foregoing definitions can be eliminated. The idea of a cliff or crag does not apply, for the word as used in the will quite definitely refers to a stream. The fact that the "Western *Brack*" is a running stream would eliminate the idea of "brackish." Neither is it likely that any idea of "a freshet" would be intended, for in conjunction with "Western" it would also imply an intermittent quality to the main stream, the Patuxent. *Brack* in the sense of *shoals* would hardly be fitting for a stream. It might apply to a portion of the stream, but then it would refer to a condition existing in its bed rather than to the stream itself.

However, in the sense of "an opening," *brack* might possibly be applied to a stream. That is, if a person stood at the confluence of two streams and looked upstream there would appear to be two vistas or openings in the surrounding country. This effect would be heightened if the banks of the streams were heavily wooded as was probably the case at this early date, 1711. Yet, as this sense of *brack*, limited by "Western," is fitting only when looking upstream from the fork (the will refers to the head of the stream), and as it would apply to the valley rather than to the stream proper, it does not seem probable that this meaning explains Darnell's use of the word.

A further possibility is that *brack* was used as a clipped form of *bracchium*. Henry Darnell was the father-in-law of Charles Carroll, one of a family of lawyers; so it is not improbable that the person who phrased this will had more than a smattering of Latin and might well use *bracchium* to mean the branch of a river. In so far as I can find, the word "branch" was not used for this stream prior to 1717, consequently *brack* would not be contrary to previous usage. The Patuxent River has one main branch on the west side, which explains the definitive wording, "the Western *Brack*."

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## BOSWELL ON SPELLING

In the Preface to his *Account of Corsica* (Glasgow, 1768) Boswell defends his orthography (pp. xviii-xix). He laments that "of late it has become the fashion to render our language more neat and trim by leaving out k after c, and u in the last syllable of words which used to end in our." Dr. Johnson is praised for preserving the 'k' in his *Dictionary*, "as a mark of Saxon original." The 'u' has been retained by Johnson, too, in 'our' endings, although he does omit it occasionally.

"I have retained," says Boswell, "the k, and have taken upon me to follow a general rule with regard to words ending in our. Wherever a word originally Latin has been transmitted to us through the medium of the French, I have written it with the characteristic u." Boswell apologizes for this, stating that he is "one of those who are curious in the formation of language in its various modes; and therefore wish that the affinity of English with other tongues may not be forgotten." He asks that future printings of his book respect his orthography. S. C. Roberts,<sup>1</sup> however, points out that Boswell let four errors slip by in the third edition. These remarks of Boswell's are not listed in A. G. Kennedy's *Bibliography of Writings on the English Language* (Cambridge and New Haven, 1927).

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ON SPANISH *MUNCHO*, PORTUGUESE *MUITO*

In LANGUAGE 13, 317-8 (1937), under the head "Old and Diacritical Spanish *muncho*, Portuguese *muíto*," Max A. Luria writes:

Among the explanations for the presence of *n* in Spanish and nasalization in Portuguese, the following have been suggested by Menéndez Pidal: "Otras veces, sin razón aparente se desliza un sonido entre los latinos; las letras señaladas [correct reading: añadidas] son nasales y líquidas." He adds further: "En la mayoría de estos casos la nasal añadida es un reflejo de otra nasal que hay en el mismo vocablo." Similarly Meyer-Lübke says: "On a déjà montré . . . que dans beaucoup de

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal of a Tour to Corsica* (Cambridge, 1923), p. xvi.

localités une *n* et une *m* initiales de la syllabe nasalisent la voyelle suivante."

In the absence of more tangible evidence, the explanations suggested would appear to be reasonable. It would seem, however, that the origin of the nasalization in *muncho* and *muíto* may be traced to Vulgar Latin. Grandgent cites the Vulgar Latin *muntu* < *multu*. *Muntu* apparently persisted in Portuguese as is evidenced by the current popular form *munto* (pronounced *muntu* or *mütu*). It is very likely that *muntu* > *munto* must have existed also in Spanish. What probably took place was that both *mucho* and *muíto* < *multu* came under the influence of Vulgar Latin *muntu*, thus giving the forms *muncho* and *muíto* (*myütu*).

Unfortunately for Luria's unbuttressed surmise, the alleged occurrence of "Vulgar Latin *muntu* < *multu*" does not by any means prove the viable existence of the nasalization in the speech of the Latin period; *muntu* did not become *munto* in Spanish-Portuguese; neither *mucho* nor *muíto* < *multu* came under the influence of Vulgar Latin *muntu*, even disregarding the anachronism.

In *CIL* is an inscription,<sup>1</sup> next to the last line of which reads: SI VALES NON MVNTV·CVRO. The *m* and *n* of *muntu* are somewhat mutilated. An editorial note reads: "MVNTV scriptum esse videtur pro *multum*." This inscriptional form is cited by Sommer<sup>2</sup> and Stolz-Schmalz<sup>3</sup> and was picked up by Grandgent. The Stolz-Schmalz grammar comments: "offenbar an *tantum* angeglichen (wie später altfrz. *mont*: Jordan Altfrz. El.-B. 221 mit Erklärung)." Niedermann argued for Greek influence.<sup>4</sup>

A Latin *muntu* would become *monto* in Spanish-Portuguese. That would give us a form *monto* alongside of *molto*, which latter form must have persisted for a while without palatalization and vowel change. It is quite unlikely that two words meaning "much" or "many" and so closely alike in form should have gone through centuries of collateral existence in both Latin and Romance, in the same dialectical area. An examination of Romance warrants no hypothesis that a form *muntu* went through the Late Latin period and was delivered to Romance.

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1863-4, 1593.

<sup>2</sup> F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, Heidelberg, 1914, 168.

<sup>3</sup> Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, Munich, 1928, 167.

<sup>4</sup> M. Niedermann, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, Leipzig, 1915, 1090-1.

The group *nt* does not admit palatalization of the *t*, as the treatment of the following Latin forms will prove: *ante*, *contra*, *dente*, *fronte*, *mente*, *planta*, *plantagine*, *ponte*, *sentire*, *tantu*, *ventre*, *ventu*. The palatalization of the *l* and *t* in the consonantal group *lt* is a phenomenon of the separate, independent development of Spanish, as the palatalization of the *l* alone is a Portuguese characteristic. Even if we grant a fairly early date for this change, it seems to me that throughout the entire Latin period the utmost phonological change must have been to *molto*. Romance continuants, including forms in *nt*, are listed in Pușcariu's dictionary.<sup>5</sup> A further change, a change in vocalism from *o* to *u*, was effected after the Iberian-Latin palatalization had taken place. Therefore, any contamination between *multu* and *muntu* resulting in *muïto* and *munchu* must have occurred fairly far inside of the Portuguese and Spanish periods, respectively. No Spanish-Portuguese *monto* is attested. As for the Portuguese form, "even up to the time of Camoens it had not the nasal sound."<sup>6</sup>

It is exceedingly risky to deduce a popular Latin form from such an isolated occurrence as the inscriptional form cited. It is equally daring to suggest that this contamination, if such it be, furnished the basis for the Romance nasal forms. Certainly as to Spanish-Portuguese, formidable phonological objections intervene against Luria's suggestion.

Both Meyer-Lübke and Menéndez Pidal are of course treating the phenomenon as one taking place outside of the period of Latin speech. The explanation repeated by these two scholars is a mere groping in the dark—ingenious, but fundamentally nothing more than suppositive.

Even such a widespread Romance form as *rendere* need not reflect a general replacement of *reddere* within the Late Latin period itself. Luria's suggestion, as I have shown, is wholly untenable.

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<sup>5</sup> S. Pușcariu, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der rumänischen Sprache*, Heidelberg, 1905.

<sup>6</sup> J. Dunn, *A Grammar of the Portuguese Language*, Washington, 1928, 36.

## FAIRE RAVOIR LES GAGES

In Villon's famous ballade, beginning "Je meurs de seuf auprès de la fontaine," the next to last line,

Que fais je plus? Quoy? Les gaiges ravoir,

has given rise to a certain amount of discussion. Before Foulet and Charlier had controverted the assumption, it was generally held, because of this line, that Villon had made two visits to Blois. These critics showed, however, that "ravoir les gages" here means, not "to receive one's wages again," but "to redeem one's pledges." Foulet, reading *sais* for *fais*, translated the line: "Que sais-je encore? Peut-être rentrer en possession de mes gages."

The reading of both manuscripts, however, is *fais*, not *sais*,<sup>1</sup> and *les* does not necessarily mean *mes*. A passage in the *Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* (ed. Servois, SATF, 1893) apparently supplies the correct interpretation. There the emperor Conrad, after attending a great tourney, takes upon himself the redemption of his guests' pledges:

. . . il envoia ses seneschaus  
D'une part et d'autre as chevaus,  
Qui portent argent et avoir  
Por fere les gages ravoir  
A trestoz ceuls qui voudrent prendre. (ll 2836-40) <sup>2</sup>

The practice of great lords who requited those in their service by redeeming their pledges and thus paying their debts is well known.<sup>3</sup> Here the emperor becomes generous on a magnificent scale—dont ses pris monta mout en France (l. 2835).

Apparently, our needy tramp of a Villon—bien recueully, debouté de chascun—at the end of his ballade of improbable contradictions assumes the humorous rôle of a grand seigneur (perhaps as a broad hint to that *prince clement*, Charles d'Orléans, to play a similar part), puns on two meanings of the verb *faire*, and asks:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *MLN.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 498, for references to Foulet, Charlier, a collation of the manuscripts, and my former, incorrect attempt to translate this line.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Rita Lejeune, Paris, 1936, ll. 2845-49.

<sup>3</sup> See Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, 5<sup>te</sup> Reihe, Leipzig, 1912, p. 244.

"What else do I do? What? Why, I have pledges redeemed!"; in other words, I poor debtor—welcomed cordially, rebuffed by everyone—pay the debts of others! But the possibility of a *double entendre* cannot be excluded, and it may well be that the expression has a second meaning, i. e. "lose my pledges again," faire ravoïr mes gages—aux taverniers.

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## REVIEWS

*Le Haut Livre du Graal: Perlesvaus.* Edited by WILLIAM A. NITZE and Collaborators. Vol. II: Commentary and Notes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. xii + 398.

Ce volume de M. Nitze, dédié à la mémoire du coéditeur du I<sup>er</sup> volume du *Perlesvaus*, et apparaissant six ans après celui-ci, résume l'activité d'une vie entière vouée à des recherches sur le cycle du Graal. Cette œuvre, tout en montrant à l'œuvre un spécialiste que personne ne saurait dépasser en compétence sur ce sujet, n'est pas rapetissée par les tics bien connus des spécialistes d'ancien français (type Stengel ou Holbrook): c'est un homme d'un goût esthétique sûr, d'une vaste érudition encyclopédique et d'une logique impeccable qui s'attaque à des problèmes de critique de texte, d'histoire littéraire comparée, de folk-lore, de linguistique comparée (philologie celtique, onomastique etc.) et d'histoire tout court. On lit les chapitres sur les rapports du roman avec les traditions du monastère de Glastonbury (contre l'expression "monastic propaganda" M. Loomis a protesté dans *RR*, 1938, p. 175—avec raison, je crois—c'est la baguette magique de Bédier qui a forcé la main au professeur de Chicago!), sur les sources du roman (le *Conte del Graal* de Chrétien, Pseudo-Wauchier et Wauchier) et les sources communes à *P* (= *Perlesvaus*) avec Mannessier et le *Joseph* de Robert de Boron (tandis que Gerbert de Montreuil dépend du *P*) ou sur le principe de travail par "conflation" (syncretisme) de l'auteur, avec cette joie intime que procure toute œuvre d'un maître dominant sa technique par la sûreté du doigté et par un tact délicat. On aime lire dans un ouvrage d'histoire littéraire du moyen âge des allusions à des modernes comme T. S. Eliot, Balzac ou J. Romains, et l'historien du style de prose est particulièrement charmé par l'essai d'expliquer la qualité du style de *P* ("direct, vivid, picturesque, and varied"), en tant que s'opposant à celui de la *Queste du Graal* analysé par M. Pauphilet ("periodical and ora-

torical," "abstract, subtle, repetitious, somewhat monotonous"), par l'inspiration culturelle et conceptuelle de Cluny-Glastonbury, centres de christianisme militant (par opposition à la tradition mystique de Cîteaux qui informe la *Queste*). J'aurais personnellement préféré que M. Nitze fût resté fidèle à ce contraste élucidé p. 88 dans son chapitre v ("Structure and style of the *Perlesvaus*"), au lieu de comparer la structure de *P* avec la *Charrette* de Chrétien, d'inspiration purement laïque, et je me demande si le soi-disant 'progrès' de *P*, la construction de l'intrigue sur l'idée de l'atteinte de l'idéal spirituel, n'est point lié au fait même de la 'quête' de l'idéal: Perlesvaus, muni du don de la volonté et de la grâce, accomplit ce que Gauvain et Lancelot, moins doués soit en ceci soit en cela, n'ont pu atteindre: la structure de l'action en trois degrés obéit en somme à une de ces lois élémentaires (*episke lawe* de A. Kock) qui préside aussi aux contes de fées; cette structure est due à la même concrétion d'un "folk-tale" et de la "church doctrine" que M. N. a constatée pour une scène de détail à la p. 162. J'abandonnerais toutes les évaluations de nature comparative (supérieur à Chrétien en ceci, inférieur en cela, p. 171), et les paragraphes sur le style gagneraient à être développés et groupés sous les mêmes traits caractéristiques que M. N. a trouvés dans son étude du contenu: esprit militant, mouvement, allégorisme, particulièrement ce que j'appellerais le "pragmatisme de chroniqueur" de ce récit de fiction, dont la précision, les "inszenierende Adverbialbestimmungen," les dialogues, ne sont que des aspects particuliers.<sup>1</sup> Il est curieux de voir un roman d'aventure *out-chronicle the chronicles* de Villehardouin et Joinville. Le problème de la prose ancienne française est extrêmement passionnant, comme l'a senti M. Nitze—tout reste encore à faire ici pour les romanisants et un livre parallèle à celui de M. Schiaffini sur la prose italienne est un desideratum des plus urgents.

Quelques remarques de détail, insignifiantes et humbles contributions de ma part à la compréhension du texte: p. 44: *por voer de l'oncle et du neveu* n'a peut-être pas besoin de l'explication *la bataille, la contenance* que donnent les autres mss; *veoir de* = *to look after, sehen nach*, cf. la tournure a. fr. *veez de Raoul [com il est justisiez]*.—p. 56 pour *insula* 'bloc de maisons' cf. *REW* 4475 (latin, port., norm.) et l'esp. *isla* 'id.'—p. 161

<sup>1</sup> Je mentionnerais aussi deux procédés éminemment classiques, la technique du *leit-motif* et l'économie de mots aboutissant à employer le même matériel verbal en des sens différents, ce qui confine au jeu de mots: l. 23 *li dons li sanbla estre molt granz . . .*, et *li guerredons sanbla estre molt petit a Pilate*,—d'ailleurs cette association, qui explique la forme phonétique du mot fr. (comme l'on sait, emprunté du germ. *widarlôn*), est une rime typique, cf. la chanson du Châtelain de Coucy dans Bartsch-Wiese, gloss. s. v. *guerredon*,—ou l. 352 *ne ne demanda de coi ce serroit, ne cui on en serroit*, formule bipartite originale dans notre œuvre, d'après ce qu'en dit M. Nitze à la p. 216; l. 784 [*Judas Macchabée*] *cil qui afaita un oisel a prendre l'autre*, idée et expression originales elles aussi d'après M. N.



je pense que le commencement de *P* ne rentre pas dans le chapitre vérité morale ou slogan (. . . *soffrir peinne et travail de la loi Jhesu Crist essaucier* est subordonné aux substantifs [*por ce que la veritez fust seue . . .*] de chevaliers et de preudomes, comment il voldrent soffrir . . .), mais dans le type *arma viumque cano qui primus ab oris . . .*, cf. Scheludko, *Arch. rom.*, xv, 148 sur l'*inventio materiae* et l'*amplificatio* et *circumlocutio*, cette dernière se trouvant dans le second paragraphe qui repète en le paraphrasant le premier paragraphe.—p. 171 Dans le passage (l. 37 seq.).

"De cel lignage fu li Buens Chevalliers por coi cist hanz estoires est tretiez. Iglais ot non sa mere, li Rois Peschierres fu ses oncles, e li Rois de la Basse Gent, qui fu nomez Pelles, e li Rois du Chastel Mortel; en celui ot autretant de mal com il ot en cez .ii. de bien, o il en ot molt; cil troi furent si oncle de par Iglai sa mere, qui molt fut buenne dame e loiaus; li Buens Chevalliers ot une sereur qui ot non Dandrane,"

je ne couperais pas après *Chastel Mortel* pour relever le rythme descendant, mais je constaterais le rythme 'circulaire' du passage entier: la lignée s'ouvre et se clôt sur le Buens Chevalliers, de même la mère Iglais revient deux fois, et au dedans de ces deux cercles se meuvent les trois oncles, contre-balançant le bien et le mal (*en celui ot autretant de mal com il ot en cez .ii. de bien . . .* et la phrase, plus longue pour le troisième, reflète ce contre-poids moral). De même dans l'énumération suivante des douze freres:

"E cil Lulains ot .xi. freres, molt buens chevaliers autressi com il fu, e ne vesqui chascuns que xii. anz chevaliers, e morurent tuit a armes par leur grant ardemement e por avancier la loi qui renovelee estoit. Il furent .xii. frere. Julains li Gros fu li ainz nez, Gogallians fu apres, Bruns Brandalis fu li tierz, Bertoles li Chaus fu li carz, Brandalus de Gales fu li quinz, Elinanz d'Escavalons fu li sistes, Calobritius li semes, Meralis du Pre du Pales li wittimes, Fortunes de la Vermeille Lande li nuevimes, Meliarmans d'Albanie li .x., Calerians de la Blanche Tor li .xi., Alibans de la Gaste Cite li doziemes. Tuit cist morurent a armes o service du Saint Prophete qui avoit renovelee la Loi par sa mort . . ."

les mots *tuit a armes . . . et por avancier la loi qui renovelee estoit . . . o service du Saint Prophete qui avoit renovelee la Loi par sa mort* encadrent l'énumération. C'est un procédé d'encerclement ou de cernement des faits racontés par l'idée morale, de balancement et de *self-sufficiency* de la phrase, qui dérive de l'habitude a. française de détailler individuellement les comportements d'une collectivité qu'analyse Vossler, *Frankr. Kultur u. Sprache*, p. 50. Nous avons le même 'cercle spirituel' traduisant la complétude de la Trinité dans le passage (l. 8 seq.):

"Li hanz livres du Graal commence o non du Pere e du Fill et du Saint Esperit. Cez trois persones sont une sustance, a cele sustance si est Dex, e de Dieu si muet li hanz contes du Graal; e tuit cil qui l'oent le doivent entendre . . ."

Le chiasme est une forme exprimant cet équilibre au dedans du cercle et les e . . . si marquent les progrès de ce retour en soi-même. Cf. l. 285 seq.:

"Il aresnè son cheval a un arbre delez la chapele e cuide dedenz entrer. Mes s'il deust conqerre tot l'or du mont n'entrast il dedenz; e si ne li deffendoit nus, car li huis estoit overz, ne il ne voit nului qui li deffendist."

Il faudrait étudier ce rythme constant de plus près. De même on devrait relever des balancements comme 291:

"e voit a destre de l'ermite le plus bel enfant que nus veist onques, e estoit revestuz d'aube, e avoit une corone d'or en son chief carchiee de

pierres precieuses . . . A la senestre partie avoit une dame si bele que totes les biautez du monde ne se porroient comparer a sa biaute."

*L'adnominatio* est contre-balancée par la longueur de la phrase s'appliquant à Jésus — p. 176 sur Josephus Flavius chrétien voir R. Eisler, *Ἰησοῦ βασιλεὺς* ou *βασιλευας* pass. le *testimonium Flavianum* et ses avatars (il était connu en hébreu dans l'Angleterre angevine, p. xlv, en latin par Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 467). — p. 215 une note à ligne 302 sur la verrière symbole de la Vierge (avec référence au travail de Yrjö Hirn, *Neuphil. Mitt.* xxix, p. 33 seq.) serait peut-être indiquée. — p. 232 La collection d'apophtegmes moraux est intéressante, seulement je soulignerais qu'ils ne sont pas un but en soi pour l'auteur de *P*, subordonnés qu'ils sont toujours à l'action du roman: ils ne font qu'appuyer l'attitude morale ou idéale des héros et ils obéissent aussi à des préoccupations esthétiques. Le premier exemple 1118: "la chevaleri[e] est buenne c'on fet por Dieu," ainsi détaché du passage, ne peut pas être apprécié dans ses motifs complexes: voici le passage complet:

Sire, fet ele, *por Dieu*, pregne vos pitiez de ma dame ma mere e de moi.— Certes, damoisele, pitie en e ge grant.—Sire, dont verra on a cest besoing se vos estes buens chevaliers, car la chevaleri[e] est buenne c'on fet *por Dieu*.

J'ai souligné le mouvement circulaire, éminemment esthétique, marqué par *por Dieu*; et on remarquera l'engrenage, à l'intérieur du cercle, de ces répliques: *pitie* et *chevalerie* (*pitie* = *chevalerie*!) sont les (ou le) sujet(s). La morale n'est qu'un jour projeté sur l'attitude des héros. De même 1401: la maxime "il ne vient de guerre se max non" s'insère dans une discussion où les répliques martelantes doivent produire un choc par la répétition "économique" des mêmes mots:

Vos ne volez se *pes non*, ce m'est avis, fet Messire Gavains.—J'e droit, fet li chevaliers, car il ne vient de guerre se *max non*.

On remarquera ce *car* élargissant l'attitude personnelle en moralité générale. Une multiplicité de *car*, tombant en cascade majestueusement ordonnée, évoque une impression de circonspection et d'équilibre moral dans un discours du roi Artus (je rétablis de nouveau le passage entier) 8603:

Je manderai Lancelot par mes letres e par mon seel que il vaigne a moi parler, *car* g'en ai grant besoing; e quant il iert venus, si prendrons conroi de ce que vos avez dit, *car* je ne voell mie que il ne autres qui mes chevaliers soit, voelle par sa poissance reveler envers moi, car ades doit avoir li sires poissance desor son chevalier, e estre cremuz e doutez de lui, ou autrement est feble sa segnorie, *car* segnorie ne valt gaires sanz poissance

C'est une sorte de prose à syllogismes (plus habilement masqués que dans celle du Dante, v. *Travaux du séminaire d'Istanbul*, I, p. 199), qui fait rentrer le particulier dans le général. Si M. Nitze peut citer trois sentences morales (dont deux tirées de la bible) dans un même discours de la Veve Dame, la mère de Perlesvaus, ce sera dû à un désir du poète de caractériser un pieux personnage. — p. 253 le *roi de la gasse* ([la] *gaïse*) n'aura pas tiré son nom de la *guante* ('King of the Watch'): car je ne vois pas de possibilité de tirer du pluriel *agais*, de *agait*, un *aga(i)sse* et la correction *agaite* introduirait la lectio facillior. Ne serait-ce pas une bavarde 'pie' (*agasse*, *agace*) qui aurait pris à l'origine le rôle de la grue (celle-ci se trouve dans un ms.) annonçant les ennemis? Cf. fr. *jaquemart* 'figure d'homme avec un marteau à la main, qu'on met sur les horloges pour frapper les heures,' argot des chauffeurs de taxi *jacquot*, *jack* 'compteur,' de *jaques*, *jaquot* 'pie,' *jacasser*, *jaqueter* 'crier comme une pie' (ce qu'on appelait en a. fr. *agacier*) et en dernier lieu de *Jacobus*, v. *Vow romanica*, III, 188.—p. 313 je comparerais *se vos sentez votre cœur que . . .*, non avec un lat. *\*sentio animi* (locatif non attesté) mais avec le fr. pop. *si le cœur vous en dit*.—

p. 331 *gripe* 'griffon' sera plutôt germanique (cf. *Vogel Greif*, *REW* s. v. *grīpan*) que le gréco-lat. *gryphas*.

A la place de certaines surcharges de la bibliographie on aurait préféré une bibliographie raisonnée de tout ce qui se rapporte directement au cycle arthurien (beaucoup d'articles cités dans le corps de l'ouvrage réapparaissent, et je ne vois pas trop le rapport de mon article sur l'archiprêtre de Hita avec *P*) ; et peut-être aussi aurait-on aimé avoir une analyse succincte du récit de *P* qui aurait permis de s'orienter rapidement dans l'œuvre.

L'impression luxueuse de tout ce qui sort des presses de l'Université de Chicago sert ici une œuvre où la forme extérieure et le contenu spirituel se correspondent harmonieusement.

LEO SPITZER

*L'œuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre, et la querelle des femmes.* Par EMILE V. TELLE. Toulouse, Imprimerie toulousaine Lion et fils, 1937. Pp. 416.

Dans ce livre si intéressant, l'importance accordée à l'ambiance sociale et idéologique est considérable. Personnellement, nous sommes tout à fait d'accord avec ce procédé, qui consiste à peindre le fond du tableau avec autant de minutie que le sujet central. Nous admettons que celui-ci perd alors en netteté, mais, lorsqu'on emploie cette méthode, c'est un défaut bien difficile à éviter ; sauf pour ces heureux mortels qui n'ont jamais besoin de passer de la théorie à la pratique, le juste milieu reste encore le degré des choses le plus fuyant. Néanmoins, nous nous permettrons de soulever une objection générale : l'enchaînement des chapitres ne laisse pas d'être obscur ; tout légitime qu'il puisse être, il complique la lecture et crée une impression de lourdeur. Le plus souvent M. Telle voit juste, et c'est un mérite qu'on ne saurait assez louer, mais il est regrettable que, pour s'en rendre compte, le lecteur soit obligé de lire simultanément deux ou trois chapitres.

Le Chap. I est consacré à une histoire de la querelle au moyen âge ; il aurait peut-être suffi de le résumer en quelques pages placées en tête de ce qui constitue le Chap. II ("La querelle dans la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle"). Ce deuxième chapitre est fort bien fait et contient une analyse remarquable du traité (important, mais négligé jusqu'ici) *De la noblesse et préexcellence du sexe féminin* de Cornelius Agrippa. Les détails sur le *Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur féminin* ont une certaine valeur, mais nous doutons qu'on puisse attribuer à ce brave Billon l'anéantissement des détracteurs du beau sexe. Son livre parut en 1555, et à cette date, malgré le *Tiers Livre*, les femmes avaient déjà cause gagnée, grâce à l'appui des pétrarquistes et des platoniciens à la Castiglione. A

ce propos, pourquoi ne pas inclure dans ce chapitre la discussion de la "querelle des amyes" qu'on découvre plus loin, intercalée entre la discussion de l'*Heptaméron* et l'exposé du mouvement antiaulique? Nous saisissons en partie la raison de cette disposition :

Ainsi, cette querelle ne présente aucun des symptômes de la vieille Querelle des Femmes; nous sommes ici sur un autre plan, bien différent de celui de la *Controverse des Sexes masculin et féminin* du Seigneur de Drusac. Tout ce qu'on peut dire . . . c'est que la *Contre Amye* et la *Parfaicte Amye* se trouvent sur un plan parallèle à celui du vieux courant courtois, l'*Amye de Court* et l'*Honneste Amant* sur un plan parallèle à celui du vieux courant gaulois—les attitudes sont seulement analogues, mais il n'est plus question de suprématie masculine et de sarcasmes à l'égard des femmes; les temps ont changé (p. 174).

Cependant nous n'arrivons pas à comprendre que cela suive l'examen de l'*Heptaméron*, lequel représente un résultat plutôt qu'une cause de cette querelle. En outre, pourquoi une coupure entre les chapitres sur l'*Heptaméron* et sur le mouvement antiaulique, puisque la plupart des citations de celui-ci sont empruntées à celui-là? (pp. 201-211)

Le chapitre III se compose d'un aperçu très précieux sur le statut légal de la femme au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, de quelques pages décrivant le caractère général de la littérature sous François I<sup>er</sup>, et de quelques lignes dans lesquelles on énumère les courants de la querelle des femmes. A notre avis, le second de ces éléments aurait pu être éliminé et le troisième ajouté au chapitre II.

Les chapitres suivants sont ceux sur l'*Heptaméron* (IV), la "querelle des amyes" (V) et le mouvement antiaulique (VI), dont nous venons de parler. Quoique intéressante, l'étude des poésies courtoises de la reine (VII) ne modifie en rien ce que celle-ci a dit dans son recueil de contes sur les relations des deux sexes (p. 247); la conclusion qu'en tire M. Telle vaut la peine d'être citée, car il nous semble qu'elle caractérise le livre entier:

C'est l'homme dans sa complexité qui la captive; voilà pourquoi elle s'est tant intéressée aux relations entre les deux sexes, à l'amour. C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle il faut se garder de vouloir séparer par des cloisons étanches l'inspiration de ses œuvres dites profanes de celle des œuvres religieuses; sa pensée est une, et ne vise qu'un but unique, Dieu (p. 251).

Cette théorie discutable permet à l'auteur d'aborder au chapitre suivant (VIII) la philosophie de l'amour de Marguerite. Nous ne sommes pas de l'avis de M. Marichal, qui trouve que c'est la partie la plus importante et la plus neuve du livre.<sup>1</sup> Tout d'abord, la doctrine amoureuse personnelle (ou mysticisme) de la reine relève de la religion, alors que la querelle des femmes relève de la morale. Ensuite, sur ce mysticisme, M. Telle ne nous apprend rien de nouveau; il se prononce pour l'interprétation traditionnelle de Lefranc

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Humanisme et Renaissance*, V, 186.

et de Jourda, laquelle repose sur un platonisme assez superficiel, et contre celle de Parturier et de Renaudet, qui y voient l'influence du spiritualisme libertin issu des régions septentrionales. Cette dernière théorie n'a pas suffisamment retenu l'attention de l'auteur.

Il reste à signaler la façon magistrale dont M. Telle décrit la réhabilitation du mariage par le mouvement réformiste et expose la question des mariages clandestins (Chap. ix); ces passages révèlent une larguer de vue qui sort de l'ordinaire. Ici la découverte la plus importante de l'auteur, c'est que Marguerite a mené une vraie campagne en faveur du mariage d'inclination, chose rare à l'époque dans les milieux aristocratiques. La bibliographie qui clôt le volume est parfaite et ne fera pas double emploi avec celle de Jourda.

EDWARD F. MEYLAN

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*État présent des Études sur Descartes.* Par JEAN BOORSCH. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937. Pp. x + 197. Études Françaises.

Un nouveau cahier—un gros cahier puisqu'il a près de 200 pages—dans cette utile collection *État présent* . . . publiée sous la haute direction de Paul Hazard. Il témoigne d'une très grande conscience et d'une érudition sûre et pénétrante. C'était là une étude qui, certes, n'était pas à la portée de chacun puisqu'il fallait être suffisamment ferré non seulement en histoire littéraire, mais en matière métaphysique et en sciences. M. Boorsch a fait la part très large aux questions scientifiques. Il insiste à plusieurs reprises sur l'unité de l'œuvre de Descartes et se fait l'écho d'une réaction contre la tendance qui avait longtemps prévalu et qui consistait à insister sur le dualisme de la doctrine cartésienne: "Apercevoir cette vérité est la conquête la plus importante et la plus certaine qu'ait faite la critique contemporaine." Nous ne saurions, pour notre part, considérer comme tout à fait convaincante la démonstration de M. Boorsch. Sans doute faut-il un peu tenir compte du sens exact que l'on veut donner au terme "métaphysique"; mais, de toute façon, Descartes lui-même n'a-t-il pas, écrit M. Boorsch, "séparé nettement théologie et philosophie, révélation et raison" dans les *Principia*? Ajoutons que telles que résumées dans le livre même de M. Boorsch, les *Méditations*, quand elles reprennent les données du *Discours de la Méthode* compliquent le problème plus qu'elles ne l'éclairent—forcé qu'est l'auteur de recourir à des distinctions sans fin; de même le *Traité des Passions* trahit par son vocabulaire seul, une psychologie à la fois "physique" et "méta-physique" des passions qui n'est plus viable aujourd'hui.

Ce qui frappe plus que l'unité de la doctrine cartésienne réaffirmée par M. Boorsch, c'est, quand on ferme le volume, de constater l'importance qui doit revenir au Descartes métaphysicien, voire théologien,—une constatation qu'imposent quantité de travaux récents, et surtout les ouvrages si vigoureux de Gilson. M. Boorsch ne manque pas de la signaler :

Il est indéniable que depuis le centenaire de la naissance de Descartes [1896] des vérités importantes se sont imposées : la sincérité religieuse de Descartes et la place qu'ont tenue chez lui les préoccupations de religion ne sont plus guère mises en doute pas les gens de bonne foi.<sup>1</sup> L'importance des survivances de la pensée médiévale dans son œuvre a été mise en lumière (p. 182).

La révélation est vraiment stupéfiante d'un Descartes à tel point embourbé dans la vieille métaphysique médiévale : il se montre en quelque sorte hanté par le besoin de se prouver à lui-même l'existence de Dieu ; il n'est jamais satisfait d'avoir assez insisté sur le fait d'une âme distincte du corps (qui le conduit à sa fameuse thèse de l'automatisme des bêtes) et sur une certitude d'immortalité ; il cherche les rapports du péché et de l'erreur. . . . Mais il convient d'ajouter aussi que certains passages de l'étude de M. Boorsch montrent que ce Descartes spiritualiste est plutôt encore une redécouverte qu'une découverte ; ainsi quand il souligne " un singulier regain de faveur du cartésianisme au milieu du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : évidemment on l'utilise comme machine de guerre contre un ennemi plus redoutable : *L'Encyclopédie* " (p. 178).

Parallèlement à tout ceci, il est une autre constatation qu'impose aussi l'étude de M. Boorsch : tandis que certains apologistes modernes réclament Descartes comme leur appartenant (Maritain, parmi les écrivains catholiques est une exception notable), d'autre part—on y revient très souvent—la physique de Descartes " craque " ; elle craque ici, là, un peu partout.

Reste, sans doute, la " méthode " de Descartes, mais qui revient très simplement à proclamer comme valable le critère de la raison de mieux en mieux informée " pour trouver la vérité dans les sciences, " et dont la valeur est si bien démontrée qu'elle ne pourra jamais plus être récusée. En effet les attaques réitérées et pusillanimes des anti-intellectualistes qu'on a formulées ces dernières années ne sont, en somme, qu'un tribut au prestige de cette méthode scientifique dont on croit devoir craindre certaines conclusions. Il semble donc qu'il faille en revenir tout simplement au mot de Fontenelle : " C'est lui [Descartes] ce me semble qui a amené cette nouvelle méthode de raisonner, beaucoup plus estimable que sa philosophie même " (cité p. 179). Bossuet cartésien—cartésien " métaphysique "—n'avait-il pas eu, avant même Fontenelle, un pressentiment assez juste quand il écrivait avec appré-

<sup>1</sup> Oserions-nous renvoyer à ce sujet à notre article sur " Le Songe de Descartes " qui a paru dans *Le Mercure de France*, fév. 1938 ?

hension: "Je vois un grand combat se préparer contre l'Église sous le nom de Philosophie cartésienne" (cité p. 180)?

En résumé, sauf pour le *Discours de la Méthode*, la conclusion de M. Boorsch "La pensée de Descartes n'est pas morte, loin de là" a un son passablement optimiste—puisque sa "physique" craque de toutes parts, et que sa "métaphysique" est singulièrement imprégnée d'un médiévalisme que, tout de même, nous avons dépassé. Il faut l'avouer candidement: Descartes ne nous paraît pas sortir grand de l'examen.

Le volume de M. Boorsch rendra de grands services même s'il doit paraître à quelques-uns, par endroits au moins, un exposé de la doctrine de Descartes plutôt qu'un exposé de l'état présent des études sur Descartes. Il est d'ailleurs un peu regrettable que le volume ait été rédigé avant le "Congrès Descartes" qui s'est réuni à Paris du 1<sup>er</sup> au 6 août 1937, et où l'on a répandu "à foison des aperçus nouveaux et solides qui font prévoir de nouvelles perspectives" dit M. Boorsch (p. 181-2) qui signe sa préface Janvier 1937. Or, il a pu être tenu compte de ces travaux dans quelques notes seulement, insérées au moment de la correction des épreuves. Espérons que M. Boorsch ne tardera pas à nous renseigner sur le contenu des trois cahiers contenant cette fraîche moisson de recherches, toutes sorties de la plume de spécialistes cartésiens.

ALBERT SCHINZ

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*Marc-Antoine Legrand, acteur et auteur comique (1673-1728).*

Par MARY SCOTT BURNET. Paris: Droz, 1938. Pp. 201.

This French dissertation by an American, forming vol. xiv of the Bibliothèque de la Société des historiens du théâtre, is greatly superior to a German dissertation on the same subject that appeared in 1910. The author has made a careful study of the eighteenth-century Labiche who attained great popularity in his day and was especially famous for *le Roi de Cocagne*, a comedy for which Schlegel expressed admiration, and for *Cartouche*, a work capitalizing interest in a celebrated highwayman. Miss B. has written the most complete account we have of Legrand's life, has shown the debt of his early plays to Dancourt and others, his efforts to imitate the methods of the Théâtre Italien and the Théâtre de la Foire, and the contribution he made to parody. She avoids overestimating his ability either as author or as actor and gives a good idea of his place in dramatic history. She holds that he had talent in light satire, knowledge of dramatic technique, facility in expression, and a highly developed sense "du comique, et surtout du plaisant" that kept Paris amused for twenty years.

She has wisely placed her emphasis chiefly on Legrand's life and his major plays, but some of the others receive less attention than they would seem to deserve. A discussion of *les Terres australes* would, for instance, have interested those concerned with exotic influences. She is at times too ready to accept the statements of discredited writers like Mouhy and Lemazurier. Her confidence in Beauchamps, whom she follows in preference to a notice of Legrand that appeared in the *Mercure* at the time of his death, leads her to attribute to La Ferté two plays that Legrand probably wrote.<sup>1</sup> Had she discussed them, she would have been able to show that there are interesting resemblances between them and some of his other works; to note that they help fill a strange gap in his dramatic productivity (1695-1707): and, instead of indicating his subsequent introduction of an "opérateur" as due to Dancourt's influence, to point out that he preceded Dancourt in this respect. Similarly, p. 32, she follows Lantilhac in saying that the Théâtre Italien represented "l'esprit de la vieille farce française," rather than that of the *commedia dell'arte*, although the plays of the Théâtre Italien resemble Old French farces about as much as jazz is like a ballad. There are also minor slips:

P. 6, she suggests that Raymond Poisson used his influence in 1694 to obtain for Legrand a hearing at the Comédie Française, though Poisson had died in 1690! P. 11, *le Florentin* should no longer be attributed to La Fontaine, but, as M. Gohin has shown, to Champmeslé. P. 180, her remark about feminism would suggest that the *Femmes savantes* had not been played at the Comédie Française before 1727. It would have been well to add, p. 170, to appreciations of Legrand the fact that J.-B. Rousseau wrote, July 21, 1724, that he was the only comic author of the day "qui travaillât de génie, et sans retourner les idées d'autrui." P. 186, there is in the Widener Library a copy of a German translation of *l'Epreuve réciproque*, published at Leipzig in 1777.

The dissertation is, however, a creditable one and makes an interesting contribution to French dramatic history of 1694-1727.

H. C. L.

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<sup>1</sup> Her main reasons are that the two plays are assigned to La Ferté by Beauchamps and by some unknown person who wrote the name of La Ferté on the copy of each at the Arsenal. She declares that the list of Legrand's plays in the *Mercure* is inaccurate, but does not discuss the greater inaccuracy of Beauchamps. The unknown scribe may well have been merely following Beauchamps. The evidence is not, it is true, strong enough to make it certain that Legrand wrote them, but it points to him rather than to the obscure and aristocratic criminal that the chevalier de La Ferté was.



*The Theatre of Alexandre Dumas Fils.* By F. A. TAYLOR. Oxford [and N. Y.]: University Press, 1937. Pp. vii + 210. (*Oxford Studies in Modern Languages and Literature.*)

Mr. Taylor portrays the agnostic champion of Christian ideals, the realistic man of the world who created a *théâtre utile* to redeem society. The force and skill, the limitations and errors of Dumas are generally well illustrated. The life of the dramatist, the historical and moral background of his innovations, the plots of all his plays are aptly combined to describe the apostolic aspect of the many-sided Dumas fils.

Interesting throughout, the book leaves here and there an impression of insufficiency. Regarding the background, for example, one may ask whether T. has looked into Dumas's familiarity with the contemporaneous French laws. The dramatist's competence in the matter has been questioned (cf. F. Moreau, *Le Code Civil et le Théâtre Contemporain*, 1887), and would seem to demand consideration here. T. himself errs when he says that Mme Guichard's 'recognition' of Adrienne was "forestalled" by Montaignin (148-149); he may have confused 'recognition' with possession (see *M. Alphonse*, III, 5). T. shares Dumas's illusion concerning the ending of *Le Fils naturel* (106); the illegitimate son's refusal to 'recognize' his father was no longer original in 1858 (cf. *MLN.*, XLVII (1932), 174-176). The charge that Dumas "snatches" at the dénouement of *Les Idées de Madame Aubray* "with unnecessary haste" (163) is based on a misconception. The excellent objections which T. raises against a hasty marriage (130), the "reticence and sense of time" he would oppose to the impetuosity of youth are irrelevant, the question being whether or not Mme A. will stand by her ideas and permit her son to marry a fallen woman. On the other hand, T.'s authentication of the realism of *le Demi-monde* is a little disconcerting, not so much in view of his own strictures on the play as because of his readiness to follow Dumas into the "uncharted society" (185); it is, at any rate, a long time since the analogy of the "pêches à quinze sous" has received such approval (93). I should like to add two minor suggestions. "Vénus tout entière . . ." seems scarcely applicable (159) to a desperate woman who speaks of escaping her misery by becoming a prostitute. I also wonder whether *M. Alphonse* is "the perfect maquereau" (186); and if he were, I should still question the propriety of the term in Mr. Taylor's discriminating vocabulary.

The above criticism is not meant to detract from the value of Mr. Taylor's work, which is to be classed, I believe, among the better studies of Dumas fils; one cannot help regretting that the author did not make it a definitive book.

MAURICE BAUDIN

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*Deutsches Volkstum. Haus und Siedlung im Wandel der Jahrtausende.* Von ADOLF HELBOK und HEINRICH MARZELL. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1937. (*Deutsches Volkstum*, hrsg. von John Meier, VI.) 154 pages and 82 illustrations.

The sixth volume of *Deutsches Volkstum* consists of two parts. The first part, pp. 11-121, "Haus und Siedlung," is by Adolf Helbok. The illustrative material for this part is well chosen. Heinrich Marzell has written the much shorter second part, pp. 125-54, "Garten und Pflanzen."

Most books on "Volkskunde" or "Volkstum" contain chapters on the types of house and village structure. These chapters are often contributed by one and the same specialist who does little but repeat himself from one book to the other. Although Helbok has written frequently on the general subject of house and village structure—see e. g. his publications listed in the bibliographical appendix to *Die Deutsche Volkskunde*, II, edited by Adolf Spamer, Leipzig-Berlin, 1935—he presents an important new treatment of the subject. Its value lies mainly in a well-written history of the research into house and village structures, in a clearly drawn picture of the difference between trends of investigations at the time of Riehl, during the era of "liberalism," and the present with its marked return to the ideals of Riehl, and, last but not least, in the formulation of problems that have as yet not been attacked. Hence, although a large and important part of Helbok's share of the present volume is an appraisal of the significant past and present contributions to the study of house and village structure, he also points the way into the future. Worth while as his book is, one should not care to recommend it to the beginner as a convenient primer. The following suggestions may have some value: An effort should be made to simplify and make uniform the (unnecessarily, it seems) complicated terminology of house and village structure. I am, of course, speaking for the non-German reader. He should not be made to feel constantly the need of consulting a glossary, such as O. A. Erich and R. Beitzl, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Volkskunde*, Leipzig, 1936 (see especially pages 663 f., under "Siedlung"). Helbok is a native of Vorarlberg. This may explain his interest in the structure of Alpine villages (pages 101-107). He recommends that a consideration of them be included in books dealing with the structure of *German* villages (page 101)—the present volume was published before Austria was annexed by Germany. Helbok's interest in Alpine houses and villages is not the interest of the scholar of the era of "liberalism." He declares himself in no uncertain terms as favoring a "fighting science" (e. g. on page 121). Hence the injection of the nationalistic note: he insists on the Alps remaining *German*, and he sug-

gests that, along with other things, Roman-Catholic celibacy and Roman-Catholic cultivation of the "type of the sufferer and penitent" as distinguished from the heroism of the Nordic race (page 103) be examined as possible sources of danger. This attitude may also be responsible for the fact that the work of the monastic orders during the colonization of the East-Elbian territory receives only slight mention. If I mistake not, only the Cistercians are mentioned, and mentioned only once (page 84). The occasional idealization of the peasant (e. g. page 112) may derive ultimately from the same attitude. On the relationship existing between the German peasant house and that in Northern France (page 45) there can now be added Cl. V. Trefois, "La Technique de la Construction rurale en bois. Contribution à l'étude de l'habitat en Flandre et dans les contrées voisines," *Folk*, I (Leipzig, 1937), 55-73. A study, similar to Helbok's own on Vandans (pages 107 f.), is Edwin Roedder's "Das südwestdeutsche Reichsdorf in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart dargestellt auf Grund der Geschichte von Oberschefflenz im badischen Bauland. Landschaft, Geschichte, Volkstum." (Lahr [Baden], 1928 = "Vogel Greif," edited by E. Ochs, vol. III) and the same author's *Volkssprache und Wortschatz des Badischen Frankenlandes. Dargestellt auf Grund der Mundart von Oberschefflenz* (New York, 1936. General Series of the Modern Language Association of America).

The second part of vol. VI of *Deutsches Volkstum* contains "Bauerngarten und Bauernpflanzen" by Heinrich Marzell, the editor of *Wörterbuch der deutschen Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig, 1937-). Like everything else from his pen, this treatment of the peasant garden and peasant plants is well written. In my opinion, there is nothing strikingly new offered in these 29 pages. The footnote—the only footnote in this section—brings the statistics on the cultivation of flax in Germany from 1913 (cf. Marzell's *Die Pflanzen im Deutschen Volksleben* [Jena, 1925], p. 66) up to the year 1932. Evidently these pages are intended as a sort of introduction. Strange to say, the cabbage is not mentioned as a denizen of the peasant's kitchen garden.

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JOHN G. KUNSTMANN

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*Núma rímur* eftir SIGURÐ BREIÐFJÖRÐ. Þriðja útgáfa. Reykjavík: Snæbjörn Jónsson, The English Bookshop, 1937. Pp. lxiv, 270 in foolscap quarto. With a facsimile plate of the author's MS.

This is an interesting and impressive volume. It is dedicated to Sir William Alexander Craigie as a tribute from Iceland on his seventieth birthday, August 13, 1937. The publisher, Snæbjörn

Jónsson, has spared no effort to make it, in his own words, "one of the most sumptuous books ever printed in Iceland." It certainly is the most attractive book made by an Icelandic printing press (Ísafoldarprentsmiðja h. f.). The 200 copies, printed on select paper and bound in stiff covers, are priced £1:11:6, while thirty-six numbered copies are printed on goatskin parchment, sumptuously bound in leather, and sold at £5:5:0.

The choice of *Núma rímur* as a gift to honor Sir William A. Craigie was a singularly happy one. He has been one among the few foreign scholars to take an active interest in the genre of *rímur*, having, himself, brought out an edition of one cycle: *Skotlands rímur*, Icelandic Ballads of the Gowrie Conspiracy (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908).

The *rímur* are a peculiarly Icelandic genre. As a literary type they are perhaps unique in having been cultivated for more than six centuries with only slight changes. Sigurður Nordal observes rightly in his English Preface to *Núma rímur* that "they have been the literature of an isolated people, well suited for being written in prison." Actually they have afforded the people not only romantic escape, but also valuable intellectual exercise, and they have kept intact the poetic practice and diction of the old Scaldic poetry down to modern times. The great bulk of *rímur* is pedestrian poetry, as one would expect from their excessively formal character, yet quality has not altogether been submerged by quantity, a fact well exemplified by *Núma rímur*. They have always been considered not only the best work of the author, Sigurður Breiðfjörð (1798-1846), but also one of the best *rímur*-cycles of all time.

*Núma rímur* have a rather curious history. They are a metrical paraphrase of a Danish translation of J. P. Florian's *Numa Pompilius*, published in Paris, 1786. This edifying story was done into *rímur* by Breiðfjörð during his stay in Greenland in the years 1831-33. His life and work have hitherto been but imperfectly known, but much light on the subject is to be derived from Sveinbjörn Sigurjónsson's excellent introductory essay about him and *Núma rímur*. The essay is, indeed, the first fruit of a prolonged study of Breiðfjörð's life, works, and literary connections. One is not surprised then to find it full of meat, correcting in many ways the erroneous impressions of earlier writers. The text of the *rímur* has been made by Mr. Sigurjónsson after the author's own MS and collated with the first edition. Spelling and punctuation have been modernized.

In conclusion the reviewer would like to join his compatriots in their felicitations to the great septagenarian Sir William A. Craigie.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Nebraska Folk Cures.* By PAULINE MONETTE BLACK. University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism, No. 15, Lincoln, 1935. Pp. 49.

*The American Play-Party Song with a Collection of Oklahoma Texts and Tunes.* By B. A. BOTKIN. Lincoln, 1937. Pp. ix + 400.

*A Study of Ballad Rhythm with Special Reference to Ballad Music.* By J. W. HENDREN. Princeton Studies in English, No. 14. Princeton, 1936. Pp. xii + 177.

Three contributions to the study of American tradition are before me. Paul Monette Black collects nearly seven hundred items of popular medical lore. Her preface tells graphically how to gather material quickly and easily, and we may hope that her ingenious suggestions will be utilized by others. The title is sufficiently descriptive of the contents of her work. It does not call attention to the welcome inclusion of cures for the diseases of animals. There are no comparative notes and, what is more unfortunate, no index. In sum, Miss Black has compiled a useful book which appears to present adequately current traditional medical lore in Nebraska.

B. A. Botkin's doctoral thesis on the play-party sets itself an ambitious task and does it very well. We can fairly call it the *Grundriss* of the American play-party. As a matter of fact, he gives us even more than that, for the notes on pp. 28-30 are useful additions to Newell's list of dramatic games. Botkin's comparative notes are abundant here and still more abundant for the play-parties. The only important omission in his sources is the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*. He did not seek to compare continental European collections, and many investigations, e. g., Lewalter and Schläger, *Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel in Kassel* (Kassel, 1911); F. M. Böhme, *Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel* (Leipzig, 1897); Thyregod, Blöndal, and Nielsen, "Sanglege," in *Idræt og Lek* ("Nordisk Kultur," XXIV; Oslo, 1933); and S. T. Thyregod's *Danske sanglege* ("Danmarks folkeminder," 38; Copenhagen, 1931), have not been consulted. Botkin's indices are adequate. When "communal origin" raises its head (pp. 13 ff.), the heresy is chastised. We might, however, read John Meier's preface to *Kunstliedder im Volksmunde* (Halle, 1906), Hans Naumann's preface to *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur* (Jena, 1921), and Phillips Barry's writings and identify some elements which have not descended from a higher culture or which, if they have so descended, have become the property of the folk. The notes on the "Maid Freed From the Gallows" (p. 62) should, if only by exception, cite Grüner-Nielsen's learned and instructive headnote to "Fæstemænd loskøber Fæstemø," *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 486.

A few words of comment on details follow: The footnote on p. 149 would be quite as pertinent for Belva Lockwood. Some remarks on the chasing of squirrels (p. 15) would have been welcome. The scenery of the Never-Never Land in the play-party (pp. 122, 164) is, as the theory of "high descent" (p. 15) would imply, the property of earlier formal literature and not an invention of the western emigrant. Botkin's dissertation is an excellent addition to our resources.

The third of these works—Hendren's study of ballad rhythm—breaks new ground. The exposition is simple and clear. Although Hendren is concerned with English ballads, he should not have limited himself to sources and discussions written in English. Much can be learned by comparison of the musical parallels in foreign languages. I could wish that Hendren had examined the headnotes in John Meier's *Deutsche Volkslieder* and had commented on the methods used there in studying his problems. For metrics, he might have consulted Heusler's *Deutsche Versgeschichte*. He fails to consider the historical aspects of the phenomena. Although Hendren expounds difficult matters clearly, he lapses into careless writing. Let one example suffice: "The cerebrations embodied in the ensuing paragraphs will not help much to rend the veil" (p. 36). Hendren has attacked a difficult and important problem. Consequently, additions to his materials and suggestions for improvement are numerous and significant. What he has achieved is valuable.

ARCHER TAYLOR

*The University of Chicago*

*St. Joseph in the English Mystery Plays.* By Brother C. PHILIP DEASY, F. S. C. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1937. Pp. x + 112.

*One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama.* By LAURENS J. MILLS. Bloomington, Indiana: The Principia Press, 1937. Pp. vii + 470.

*The Ghost of Lucrece.* By THOMAS MIDDLETON. Reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library, with an Introduction and an Edited Text by JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. Pp. xxxiii + 43. \$4.00.

*Shakespeare and the Arts of Design (Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting).* By ARTHUR H. R. FAIRCHILD. (University of

Missouri Studies, xii, 1.) Columbia: University of Missouri, 1937. Pp. [vi +] 198. \$1.25.

*The Man Who Was Shakespeare.* By EVA TURNER CLARK. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1937. Pp. 319. \$3.50.

*Shakespeare Biography, and Other Papers, Chiefly Elizabethan.* By FELIX E. SCHELLING. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. Pp. 143. \$1.50.

*Shakespeare's "Tempest."* By R. G. HOWARTH. A lecture delivered for the Australian English Association, 1 October 1936. Printed by subscription. Sydney (Australia), 1936. Pp. 55.

*The Debt to Shakespeare in the Beaumont-and-Fletcher Plays.* By DANIEL MORLEY MCKEITHAN. Austin: The University of Texas, 1938. Pp. ix + 233.

*The Art of Bernard Shaw.* By S. C. SEN GUPTA. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xi + 249. \$3.50.

*Le Théâtre de Somerset Maugham.* By PAUL DOTTIN. Paris: Librairie académique Perrin, 1937. Pp. 264. Fr. 15.

The fruitfulness of the English drama as a field for scholars in all parts of the world is indicated by these ten volumes, which cover many centuries and which overflow into the literature which lies behind the drama. Nor is the attention of these writers confined to the written or the spoken word: the arts are drawn upon, and the realm of the imagination is not neglected.

Brother Deasy studies the figure of St. Joseph in gospels and devotional literature as well as in the chief Mystery-play cycles. He comes to the conclusions one might expect: that Joseph is humanized in the English plays, and has some of the conventionalized weaknesses of senility; but he does not attempt to treat the cycles chronologically, and gives rather a composite picture of St. Joseph than an indication of character-development. One suspects here and there the imposition of a modern attitude upon mediæval author and audience—a feeling of surprised shock at the intrusion of occasional comedy which undoubtedly did not disturb contemporary playwright or public.

Professor Mills traces the development of the friendship-theme from classical times to the post-Elizabethan drama. Much of his emphasis is on English plays, but he draws on other literature also; and eighty pages of notes (segregated at the end of the volume, with no ready indication of the chapters to which they belong) as well as more than eleven pages of double-columned index give an idea of the ground he covers. The shift in emphasis from

classical to mediaeval conceptions of friendship is clearly and convincingly set forth; in the discussion there is no hint of abnormality. The early English Renaissance and the treatment of the subject from Elyot to Shakespeare shed light on the background of Elizabethan playwright and public, helping us appreciate their attitude toward a theme which is still popular. (In Maugham's *Home and Beauty*, for instance, one finds echoes of it, beneath the farce.)

Thomas Middleton's poem, *The Ghost of Lucrece*, is made accessible to students in a volume of great beauty, to which the careful scholarship of Dr. J. Q. Adams gives an added value. The introduction, and the edited text which follows the facsimile, throw light on the poet, his greatest contemporary—of whose popular poem this is a continuation,—and their times.

Professor Fairchild of the University of Missouri studies the backgrounds of Elizabethan architecture, sculpture, and painting, and shows the influence of these arts upon Shakespeare. The monograph makes an interesting contribution to the psychology of the master and his audience, and scholars will find his book stimulating. The "general reader" will also enjoy the results of his investigations, which give a greater understanding of Shakespeare.

Eva Turner Clark adds another work to the long list of those by tireless investigators who feel that Shakespeare did not write the plays attributed to him. She joins those who support the candidacy of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, for the post of master-playwright. Bacon is mentioned once, in passing; she seems to feel that "this is not the man." What imagination she attributes to those misguided scholars who assume that Shakespeare, of Stratford, was the dramatist, may, with no great stretch, be made to include her own assumptions. Appendices, notes, and illustrations fail to carry conviction; her index is adequate, and the volume is an excellent example of artistic bookmaking.

Readers of Professor Schelling's other volumes of essays will welcome the latest collection of addresses and papers to issue from the press. Save for tributes to Furness and Weir Mitchell, an excursion into "The Study of Literature," and a "fanciful" parallel between the Elizabethan Faustus and Friar Bacon on one hand and modern dictators on the other (under the title of "Walls of Brass"), we find the ripe wit and wisdom of a veteran scholar directed to Tudor and Stuart England; the results are of interest not only to experienced teacher and the fledgling starting his career, but to the literate public who can enjoy the rich background and tolerant erudition of the author. The strong Shakespearean flavor of the essays is (as one might expect) adequately seasoned with common-sense.

If the public lecture by Mr. Howarth could be called "unorthodox" in its approach to *The Tempest*, it is not without a refreshing intelligence. The writer's suggestion of the relation between



Shakespeare and Jonson is original. In this play, Shakespeare observes the unities of time and place: "everyone has commented on this sudden apparent homage to classical practice; nobody has suggested that it might have been due to the steady influence of Jonson." The two appendices which have been added to the printed version of the lecture discuss examples of misleading stage-directions from the new Cambridge Edition of the play, and give some textual notes with further criticisms of that text (it is interesting to observe that most of the readings which Mr. Howarth prefers are those we find in the Neilson and Kittredge texts). We are delighted to get an interpretation of Prospero which rules out the theory that he is the Master himself, and is an adequate answer to those who find in the play Shakespeare's farewell to the stage.

Mr. McKeithan's thesis concerns itself not with the authorship of the plays attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher, nor with the dates of their composition, but with a subdivision of the question of sources—the debt of these plays to Shakespeare. He does not agree with Koepfel on every point, and disagrees completely with Thorndike's theory; he does not stress verbal parallels, but examines situations, incidents, and plots which echo Shakespeare, and reaches the conclusion that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is more reasonable to believe that Shakespeare's romantic dramas influenced Beaumont and Fletcher than that theirs influenced his. The matter is not—and perhaps never can be—settled; but "until it has been proved that *Philaster* precedes *Cymbeline*, it is not certain that Fletcher influenced Shakespeare at all." Scholars will have to take Mr. McKeithan's monograph into account when they study the question; they will find his full bibliography of value, and perhaps regret the absence of an index.

It is dangerous to review, with any attempt at finality, the work of a living artist, unless one can assume that his artistic career is closed. From Calcutta and France come two books, in one of which, at least, this assumption is made. Mr. Sen Gupta gives an objective study of Shaw's work; he does not attempt to analyze the scientific and philosophical value of Shaw's ideas, but he does not hide the weaknesses, inconsistencies, obsessions, prejudices, and perversities of Shaw both as a thinker and artist. He examines the Shavian aesthetics in detail; the relation between art and philosophy on the one hand, and art and morality on the other, is discussed at some length in thought-provoking pages; the paradoxical "phenomenon of nature" which Shaw is provides an entertaining book, impartial, and surprisingly free from prejudices in favor of a subject which certainly is not attacked. There is some repetition in the book, and because Mr. Sen Gupta shows the artist "on the wrong tack" as well as "at his best," there are some inconsistencies. One might wish that the critic had drawn a sharper line between *propaganda* and *morality*, and had kept the distinction

between a sense of humor and a love of fun more clearly in mind; in one chapter (not his best) he discusses wit, humor, farce, and comedy—and seems to use *humor* in more than one sense. He deals with Shaw the novelist and the critic briefly but justly; and his index of Shaw's works, which supplements a general index, will be appreciated by the reader. Mr. Sen Gupta leaves us with the question which he does not phrase: Can anyone who bases his philosophy on economics—socialism—and biology, who has a preconceived idea of human nature, and who has no appreciation of—even conception of—poetry, be truly great?

Professor Dottin of the University of Toulouse is known as an interpreter of Defoe and Richardson; he has written a book on Somerset Maugham the novelist, and now turns to his comedies. Addressed primarily to a French public, his analysis of the plays pleasant and unpleasant of our contemporary is lucid and just; he shows how Maugham's career as a dramatist began *malgré lui*, not without a commercial aspect; how he developed from a writer who aimed to please to the satirist whose observation of life and increasing technical skill made his public think. It is not cynicism to attack vulgarity, snobbishness, and hypocrisy; the War gave Maugham strength and depth, and Professor Dottin—recognizing his faults—ranks him high among contemporaries. There are suggestions of Shaw and of Wilde in his works, and (in the later plays) of Ibsen; if at times he is artificial and even theatrical, he is not a propagandist. Maugham's views of the stage, recorded in the final chapter, are of interest to the historian and critic. Despite his formal farewell to the theatre, Maugham's recent comedies contain promises of renewed strength, and Professor Dottin concludes: "Un dramaturge comme Maugham ne saurait disparaître alors qu'il n'a pas encore connu l'automne."

ROBERT WITHINGTON

Smith College

*Studi sul rinascimento italiano in Inghilterra.* By NAPOLEONE ORSINI. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, 1937. Pp. viii + 141. L.20.

*Christopher Marlowe.* By AURELIO ZANCO. Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1937. Pp. 133. L.10.

Sig. Orsini's book consists of five independent studies. The first, "Inedited Elizabethan Translations of Machiavelli," is a fuller presentation of material appearing in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1 (1937), 166-9.<sup>1</sup> It presents a study of five hitherto-

<sup>1</sup> This newly-established periodical is of importance to all students of the Renaissance.

unconsidered manuscripts of translations of *The Prince*. Two of them are substantially identical and follow the text of Machiavelli as published by Wolfe in 1584 in London, but with the imprint of Palermo. Apparently the publisher did not wish to connect his name with that of the Florentine secretary. The other three, representing another translation, follow at least at times an edition giving some words omitted by Wolfe. Since the date suggested for the manuscripts is about 1584, translations made from Wolfe's edition must immediately have followed its appearance. No suggestion of the makers of the English versions is given. A sixth manuscript translation, mentioned but not studied by Sig. Orsini, is that advertised, with no description except date, by Maggs Brothers in Catalogue no. 600 (1934), item 147.

The British Museum possesses a manuscript translation of the *Discorsi* of Machiavelli by John Levett, begun in 1598. Levett is identified with John Levett of Purleigh, Essex, who appears in the catalogue of the Museum as the author of *The Ordering of Bees*. He wrote also an address to his reader in which he defends Machiavelli:

Concerning my Author, it is objected against him, that (amongst other errors) in this booke, speaking of religions, he doth not distinguish them, nor preferreth the true and good, before the false and fained, as though hee would hold, religion to bee but a meere ciuill intention to hold the world in reuerence & feare; Wherein (as I thinke) they giue him somewhat too hard a censure, first because religion beeing not the principall matter whereof he writeth, it may seeme impertinent to his purpose to distinguish the same, secondly for that (beeing charitably construed) in praising the effects of religion generally, he seemeth to maintaine no other thing, then that which most part of the wiser sorte haue always affirmed. Viz., that a bad government is to be preferred before licentiousness, yea euen a very tyranny, before a popular confusion: so superstition is better than Atheisme, for there is no gouernment but holdeth somewhat of good order, so there is no religion, but participateth somewhat of truth, nor is anything so perillous, as a licentious, & loose multitude without religion, & piety, & therefore hee reuerently preferreth religion, aboue, & before, all ciuill uirtues, and wherefrom they all descend (pp. 43-4).

The author comments on this as suggesting a revolutionary separation of church and state,<sup>2</sup> and showing Levett's correct understanding of Machiavelli. Two other incomplete translations of the *Discorsi* are also discussed. It is evident that the Elizabethan confined to his native language had some opportunity for guarding himself against the vulgar bugaboo Machiavelli by reading what the Florentine really said. A facsimile of a page of Levett's translation (Brit. Mus. Ms. Add. 41162) is given.

<sup>2</sup> In somewhat the same fashion, at a later date, Milton asserted, apparently in opposition to Bishop Downham, that the logician dealing with divine testimony does not consider the truth or falsity of the god, but merely the force for argument of his words (*Logic*, l. 32).

The second section deals with Boccaccio's story of Ghismonda as a theme in English literature, especially with an anonymous tragedy of about 1600, never printed (Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 34312, 9), entitled *Tancred*. Its source is apparently Boccaccio's story itself, rather than earlier English versions. Not in the classical style and somewhat resembling the work of Heywood, it adds certain comic and satirical characters and moralizes the story.

Section three treats the *Ricordi* of Guicciardini in Elizabethan England. A considerable amount of space is given to discussion of Italian and other editions. English translations are shown not to be what one might infer from Miss Mary A. Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*. No translation of the *Ricordi* as such was printed in Elizabethan England, though sentences from the *Ricordi* and the *History* appear in English versions of Sansovino's *Concetti* (trans. by Robert Hitchcock), and Nannini's *Civili considerazioni* (trans. by W. T.), and in Sir Robert Dallington's *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie*.

The fourth section, on Gabriel Harvey as a man of the Renaissance, is a study of his character founded on the *Marginalia* collected by Moore-Smith. Harvey held the ideal of a Machiavellian superman.

The last part treats the Machiavellian studies of Milton as revealed by the *Commonplace Book*. The author's opinion is that Milton took from Machiavelli not the "vulgar Machiavelism, the art of fraud and violence, especially striking in *The Prince*, but the high and vigorous republicanism that dominates the *Discorsi*."

The second volume under review is a popular introduction to Marlowe for Italian readers.

ALLAN H. GILBERT

Duke University

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*Ben Jonson*. Edited by C. H. HERFORD, PERCY and EVELYN SIMPSON. Vol. VI. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xii + 596. \$7.00.

The most recent addition to the Herford-Simpson *Ben Jonson* prints with complete textual apparatus the texts of five plays: *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Devil is an Ass*, *The Staple of News*, *The New Inn*, and *The Magnetic Lady*. Of these only *Bartholomew Fair* represents in full flower the peculiar genius of this "last of the English humanists," to use John Palmer's dubious title. It may be that *Bartholomew Fair* is applauded by all to whom Merry England is dear; but it is, of course, true that Puritanism possessed many virtues that are ignored in the caricatures embodied in this full-bodied farce. Dismissing moral judgments, one may insist, with the editors (*The Man and his Work*, I, 70), that

although this play marks no decline in his genius it does mark "an undoubted relaxation of the sinews of Jonson's dramatic technique," a renunciation of the coherent and intricate structure of the great comedies, *Volpone* and the *Alchemist*. Jonson's decline becomes painfully evident in the following plays: *The Devil is an Ass*, with its thin and dreary plot; *The Staple of News*, a belated morality, in which the characters are merely puppets; *The New Inn*, "the most disastrous of all Jonson's dramatic ventures"; and *The Magnetic Lady*, with its negative fortune of not having been boisterously rejected. A depressing experience it is to read these dull works of the aging and ailing Titan, weary but heroic, with shrunk veins and cold blood, exclaiming

Come leave the lothed stage,  
And the more lothsome age.

Dryden was justified in referring to these last works as the dotages.

There is, I need scarcely say, no relaxation of editorial vigilance in the present volume. Indeed, the editors have admirably solved textual problems that were due to a corrupt text. For four plays, *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Devil is an Ass*, *The Staple of News*, and *The Magnetic Lady*, they had to rely upon the carelessly printed Folio of 1631-1640, which included three plays printed in 1631 by John Beale for Robert Allot. The editors declare, "Beale made almost every mistake which a bad and careless printer was capable of making." These stupid errors include frequent misspellings, hopeless mispunctuation, the omission of letters and words, the repetition of words, and the assigning of speeches to the wrong characters. In this edition the mistakes have been corrected, and "All deviations from the Folio are recorded in the critical apparatus." Jonson, the editors explain, made some effort to correct the proof, but "the blundering in Bale's office was quite beyond Jonson's control." An important illustration of Jonson's correction is given in the introduction to *The Devil is an Ass*:

the most remarkable correction of the text of this play, unique in Jonson as far as our experience goes, is in Act V, scene vii, line 2, where after the explosion in Newgate the third Keeper was made to exclaim

Fough! what esteem e of brimstone  
Is here?

In one British Museum copy with press-mark C. 39.k.9, in one copy belonging to the Editor, and in three copies at Oxford belonging to Christ Church, Jesus College, and Manchester College, the reading 'a steame of' is badly printed over an erasure. Jonson must have discovered this after the text was printed off and insisted on a correction being made in some form. (p. 153)

Some notion of the editorial labors involved in preparing this edition is suggested by the fact that twelve copies of the 1640 Folio were collated, as well as Selden's and the Editor's copies of *The Devil is an Ass*. In addition seven copies of *The New Inn*

were collated. In the critical apparatus scene-locations and numberings and stage-directions are those of Gifford, except where the directions were given in the original editions: It is perhaps enough to say that in this volume the high standards of the preceding volumes are maintained. It is interesting to note that a portion of the seventh volume, which will include the *Sad Shepherd* and the *Masques*, is prepared and that the entire volume will, it is hoped, be ready for the printer at the end of 1938.

*The Rice Institute*

GEORGE W. WHITING

*Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson.*

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938. Pp. xv + 415. \$6.50.

In the roughly chronological arrangement of these twenty-three essays, and in the choice of subjects, an attempt has been made to give an impression of the period's cultural progression; five essays are exclusively on continental writers, six are on philosophers, three touch upon the fine arts. English poetry is represented by Donne, Herbert, Milton, Cowley, and Vaughan. Professor J. Dover Wilson writes the preface, and the substantial and well-made volume is rounded out with a bibliography of Sir Herbert Grierson's work and with a very useful index.

Geoffrey Bullough, "Bacon and the Defence of Learning," investigates the contemporary attacks on and the defences of learning which provide a background for Bacon's *Advancement*. Rudolph Metz, "Bacon's Part in the Intellectual Movement of his Time," accounting for the acclaim and the criticism of Bacon as philosopher and as scientist, calls attention to the transitional character of his mind and of his period. C. J. Sisson, "King James the First of England as Poet and Political Writer," makes a strong and a long overdue plea for a revaluation of the character and the writings of one of the few English monarchs who contributed to the literature of his country. C. S. Lewis, in a vigorously written essay on "Donne and Love Poetry in the Seventeenth Century," discusses his manner and his sentiment; he offers a critical evaluation of the poet, which, perhaps more successful in its appraisal of his genius than any other recent treatment, interprets his lack of appeal to the eighteenth century and his vogue in the twentieth. Joan Bennett, "The Love Poetry of John Donne: A Reply to Mr. C. S. Lewis," argues against his interpretation as cynical of some of Donne's love poems. In "An Apology for Mr. Hobbes," A. E. Taylor shows that the charge that Hobbes champions private license is based, not upon an antipathy for morality, but upon inherent weaknesses in his sincere and constructive nominalistic metaphysics. Mr. Taylor

grants the Scriptures a place in Hobbes' system not generally conceded when he suggests the philosopher had them in mind as a check on the exercise of the monarch's plenitude of power. F. E. Hutchinson, "George Herbert," questions G. H. Palmer's arrangement of Herbert's poetry, which, by assigning to the end of his career poems of a melancholy tone, produces the unsubstantiated impression of final disillusionment.

With special reference to T. S. Eliot's criticisms, Mario Praz, "Milton and Poussin," explains Milton's rhetorical qualities, his rejection of sensuousness for sound, as a neo-classical tendency influenced by Tasso's criticism and paralleled by Poussin's painting. In "Milton and the English Epic Tradition," E. M. W. Tillyard attacks the notion that Milton studied and worked in isolation; he points out that Milton was aware of the contemporary English epic tradition, and he concludes from various pieces of evidence that his projected epics were to have been Renaissance patriotic and historical poems. L. C. Martin, "Henry Vaughan and the Theme of Infancy," shows that, besides neo-platonic and Rabbinical ideas, seventeenth-century writers and Thomas Vaughan's translations augmented the tradition represented notably by "The Retreat"; he suggests that, through Coleridge, Wordsworth may have come into contact with the Renaissance theories and sentiments that inspired Vaughan. Three essays treat the effect of the temper of the late seventeenth century on philosophic ideas: R. J. Aaron, "The Limits of Locke's Rationalism," points out how empiricism and, to a lesser degree, religion, restrict his rationalism; L. J. Russell, "Leibniz and the Fitness of Things," traces the influence of the age's scientific thinking upon Leibniz's ideas; and in "The Turn of the Century," Basil Willey looks at some uses of the idea of Nature.

Besides the welcome contributions of these and other essays, several very useful general studies add weight and breadth to the volume's individuality as a survey of the century. This specialized character of the collection gives it cohesion and makes it a significant and a worthy tribute to a scholar to whom every one who studies this period must confess indebtedness.

RICHARD H. PERKINSON

*Fordham University*

*The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence.* Edited by W. S. LEWIS. Volumes I and II: *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole.* Edited by W. S. LEWIS and A. DAYLE WALLACE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Vol. I, pp. lxii + 388; Vol. II, pp. [viii] + 464. \$15.00.

The appearance of the first two volumes of the Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence is an event of major importance for all students of eighteenth-century England. They are very handsome volumes, generously illustrated and beautifully designed, which reflect high credit on the Yale University Press.

The Rev. William Cole (1714-1782) was from his boyhood days the complete antiquary. He and Walpole had been schoolfellows at Eton; but their correspondence does not begin until 1762, when Cole writes to tell Walpole of his delight in the recently published *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. Cole's last letter was written only seven weeks before his death in 1782. The primary theme of this twenty-years' correspondence is English antiquities, spiced with references to the gout, with which both middle-elderly correspondents were afflicted.

Interesting as are these two volumes in and by themselves, scholars will examine them with particular interest as examples of the procedure which will govern the whole great undertaking of the Yale Edition of Walpole, the publication of which will extend over many years to come. Two general problems of method confronted Mr. Lewis and his Advisory Committee at the outset. The first was the principle of arrangement. The editions of Cunningham and of Mrs. Toynbee print Walpole's letters in a single chronological sequence; and this arrangement has the very great advantage of presenting a comprehensive view of his activities and observations at any given period. But Cunningham and Mrs. Toynbee print only Walpole's own letters, whereas the Yale edition will include, wherever they exist, the letters addressed to Walpole by his various correspondents. This inclusion has made inevitable the decision to arrange the materials by correspondences. In the two volumes now before us, one follows the give and take of an active exchange of letters—178 letters from Walpole to Cole (of which all but one are printed by Mrs. Toynbee), 186 from Cole to Walpole (of which only some fifty have ever previously been printed). What one gains by having both sides of the correspondence clearly outweighs what is lost by giving up the single chronological sequence.

It is by no means equally clear that the right decision has been reached on a second problem—that of spelling and capitalization. On this question, we are told, the Advisory Committee was "by no means unanimous." The decision has been to retain Walpole's punctuation and his spelling of proper names, but to normalize other spellings, and the capitalization, in conformity with present-



day usage. In justification of this decision it is urged (1) that "it is often not possible to tell whether Walpole intended a capital; (2) that several hundred letters must be edited from nineteenth-century texts in which the spelling and capitalization of the lost originals has not been retained; and (3) that the retention of the old spellings would have "imparted an air of quaintness to a text which was not apparent to the correspondents themselves" and would have detracted from the "readability and appearance" of the page.

These do not seem to be adequate reasons for abandoning what is now the generally accepted procedure in dealing with eighteenth-century documents. Where Walpole's intention as between capital and small initial cannot be decided, a possible procedure would have been to conform, not to modern usage, but to Walpole's own prevailing usage. The more modern cast of such of the letters as must be printed from nineteenth-century texts would have had the positive advantage of reminding the reader that the text of the letter in question does not rest upon a manuscript original. The third objection might be valid if one assumes that the reader of these volumes is a person so little versed in the literature of the eighteenth century that he has not looked into first editions, or even into modern texts of eighteenth-century writers, edited within recent decades.

In every other respect the Yale Edition is quite obviously designed for readers who are specialists in the period. At the foot of every page is a generous body of fully documented notes, compiled largely by Dr. Wallace, which are admirable for their conciseness as well as their erudition. Every letter is duly prefaced with address and postmark and indication of the source from which it is printed. In the case of Cole's letters, variant readings are recorded from the copy which Cole himself retained. Pages 381-464 of volume II contain a very full analytical index of names and of things in a single alphabet, which makes it easy to control not only the text but the wealth of commentary as well.

Where the specialist finds that his needs have been provided for with such prodigal generosity, it seems ungracious to regret that the text so handsomely printed for him is not *literatim* as well as *verbatim* an accurate transcript of the originals; but the regret remains. Even for the occasional reader of these volumes who is not to some extent a specialist, the retention of old-fashioned spellings, of which after all there cannot be very many, would have imparted a pleasant flavor of a by-gone age, and would seldom, if ever, have interfered with ready understanding.

To Mr. Lewis, to his associate editors, and to the Yale Press, all lovers of eighteenth-century England must be very grateful; and the gratitude will mount from year to year as one correspondence after another is added to that with the Rev. William Cole.

ROBERT K. ROOT

*Some Observations on Eighteenth Century Poetry.* By DAVID NICHOL SMITH. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. 81. \$1.50.

*William Shenstone, An Eighteenth-Century Portrait.* By A. R. HUMPHREYS. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. xii + 136. \$2.25.

Universities are not always, perhaps not often, well advised in requiring the publication of lectures given before their members. The first book listed above contains the Alexander Lectures delivered at the University of Toronto in 1937. Anything written by Professor Nichol Smith about the eighteenth century should have some value, if only as coming from him; and it is a pleasure to recognize that these urbane *Observations*, though diffuse and rather thin, enforce a sound conclusion, not yet everywhere accepted. "The best poetry of the eighteenth century," we are told, "gives us the security which comes from looking at things as they are." It is "concerned in the main with man in his ordinary experiences. It is not given to looking before and after and pining for what is not. Perhaps it is a little too grown-up for that. If you wish to find the enthusiasms and exaltations or the depressions of youth, you had better go elsewhere. It prefers to deal with what man is, and knows, and feels. . . . It is rich in moral wisdom and in emotion expressed in memorable verse." "The more I read it," Professor Nichol Smith says at the end, "the more I feel that it has much to tell us in these days. In its great variety I do not find any conflict. The different strands combine in a pattern, which, as I see it, represents the English genius at one of its most characteristic stages."

This conclusion follows remarks chiefly concerning poetic diction in Pope, Johnson, Thomson, and Burns. The pages devoted to *The Vanity of Human Wishes* are especially welcome, and do more than other parts of the lectures to bear out Professor Nichol Smith's opinion that he is treating of matters which "deserve fuller consideration than they have yet received." Unfortunately all that is said about Pope, filling nearly one-half of the book, is said more cogently, and more interestingly, by Mr. Geoffrey Tillotson in a volume (*On the Poetry of Pope*) which has come from the Oxford Press at the same time as the *Observations*. And all that is said about Thomson has recently been said, excellently, by Mr. C. V. Deane in his *Aspects of Eighteenth Century Nature Poetry*.

No mention of Shenstone is included in Professor Nichol Smith's *Observations*, which is not surprising; but even Mr. Humphreys, in his readable and attractively printed essay, disposes of Shenstone's verse in a paragraph, and directs our attention not to the poet but to the famous landscape gardener. In this he accepts an eighteenth-century valuation, and because of this his pleasing and discrimi-

natingly composed portrait inspires regret as well as gratitude. Shenstone continues to arouse interest as a man of letters: Mr. Humphreys' is the fifth book about him to be published within the last thirty years, and within the same period some of his poems and letters have been printed for the first time, a selection from his prose has been beautifully (but not carefully) reprinted, and a number of articles about him have appeared. Nevertheless, one can still be puzzled by this interest, and, if one does not actually scoff—as Walpole and Gray and others of that time did—one may reasonably think it teasing or elusive. It resides in Shenstone's humanity; and an exquisite task of analysis confronts one who would attempt to catch the shades of difference which keep him from seeming merely trivial, commonplace, timid, vain, absurd—which give him a typical and lasting significance.

Mr. Humphreys, despite the unhappy limitations of his plan, succeeds better than others in grasping the problem and in pointing the way to its solution. Without new information, but with a serviceable knowledge of the period and with sympathetic insight, he has sketched Shenstone's life as growing "to a pattern which did not violate the delicate rectitude of his inspiration"—a pattern of "well-bred Virgilian rusticity." And he has found in Shenstone's *ferme ornée*, The Leasowes, the perfect expression of its owner's character and the perfect setting for a life "sufficiently varied to represent," though far from London, "most sides of the cultured interests of the century." Elegance, as Mr. Humphreys notes, is the quality all his friendly contemporaries attributed to Shenstone; and elegance was visibly embodied in The Leasowes. It may stand, Mr. Humphreys thinks, "as a kind of definition of what its generation, at its most cultured, was. It confirms an impression of mental order which did not mean a lack of deep feeling, a decorous exterior not due solely to complacency, a search for variety and personal expression which still would not break too violently with the past. 'A place of rest and refreshment'—it typifies its age in that." And not alone in that, of course, as Mr. Humphreys makes properly clear.

In the Preface Mr. Humphreys admits that his essay is only "a slight offshoot" of other work he has in hand. The trouble, however—strongly emphasized by the excellence of what is done—is not that the book is "slight," but that it is really a fragment plausibly disguised. In leaving almost wholly unused and unexamined Shenstone's verse and essays and detached thoughts and letters, Mr. Humphreys has made a truncated portrait, and has left most unsatisfactorily suspended the real critical problem which Shenstone presents.

ROBERT SHAFER

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## BRIEF MENTION

*The Meaning of Hamlet.* By LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Translated by GRAHAM RAWSON. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xii + 196. \$2.25. A translation, with revision and additions by the author, of *Der Sinn des Hamlet*, reviewed in this journal, LII, 527-8.

H. S.

## CORRESPONDENCE

RÉPONSE. Il y a quelques remarques à faire concernant le compte-rendu des *Idées traditionalistes en France* paru dans le numéro de juin 1938 de *MLN*.

La critique de M. Gauss repose sur un malentendu essentiel. Quand j'ai écrit cette phrase: "... où sont venus converger tous les courants traditionalistes du siècle," je ne parlais pas d'histoire littéraire. L'addition du mot "literary" fausse ma conclusion et dénature ma pensée. Je n'ai jamais prétendu faire de Maurras l'aboutissement de tout le mouvement littéraire français depuis quarante ans, et je n'ai pas cherché à résoudre un problème d'histoire, littéraire ou politique. J'ai soigneusement délimité mon sujet aux pages 7, 11 et suiv., 29-33 et 212.

J'ai indiqué, autant qu'il était de mon domaine, l'importance des événements politiques quant aux origines du traditionalisme moderne (voir en particulier pp. 23-24 et suiv., 32, 157 et 165). En ce qui concerne Barrès et Péguy, je laisse au lecteur le soin de décider si je les ai confondus avec le mouvement d'Action française (pp. 153 et suiv., 160 et suiv.). Sur Maurras avocat du catholicisme et excommunié par le Pape, sur Maurras renié par le Roi, on sait bien à quoi s'en tenir. Que son système soit en grande partie fondé sur une équivoque j'en suis persuadé, mais ce que j'ai exposé ce ne sont pas ses intentions mais ses doctrines. Il est bien entendu que Baudelaire, Proust, Anatole France, Gide et Mauriac ne sauraient être considérés comme des écrivains en dehors de la tradition littéraire française. Mais il s'agit ici des idées sociales. A ce point de vue, nous ne dirons pas qu'ils appartiennent tous à la même tradition.

Je n'ai touché à la littérature proprement dite qu'à l'occasion des auteurs qui se sont inspirés, en tout ou en partie, des idées dites *traditionalistes* (ce qui ne veut pas dire *traditionnelles* au sens courant du mot). Au sujet des écrivains mentionnés plus haut, j'ai fait, comme il est facile de le vérifier, toutes les réserves et marqué toutes les nuances nécessaires touchant leur rattachement plus ou moins complet au traditionalisme, en tout cas toutes celles faites par mon critique.

ALPHONSE V. ROCHE

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NOCHMAL "KATHOLE." Die Ausführungen meines Schulfreundes Prof. Spitzer (*MLN.*, LIII, 433) möchte ich dahin ergänzen, dass dem Wort *Kathole* vielleicht doch ein jüdisch-deutscher Ursprung zuzuschreiben ist. Ich habe das Wort zuerst 1907 oder 1908 von polnisch-jüdischen Studenten in Wien gehört: z. B. *er hat sich gemacht einen Katholen* 'er hat sich taufen lassen.' Später, auf einer Waffenübung vor dem Weltkrieg und im Weltkrieg, habe ich es als *Kathole* oder *Kathoile* in Galizien wieder getroffen, in deutlich differenzierter Bedeutung zu *Goi*: dies war ein Pole oder Deutsch-Oesterreicher, bei dem Katholischsein etwas Selbstverständliches war, ein "Kathole" aber war ein besonders frommer Pole, der die Religion aufdringlich zur Schau trug, ein katholischer Geistlicher oder auch ein getaufter Jude. *Katholik* passt wegen der russisch klingenden Endung *-ik* (*Muschik* usw.) nicht in die jiddische Sprachwelt. Demgegenüber hat *Kathole* den, den abweisenden Unterton unterstützenden Anklang an jüdisch-deutsche (hebräische) Wörter wie *Schaute*, *Rosche*, *meschugge*. Als Analogie zitiere ich *Isroile*, das ich in meiner Studentenzzeit von ostjüdischen Studenten als scherzhaftes "Glimpfwort" für *Israelit* gehört habe, wenn von einem Westjuden mit assimilationistischen Tendenzen die Rede war. Der Wiener Komiker Eisenbach gebrauchte es als Ausdruck der Verlegenheit: "gnädige Frau, ich bin nämlich, . . . wie soll ich sagen, . . . ein Isroile." Zu dem geschraubten, überfeinerten, halb spöttischen *Isroile* gehört als Gegenstück *Katho(i)le* (*Jud. Goi = Isroile: Katho(i)le*). Vielleicht hat bei der Bildung des Wortes *Kathole* im östlichen Sprachgebiet auch der Anklang an *Pole*, den Spitzer heranzieht, mitgewirkt. Aus östlichen Gegenden ist *Kathole* wohl nach dem protestantischen Norden gewandert.

Zu *katholisch* in der Bedeutung 'rechtgläubig, ordentlich, normal' in katholischen Ländern erwähne ich noch den Terminus technicus der altösterreichischen Verwaltung und Gesetzgebung: "akatholisch, Akatholik," der, die nichtrechtgläubige Welt umfassend, nach "amoralisch," "amüsisch" etc. hybrid gebildet war. In der Volksschulordnung hiess es "während des katholischen Religionsunterrichtes haben die Akatholiken das Klassenzimmer zu verlassen"—was keinem von uns Schülern verständlich war. Ich habe gehört, wie ein katholischer Volksschüler einem jüdischen bedeutete, dieser könne als Nicht-Katholik nicht in den Himmel kommen. Darauf dieser: "Wieso? ich bin nicht nur ein Katholik wie du, ich bin sogar ein A-Katholik und A ist immer das Beste und Höchste. Du bist vielleicht ein B-Katholik oder ein C-Katholik,—oder am Ende nur ein Katholik."

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# INDEX

## SUBJECTS

- Addison, An Earlier Text of —'s Ode to Dr. Hannes 279.
- Aesthetics. Art and Prudence: A Study in Practical Philosophy 469.
- Alarcón, Juan Ruiz de, An Error in the Text of —'s *Las Paredes Oyen* 530.
- Alarcón, Pedro Antonio de, Some Forgotten Works of 427.
- America  
— in English Fiction 1760-1800, The Influences of the American Revolution 544; The Old World and the New, A Synopsis of Current European Views on American Civilization 544.
- American Ballad, see Ballad.
- American Fiction: Economic Criticism in —, 1792 to 1900 311.
- American Folklore: Nebraska Folk Cures 618.
- American Folksong: The American Play-Party Song with a Collection of Oklahoma Texts and Tunes 618.
- American Indian Language, see Hitchiti.
- Anglo-German Relations: German Visitors to English Theaters in the 18th Century 70.
- Apollonius* 74.
- "Archimorpheme" and "Phonomorpheme" 363.
- Argens, Marquis d', Goldsmith and the 173.
- Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study in English Scientific Writing from 1500 to 1645 442.
- auer a* and *auer de* 371.
- Baconians, A Note for 21.
- Ballad, A Study of — Rhythm with Special Reference to — Music 618.
- Ballad Opera 297.
- Balzac  
— avant la *Comédie humaine* (1818-1829). Contribution à l'étude de la genèse de son œuvre 305; *Sténie ou les Erreurs philosophiques* 305.
- Baroque: Die Welt des Barock 225.
- Battle of Maldon*, The Personal Names in *The* 109.
- Baudelaire and Liszt 584.
- Baudouin, Jean —'s Version of the *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum* 486.
- Beaumarchais and his Opponents. New Documents on his Law-suits 227.
- Beaumont, The Debt to Shakespeare in the —and-Fletcher Plays 620.
- Bede  
—'s Story of Cædmon Again 249; The MSS. of Cædmon's *Hymn* and —'s *Death Song*, with a Critical Text of the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedæ* 236.
- Beedome, Thomas 412.
- Behn, Aphra. An Echo of Jonson in —'s *Sir Patient Fancy* 278.
- Beowulf*  
— 455, 501; — and the 7th Century; Language and Content 455.
- Bertaut, An Uncollected Quatrain by 430.
- Bertha Saga: Die altfranzösische Bertasage und das Volksmärchen 476.
- Blake, William —, Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte des Mystikers 71.
- Boccaccio: Chaucer and *The Decameron* 257.
- Boethius, The Tradition of —; a Study of his Importance in Medieval Culture 222, 398.
- Boswell  
— on Spelling 600; —'s *Journal of A Tour to the Hebrides* . . . Now First Published from the Original MS. 387; A Catalogue of Papers Relating to —, Johnson and Sir William Forbes Found at Fettercairn House, a Residence of the Rt. Hon. Lord Clinton, 1930-31 384; Index to the Private Papers of — from Malahide Castle in the Collection of Lt.-Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham 384.
- Boyle, Roger, see Orrery.
- brack* 597.

- Breiðfjörð, S. *Núma rímur* 616
- Breton, Nicholas  
—, Elyot, and *The Court of Honour* 587; Two Pamphlets of —; *Grimellos Fortunes* (1604), *An olde Mans Lesson* (1605) 478.
- Bretón de los Herreros, Does —'s *Marcela Stem from Quijote?* 195.
- Buckingham, Pope on the Duke of 368.
- Buins at Ellisland 525.
- Butler, Joseph: Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason. A Study in the History of Thought 215.
- Butler, Samuel: *Hudibras* in the Burlesque Tradition 453.
- Cædmon**  
Bede's Story of — Again 249; The MSS. of —'s *Hymn* 236.
- Calderón The Versification of *La selva confusa* 193.
- Canadian Literature: Letters in Canada: 1936 544.
- Carducci, Scott and — 287.
- Carlyle, Whitman and —: 1846 370.
- Carmontelle, see French Drama.
- Carols, The Earliest — and the Franciscans 239.
- Cervantes: Does Bretón's *Marcela Stem from Quijote?* 195
- Chapman, George, see *Revenge for Honour*.
- Character-Writing 113.
- Chaucer  
— and *The Decameron* 257; A —ian Fisherman (?) 422; A Further Note on Old Age in —'s Day 181; The Haberdasher and his Companions 504; *Knight's Tale*, A 1881 ff 595; "Mannyssh Wood" —*Merchant's Tale* (iv) 1530-1536 359; The Miller's Head Again 505; "... Moore Feelynge Than Had Boece, . . ." 177; *The Parson's Tale* and the Marriage Group 251.
- cher comme crème* 327
- Chivalry, The Decline of — as Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages 317.
- Cibber, *King John*, and the Students of the Law 272.
- Cinema: Art and Prudence: A Study in Practical Philosophy 469.
- Cleges, see Sir Cleges.
- Cole, William, see Walpole, Horace.
- Coleridge, Hartley, The Letters of 157.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor  
—'s *Dejection: an Ode* 395; —'s Miscellaneous Criticism 156.
- Conte de Pontiers* 67.
- Coster, Charles De, Introduction à l'œuvre de 464.
- Court (The) of Honour*, Breton, Elyot, and 587.
- Courts of Love, see Eleanor of Aquitaine.
- Crabbe and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* 369.
- craché*, see *tout craché*.
- Crónica de Veynte Reyes*. A comparison with the text of the *Primera Crónica General* and a study of the principal Latin Sources 371.
- Cuckoo Song*: "Bullock Sterteþ, Bucke Verteþ" 112.
- Cuthbert, A Critical Text of the *Epistola —i de obitu Bedae* 236.
- Dante: "Il Giusto Mardoceo" (*Purg.*, XVII, 29) 188.
- Darwin, Erasmus, The Poetry and Aesthetics of 295.
- Dekker, *The Shoemakers Holiday*: The Source of Simon Eyre's Catch-Phrase 275.
- De la Mare, Walter, see Authors of Articles and of Books Reviewed.
- Dennys, John: A Chaucerian Fisherman (?) 422.
- Descartes, *Etat présent des études* sur 610.
- Desjardins, *Les Amours des grands hommes* of Mlle — and *Le Docteur amoureux* 344.
- Dickens, Charles —'s Letters to Charles Lever 65.
- Diderot  
—'s Writings on the Theatre 476; J.-A. Naigeon's Analysis of —'s *Rêve de d'Alembert* 479.
- Dilthey, Wilhelm —'s gesammelte Schriften 146.
- Docteur amoureux*, *Les Amours des grands hommes* of Mlle Desjardins and *Le — —* 344.
- Domesday Book, The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of 542.
- Doneldey, Arnoldus, Das Bremer mittelniederdeutsche *Arzneibuch* des — 76.
- Donne, John  
— and the New Philosophy 290; An Early Use of —'s Fourth Satire 421.

- Drama, see also English, French, Spanish Drama  
Plays and the Theater 450; Representative Modern —s 450.
- Dayton  
—'s Lapidaries 93; —'s "Noah's Flood" 277.
- Drummond, Jonson, Stow and — 167.
- Dryden, John, Hymns Attributed to 550.
- Du Bartas, Charles Lamb, Marston, and 494.
- Dumas  *fils*, The Theatre of 614.
- Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of the Troubadours and of the Courts of Love 477.
- Elyot, Breton, —, and *The Court of Honour* 587.
- Emerson, The Lonely Wayfaring Man. — and Some Englishmen 312.
- England  
Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan — 212; Roman Britain and the English Settlements 220.
- English  
Current —, a Study of Present-Day Usages and Tendencies 293; Some Linguistic Studies of 1935 and 1936 24.
- English Ballad, see Ballad.
- English Drama  
German Visitors to English Theaters in the 18th Century 70; One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama 619; Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy 211.
- English Fiction, America in — 1760-1800, The Influences of the American Revolution 544.
- English Figures of Speech 514.
- English Literature  
John Locke and — of the 18th Century 215; One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama 619; 17th Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson 627; *Studi sul rinascimento italiano in Inghilterra* 623; A World in the Moon: A Study of the Changing Attitude Toward the Moon in the 17th and 18th Centuries 61.
- English Mystery Plays, St. Joseph in the 619.
- English Novel, The History of the —. Vol. VIII, From the Brontës to Meredith: Romanticism in the — 470.
- English Poetry  
The Formation and Use of Compound Epithets in — from 1579 550; *Die Lyrik und ihr Publikum im England des 18. Jahrhunderts* 73; Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in 439; Poetry in Prose 471; The Poetry of the *Gentleman's Magazine*: a Study in 18th Century Literary Taste 552; Some Observations on 18th Century Poetry 631.
- English Scientific Writing, see Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England and English Literature.
- Es ist ein Schnee gefallen . . . Ich sollt zu meinem Bulen* 357.
- European Views on American Civilization, see America.
- Æteter Book* 315.
- False (*The*) *Knight upon the Road*, An Irish Version of 596.
- Faustsplitter*, A French — of the 17th Century 515.
- Figures of Speech 514.
- Fletcher, see Beaumont.
- Fontane über seine Ballade *Die Jüdin* 282.
- Forbes, Sir William, A Catalogue of Papers Relating to Boswell, Johnson and — Found at Fettercairn House, a Residence of the Rt. Hon. Lord Clinton, 1930-31 384.
- France, Anatole  
— 1844-1896 378; Did Grandville Inspire the *Ile des pingouins*? 527.
- France in Modern Spanish Literature, see Spanish Literature.
- Franciscans, The Earliest Carols and the 239.
- French: *Bildhaftigkeit im französischen Argot* 74.
- French Drama  
*Le Développement du proverbe dramatique en France et sa vogue au 18e siècle, avec un proverbe inédit de Carmontelle* 227; The Evolution of Liberal Theory and Practice in the French Theatre 1680-1757 227; Secret Marriage in 18th Century French Comedy 340; The Stateswoman in 17th Century French Tragedy 319.
- French Farces, Five — (1655-1694?) 379.



- French Geographical Texts: Supplément au Répertoire bibliographique se rapportant à la littérature géographique française de la Renaissance 78.
- French Literature  
 Les Idées traditionalistes en France, de Rivarol à Charles Maurras 458, 633; Masters of 472; Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance française 230.
- French Liturgical Drama: The Dissemination of the Liturgical Drama in France 233.
- French Opera  
 L'Évolution d'un genre: le livret d'opéra en France de Gluck à la Révolution (1774-1793) 227.
- French Poetry: Allegory in the French Heroic Poem of the 17th Century 237.
- French Political History: Les Idées traditionalistes en France, de Rivarol à Charles Maurras 458, 633.
- French Thought of the 18th Century, Man and Beast in 466.
- Friendship - Theme, see English Drama and English Literature.
- Furetière and Wycherley: *Le Roman bourgeois* in Restoration Comedy 98.
- Galt, John 65.
- Gentleman's Magazine, The Poetry of the —: a Study in 18th Century Literary Taste 552.
- Gérard, J.-I.-I., see Grandville.
- German  
 High — Vowel-Quantities 18; Modern — Prose Usage 304; Textliste neuhochdeutscher Vorlesesprache schlesischer Färbung 316; Volkssprache und Wortschatz des badischen Frankenlandes, dargestellt auf Grund der Mundart von Oberscheffenz 46.
- German Ballad, see German Poetry.
- German Criticism: The Beginnings of German Literary Criticism 351.
- German Folksong  
 Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien 316; Two Versions of the 16th Century Song *Es est ein Schnee gefallen . . . Ich sollt zu meinem Bulen* 357.
- German Literature  
 Germany in the 18th Century 56; The Tyranny of Greece over Germany, a study of the influence exercised by Greek art and poetry over the great German writers of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries 53.
- German Poetry  
 Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit: Dichter aus deutschem Volkstum 150; Geschichte der deutschen Ballade 152.
- German Visitors to English Theaters in the 18th Century 70.
- Germany; Deutsches Volkstum. Haus und Siedlung im Wandel der Jahrtausende 615.
- Glaphorne, Henry, see *Revenge for Honour*.
- Godwin, Francis, *The Man in the Moone*, 1638, *Nuncius Inanimatus*, 1629 478.
- Golding, Arthur, An Elizabethan Puritan: — the Translator of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 394.
- Goldsmith and the Marquis d'Argens 173.
- Gothic  
 — Notes 120; The Future Auxiliaries — *haben* and O. N. *munu* 423
- Grandville, see France, Anatole.
- Grange, Borrowings in —'s "Golden Aphroditis" 407.
- Grillparzer's Position in 19th Century Thought 347.
- haben 423.
- Hagiology, Sir Cleges and Unseasonable Growth in 591.
- Hall, Joseph, *Mundus alter et idem* 444.
- Hardy, Thomas: Crabbe and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* 369.
- Hauptmann's Utopian Fantasy, *Die Insel der Grossen Mutter* 516.
- Haut (Le) *Livre du Graal: Perlesvaus*. Vol. II: Commentary and Notes 604.
- Hawkins, William, *Apollo Shroving* 450.
- Hawthorne and "The Maypole of Merry-Mount" 159.
- Healey, John, *The Discovery of a New World* 444.
- Heine  
 Marginalien zu — 571; Some — Notes 430.
- Hero (The)*; or, *the Adventures of a Night* 414.

- Hitchiti Name of Silver Springs, Florida 513.  
 Holy Eucharist (The) in Middle English Homiletic and Devotional Verse 533.  
 Housman, A. E., A Sketch together with a list of his writings and indexes to his Classical papers 77.  
*Huntington Library Lists* 78.  
*Huntington Library Quarterly* 78.
- Italian Literature: The *Rivista* of the Istituto Interuniversitario Italiano: *Romana* 77.  
 Italian Renaissance: Studi sul rinascimento italiano in Inghilterra 623.  
*Italian Studies* 549.
- Johnson, Samuel  
 A Catalogue of Papers Relating to Boswell, — and Sir William Forbes Found at Fettercairn House, a Residence of the Rt. Hon. Lord Clinton, 1930-31 384; Dr. —'s 1745 Shakespeare *Proposals* 367.
- Jonson, Ben  
 — 450, 625; —, Stow, and Drummond 167; —'s *Sejanus* Edited from the Quarto of 1605 204; An Echo of — in Aphra Behn's *Sir Patient Fancy* 278.  
*Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean* 446.
- Kathole 433, 634.  
 Keats, The Evolution of —'s Poetry 62.  
 Keller, Gottfried — Bibliographie 1844-1934 49.  
 Kingsley, Charles — 1819-1875 454.  
 Kyd: A Note on *The Spanish Tragedy* 590.
- Lamartine, Le *Jocelyn* de —, étude historique et critique avec des documents inédits 463; see also 199.  
 Lamb, Charles —, Marston, and Du Bartas 494.  
 La Mothe le Vayer's *Vertu des payens* and 18th Century Cosmopolitanism 10.  
 Landor, An unknown child of —'s 415.  
 Latin-Spanish Glossaries: Glosarios latino-españoles de la edad media 122, 554.
- Lee, Sir Henry —, An Elizabethan Portrait 214.  
 Legend of the Cartload in the Gate 417.  
 Legrand, Marc-Antoine —, acteur et auteur comique (1673-1728) 612.  
*languages* 20, 553.  
 Lescure, Mathurin de, An Autograph Letter of 425.  
 Lessing, Tragödie und Komödie im dramatischen Schaffen —s 457.  
 Lever, Charles, see Dickens.  
 Lewald, August 15.  
*Liflade ant te Passiun of Seint Iulienne* 313.  
 Liszt, Baudelaire and 584.  
 Literature, The Growth of 235.  
 Locke, John — and English Literature of the 18th Century 215.  
 Longinus, An Early Reference to 23.  
 Lope de Vega: Un Dato sobre la fecha de *El Anzuelo de Fenisa* 190.
- Maldon, see *Battle of Maldon*.  
 Mann, Thomas, see Karlweis, M. under Authors of Articles and of Books Reviewed.  
 Mansel, Jean: Introduction à la *Fleur des Histovres* 67.  
 Manuscript Entries: Libri impressi cum notis manuscriptis 245.  
 Marguerite d'Angoulême, L'Œuvre de ———, reine de Navarre, et la querelle des femmes 608.  
 Marlowe, Christopher  
 — 623; Two Notes on *Dr. Faustus* 119.  
 Marston, Charles Lamb, —, and Du Bartas 494.  
 Maturin, C. R., *Women; or, Pour et Contre: An Irish Version of The False Knight upon the Road* 596.  
 Maugham, Somerset, Le Théâtre de 620.
- Medieval Sermon  
 Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi: A Hand-List 473; The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England 533.
- Melville, Herman  
 —, eine stilistische Untersuchung 551; *Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-1844, in the Frigate United States*, with Notes on 446.  
 Meyer, Conrad Ferdinand  
 The Revision of —'s *Novellen: An Interpretation of the Variants between the Texts of the Deutsche*

- Rundschau* and of the Book 49;  
Women in the Life and Art of 49.  
Meyers, William H., see Anderson,  
C. R. under Authors' of Articles  
and of Books Reviewed.  
Middle Ages: Medio Evo e Rinasci-  
mento 549  
Middle English Homiletic and Devo-  
tional Verse, The Holy Eucharist  
in 533.  
Middle English Literature, The *Vitae*  
*Patrum* in Old and ——— 533.  
Middle High German, An Introduc-  
tion to ———, A Reader and  
Grammar 538.  
Middleton, Thomas, *The Ghost of*  
*Lucrece* 619.  
Milton  
— and Miracles 170; — and  
Thomas Young, 1620-1628 399; —  
and Wordsworth, Poets and Prop-  
hets 381; —'s Debt to Greek  
Tragedy in *Samson Agonistes* 381;  
—'s Projected Epic on the Rise  
and Future Greatness of the  
Britannic Nation 381; The Paradox  
of the Fall in *Paradise Lost*  
557; Shakespeare and 366, 556.  
Molière  
French Opinion of — (1800-1850)  
227; Racan and 429.  
More, Thomas, The Place of St. —  
— in English Literature and His-  
tory 536.  
*muto* 600.  
*muncho* 600.  
*munu* 423.  
Naigeon, J.-A. —'s Analysis of Di-  
derot's *Rêve de d'Alembert* 479.  
Nebraska Folk Cures 618.  
Northern Homily Cycle, and Mis-  
sionaries to the Saracens 258.  
Notkers des Deutschen Werke nach  
den Handschriften 58.  
*Núma rimur*, see Breiðfjörð, S.  
Oklahoma Texts and Tunes 618.  
Old English  
The Personal Names in *The Battle*  
*of Maldon* 109; The *Vitae Patrum*  
in Old and Middle English Lit-  
erature 533.  
Old French  
Die altfranzösische Bertasage und  
das Volksmärchen 476; The De-  
cline of Chivalry as Shown in the  
French Literature of the Late  
Middle Ages 317; A History of  
—— Literature 467.  
Old Norse  
The Future Auxiliaries Gothic  
*haban* and — *munu* 423; The  
Most Important Non-skaldic Verse  
Not Included in the Poetic Edda  
540.  
Old Saxon: a Correction 238.  
Old Spanish. The Use of *auer a* and  
*auer de as* Auxiliary Verbs in —  
— from the earliest Texts to the  
End of the 13th Century 371.  
Opera, see Ballad Opera.  
Orrery, The Dramatic Works of  
Roger Boyle, Earl of — 450.  
Pain, Philip, *Daily Meditations* 72.  
Paris Libraries; Guide pratique des  
Bibliothèques de Paris 397.  
*Patheln. tout craché* and *cher*  
*comme crème* 327.  
*Pèlerinage de Charlemagne, Len-*  
*guages dans* —, v. 209•20.  
Pembroke, Countess of, see Spenser.  
Pepys, Mr. — upon the State of  
Christ-Hospital 67.  
*Perlesvaus*, see *Haut Livre du Graal*.  
"Phonomorpheme" 363.  
Play-Party Song, see American Folk-  
song.  
Pope, Alexander  
— on the Duke of Buckingham  
368; The Prose Works of 474.  
*Primera Crónica General*, see *Cró-*  
*nica de Veynte Reyes*.  
Prior, Biographical Allusions in —'s  
"The Mice, A Tale" 498.  
Proust, Marcel  
—'s Duel 104; A Lost Article by  
107.  
Quinet, Edgar, *Le Jeune — ou l'A-*  
*venture d'un Enthousiaste* 307.  
Racan and Molière 429.  
Renaissance: Medio Evo e Rinasci-  
mento 549.  
*Revenge for Honour*, The Date of  
96, 238.  
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, The Literary  
Career of 295.  
Richardson, Samuel  
—: A Bibliographical Record of  
his Literary Career with Historical  
Notes 218; —'s *Familiar*  
*Letters* and the Domestic Conduct  
Books; —'s *Aesop* 551.

- Rilke, Rainer Maria, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1914 bis 1921* 301.
- Rimbaud, Arthur —'s Readings 334. *Romana* 77.
- Roman d'Alexandre* 377.
- Romanticism: Die Philosophie der unendlichen Landschaft 302.
- roperipe* 268.
- Rossetti, Christina, see Rossetti, Dante Gabriel.
- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel  
—in England 473; Three Rossettis. Unpublished Letters to and from Dante Gabriel, Christina, William 547.
- Rossetti, William, see Rossetti, Dante Gabriel.
- Rostand: The Sources of the Play *Cyrano de Bergerac* 75.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques  
Citizen of Geneva, Selections from the Letters of 476; A Contribution to the Study of the Descriptive Technique of 309; Three Unrecorded — Editions 428.
- Russell, Thomas, see Shakespeare.
- Russian, Some Errors in — in *Well-Known Dictionaries* 183.
- Saint-Evremond, see Théophile de Viau.
- St. Joseph in the English Mystery Plays 619.
- St. Juliana, see *Liflade ant te Passiun of Sainte Iulienne*.
- Saint Léger*. Etude de la langue du manuscrit de Clermont-Ferrand, suivie d'une édition critique du texte avec commentaire et glossaire 67.
- Santo Domingo, see Spanish-American Literature.
- Scott  
— and Carducci 287; *The Waverly Novels* and Their Critics 199.
- Scrope, Stephen, *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*: A M. E. Version by 468.
- Scyths, see Voltaire.
- sec . . . son agre* 186.
- Sermon, see Medieval Sermon.
- Seward, Anna, The Swan of Lichfield, Being a Selection from the Correspondence of 552.
- shake (to) hands with death* 510.
- Shakespeare  
— and Milton 366, 556; — and the Arts of Design (Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting) 619;  
— Biography, and Other Papers, Chiefly Elizabethan 620; —'s Philosophical Patterns 448, —'s 17th Century Editors: 1632-1685 450; —'s *Sonnets* 201; —'s *Tempest* 620; —'s *Titus Andronicus*: The First Quarto, 1594 314; Ciber, *King John*, and the Students of the Law 272; The Date of *A Midsommer Nights Dreame* 266; The Debt to — in the Beaumont-and-Fletcher Plays 620; "Full of his roperipe" and "Roperipe terms" 268; I, —, Do Appoint Thomas Russell, Esquire 450; The Man Who Was — 620; The Meaning of *Hamlet* 633; A New Variorum Edition of —. *Henry IV, Part 1* 207; A Note for Baconians 21; Supplement for the Years 1930-1935 to A — Bibliography 77; The Text of —'s *Lear* 204; The Textual History of *Richard III* 391.
- Shaw, Bernard, The Art of 620.
- Shelley  
— and *Pieces of Irish History* 522; —, Studies in 71.
- Shenstone, William —, An 18th Century Portrait 631.
- Sir Cleges and Unseasonable Growth in Hagiology 591.
- Sir Degare*. A Study of the Texts and Narrative Structure 153.
- Spanish-American Literature: La Cultura y las Letras Coloniales en Santo Domingo 371.
- Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega 461.
- Spanish Fiction: The Generation of 1898 in Spain as seen through its Fictional Hero 372.
- Spanish Literature: Das Frankreichbild des modernen Spanien 371.
- Spanish Romanticism: The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain 371.
- Spenser  
—, A Bibliographical Supplement 475; —'s Rhetoric and the "Doleful Lay" 261; —'s *Sthenoboea* 118; The Works of —, A Variorum Edition 59.
- Stow, Jonson, —, and Drummond 167.
- Swift  
A *Lapsus Calami* of 116; The Mind and Art of 389.

- Tannhauser, "Ze Kunis erbent ouch diu wip und niht die man." —, 5. 29 509.
- Tartars, see Voltaire.
- Tasso, The First French Imitation of —'s Invocation to the Muse 531.
- Théophile de Viau's *Fragments d'une histoire comique* and a Letter of Saint-Evremond's 586.
- tout craché* 327.
- Troubadours, see Eleanor of Aquitaine.
- uf sant Zilorgentag* 508.
- Vega, see Lope de Vega.
- Verlaine: "Mortel, Ange et Démon" 199.
- vertep* 112.
- Villon: *faire ravoir les gages* 603.
- Vitae Patrum* (The) in Old and Middle English Literature 533.
- Voltaire, Les Scythes et les Tartares dans — et quelques-uns de ses contemporains 1, 318.
- Walpole, Horace, The Yale Edition of —'s Correspondence. Vols. I and II. —'s Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole 629.
- Wassermann, Jakob —. Bild, Kampf und Werk 299.
- Webster, Noah —. Pioneer of Learning 317.
- Welsh Poetry, The Development of 543.
- Whitman and Carlyle: 1846 370.
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, A Bibliography of 550.
- Wieland und die Lemgoer 79.
- Wordsworth, Dorothy, see Wordsworth, William.
- Wordsworth, William  
The Date of —'s "The Birth of Love" 280; The Early — 546; The Letters of William and Dorothy —, The Middle Years [1806-20] 395; Milton and —, Poets and Prophets 381.
- Wycherley, Furetière and —: *Le Roman bourgeois* in Restoration Comedy 98.
- Young, Thomas, Milton and 399.
- Zola, The Genesis of —'s *La Confession de Claude* 196.

## AUTHORS OF ARTICLES AND OF BOOKS REVIEWED

- Abbott, C. C., A Catalogue of Papers Relating to Boswell, Johnson and Sir William Forbes 384.
- Aberdein, J. W., John Galt 65.
- Adams, J. Q. (ed.), Middleton, *The Ghost of Lucrece* 619; Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (ed.) 314.
- Adler, M. J., Art and Prudence 469.
- Alden, D. W., Marcel Proust's *Duel* 104.
- Allen, D. C., Drayton's *Lapidaries* 93; Spenser's *Sthenoboea* 118.
- Anderson, C. R. (ed.), *Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean* . . . with eleven water colors from the Journal of William H. Meyers 446.
- Ardenne, S. T. R. O. d' (ed.), *pe Liffade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iulienne* 313.
- Arjona, J. H., Un Dato sobre la fecha de *El Anzuelo de Fenisa* de Lope de Vega 190.
- Armstrong, E. C., Buffum, D. L., Edwards, B., Lowe, L. F. H. (eds.). Version of Alexandre de Paris 377.
- Ashcom, B. B., An Error in the Text of Alarcón's *Las Paredes Oyen* 530.
- Atkins, E., see Grismer, R. L.
- Atkinson, D. F., Edmund Spenser 475.
- Atkinson, G., Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance française 230; Supplément au Répertoire bibliographique 78.
- Ault, N. (ed.), The Prose Works of Alexander Pope 474.
- Avery, E. L., Cibber, *King John*, and the Students of the Law 272.
- Babbitt, T., *La Crónica de Veynte Reyes* 371.
- Bagdasarian, W., William Blake 71.
- Baker, E. A., The History of the English Novel 470.
- Baldensperger, F., Voltaire et les Scythes. Réponse 318.

- Bandy, W. T., Baudelaire and Liszt 584.
- Barnouw, A. J., The Cartload in the Gate 417.
- Baudin, M., The Stateswoman in 17th Century French Tragedy 319.
- Bazell, C. E., "Archimorpheme" and "Phonomorpheme" 363.
- Beall, C. B., The First French Imitation of Tasso's Invocation to the Muse 531; An Uncollected Quatrain by Bertaut 430.
- Bell, H. I., The Development of Welsh Poetry 543.
- Bennett, C., see Pottle, F. A.
- Black, M. W. and Shaaber, M. A., Shakespeare's 17th Century Editors 450.
- Black, P. M., Nebraska Folk Cures 618.
- Boorsch, J., Etat présent des études sur Descartes 610.
- Borgerhoff, E. B. O., The Evolution of Liberal Theory and Practice in the French Theatre 1680-1757 227.
- Botkin, B. A., The American Play-Party Song 618.
- Bowers, F., A Note on *The Spanish Tragedy* 590.
- Boys, R. C., Boswell on Spelling 600.
- Bradbrook, M. C., Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy 211.
- Bradmer, L., An Earlier Text of Addison's Ode to Dr. Hannes 279.
- Brenner, C. D., Le Développement du proverbe dramatique en France 227.
- Brook, T. (ed.), Shakespeare's *Sonnets* 201.
- Brown, H. (ed.), *The Discovery of a New World* . . . Foreword by R. E. Byrd 444.
- Bruford, W. H., Germany in the 18th Century 56.
- Buchner, M. L., A Contribution to the Study of the Descriptive Technique of Jean-Jacques Rousseau 309.
- Bühler, C. F., Libri impressi cum notis manuscriptis 245.
- Buffum, D. L., see Armstrong, E. C.
- Burnet, M. S., Marc-Antoine Le-grand 612.
- Bush, D., Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry 439.
- Butler, E. M., The Tyranny of Greece over Germany 53.
- Byrd, R. E., see Brown, H.
- Campbell, L. B., A Note for Baco-nians 21.
- Caplan, H., Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi 473.
- Carver, J. E., The Northern Homily Cycle, and Missionaries to the Saracens 258.
- Castro, A., Glosarios latino-españoles de la edad media 122.
- Chadwick, H. M. and N. K., The Growth of Literature 235.
- Chambers, E. K., Sir Henry Lee 214.
- Chambers, R. W., The Place of St. Thomas More in English Literature and History 536.
- Christensen, F., The Date of Wordsworth's "The Birth of Love" 280.
- Clark, D. L., Shelley and *Pieces of Irish History* 522.
- Clark, E. T., The Man Who Was Shakespeare 620.
- Clark, W. S., II (ed.), The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle 450.
- Coffin, C. M., John Donne and the New Philosophy 290.
- Collingwood, R. G. and Myres, J. N. L., Roman Britain and the English Settlements 220.
- Comfort, W. W., Racan and Molière 429.
- Crawford, J. P. W., Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega 461.
- Cross, E., On Spanish *Muncho* Portuguese *Muito* 600.
- Currier, T. F., A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier 550.
- Curry, W. C., Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns 448.
- Dahme, L. F., Women in the Life and Art of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer 49.
- Dargan, E. P., Anatole France 1844-1896 378.
- David, J., Les Scythes et les Tartares dans Voltaire et quelques-uns de ses contemporains 1; see also 318.
- Dean, R. J., Jean Baudouin's Version of the *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum* 486.
- Deasy, C. P., St. Joseph in the English Mystery Plays 619.
- De la Mare, Walter, Poetry in Prose 471.
- De Selincourt, E., "Coleridge's *Dedication: an Ode*" 395; The Early Wordsworth 546; The Letters of

- William and Dorothy Wordsworth (ed.) 395
- Dieckmann, E. M., ". . . Moore Feel-  
yngre Than Had Boece, . . ." 177.
- Dieckmann, H. J.-A. Naigeon's An-  
alysis of Diderot's *Rêve de  
d'Alembert* 479.
- Dobbie, E. Van K., The MSS. of  
Caedmon's *Hymn* and Bede's *Death  
Song* 236. See also Krapp, G. P.
- Dottin, P., Le Théâtre de Somerset  
Maugham 620.
- Draper, J. W., The Date of *A Mid-  
summer Nights Dreame* 266.
- Eaton, J. W., The Beginnings of  
German Literary Criticism 351.
- Ebsch, W. and Schucking, L. L.,  
Supplement for the Years 1930-  
1935 to A Shakespeare Bibli-  
ography 77.
- Edwards, B., see Armstrong, E. C.
- Ericson, E. R., "Bullock Sterteþ,  
Bucke Verteþ" 112.
- Fairchild, A. H. R., Shakespeare and  
the Arts of Design 619.
- Faust, G. P., *Sir Degare* 153.
- Feilitzen, O. von, The Pre-Conquest  
Personal Names of Domesday Book  
542.
- Fellows, O. E., French Opinion of  
Molière (1800-1850) 227.
- Finney, C. L., The Evolution of  
Keats's Poetry 62.
- Fitch, G. B., Did Grandville Inspire  
the *Ile des pingouins*? 527.
- Fitzhugh, R. T., Burns at Ellisland  
525.
- Flory, C. R., Economic Criticism in  
American Fiction, 1792 to 1900  
311.
- Foladare, J., see Pottle, F. A.
- Frank, G., *Faire ravoir les gages* 603.
- Frauchiger, F., A Note on August  
Lewald 15; *uf sant Zilorgentag*  
508.
- Friedman, A., Goldsmith and the  
Marquis d'Argens 173.
- Gagey, E. McA., Ballad Opera 297.
- Gerould, G. H., An Irish Version of  
*The False Knight upon the Road*  
596.
- Girvan, R., *Beowulf* and the 7th  
Century; Language and Content  
455.
- Golding, L. T., An Elizabethan Puri-  
tan 394.
- Gow, A. S. F., A. E. Housman 77.
- Graham, C. B., An Echo of Jonson  
in Aphra Behn's *Sir Patient Fancy*  
278.
- Green, C. C., The Paradox of the  
Fall in *Paradise Lost* 557
- Green, F. C. (ed.), Diderot's Writ-  
ings on the Theatre 476.
- Greenlaw, E., Osgood, C. G., Padel-  
ford, F. M. and Heffner, R. (eds.),  
The Works of Edmund Spenser 59.
- Grierson, H. J. C., Milton and  
Wordsworth 381; 17th Century  
Studies Presented to Sir — 627.
- Griggs, G. E. and E. L. (eds.), The  
Letters of Hartley Coleridge 157.
- Grismer, R. L. and Atkins, E.  
(trs.), *The Book of Apollonius* 74.
- Groom, B., The Formation and Use  
of Compound Epithets in English  
Poetry from 1579 550.
- Guiet, R., L'Evolution d'un genre  
227.
- Guillemin, H., *Le Jocelyn* de Lamar-  
tine 463.
- Gupta, see Sen Gupta.
- Hardaway, R. T., The Revision of C.  
F. Meyer's *Novellen* 49.
- Hart, C. W., Dr. Johnson's 1745  
Shakespeare *Proposals* 367.
- Hastings, H., Man and Beast in  
French Thought of the 18th Cen-  
tury 466.
- Heffner, R., see Greenlaw, E.
- Heilman, R. B., America in English  
Fiction 1760-1800 544.
- Helbok, A. and Marzell, H., Deu-  
tsches Volkstum 615.
- Heltzel, V. B., Breton, Elyot, and  
*The Court of Honour* 587; An  
Early Use of Donne's Fourth  
Satire 421.
- Hemingway, S. B. (ed.), A New  
Variorum Edition of Shakespeare.  
*Henry IV, Part 1* 207.
- Hendel, C. W. (tr.), Citizen of  
Geneva 476.
- Hendren, J. W., A Study of Ballad  
Rhythm 618.
- Henning, G. N., "Mortel, Ange et  
Démon" 199.
- Henriquez Ureña, P., La Cultura y  
las Letras Coloniales en Santo  
Domingo 371.
- Herben, S. J., *Knight's Tale*, A 1881  
ff. 595.
- Herford, C. H. and Simpson, P. and  
E. (eds.), Ben Jonson 450, 625.

- Hilborn, H. W., *The Versification of La selva confusa* 193.
- Hilles, F. W., *The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds* 295.
- Hillhouse, J. T., *The Waverley Novels and Their Critics* 199.
- Holbrook, W. C., *Secret Marriage in 18th Century French Comedy* 340; *Three Unrecorded Rousseau Editions* 428.
- Hollander, L. M. (tr.), *Old Norse Poems* 540.
- Holmes, U. T., *A History of O. F. Literature* 467.
- Holthausen, F., *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* 238.
- Hornbeak, K., *Richardson's Familiar Letters* 551.
- Hotson, L., I, *William Shakespeare, Do Appoint Thomas Russell, Esquire* 450.
- Howard, L. (ed.), *Philip Pain, Daily Meditations* 72.
- Howard, W. G., see *Zippermann, C. C.*
- Howarth, R. G., *Shakespeare's Tempest* 620.
- Howell, S. E., *Does Bretón's Marcela Stem from Quijote?* 195.
- Hudson, A. P., *To Shake Hands with Death* 510.
- Humphreys, A. R., *William Shennstone* 631.
- Johnson, F. R., *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England* 442.
- Johnson, M. L., *Beaumarchais and his Opponents* 227.
- Jordan, H. S., *Théophile de Viau's Fragments d'une histoire comique and a Letter of Saint-Evremond's* 586.
- Juretschke, H., *Das Frankreichbild des modernen Spanien* 371.
- Karlweis, M., *Jakob Wassermann. Bild, Kampf und Werk. Mit einem Geleitwort von Thomas Mann* 299.
- Kaufmann, F. W., *Grillparzer's Position in 19th Century Thought* 347.
- Kayser, W., *Geschichte der deutschen Ballade* 152.
- Kelley, M., *Milton and Miracles* 170.
- Kelly, J. A., *German Visitors to English Theaters in the 18th Century* 70.
- Kennedy, A. G., *Current English, a Study of Present-Day Usages and Tendencies* 293.
- Kilgour, R. L., *The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages* 317.
- Kirby, J. P., see *Pottle, F. A.*
- Kirby, T. A., *The Haberdasher and his Companions* 504.
- Kirk, R., *Mr. Pepys upon the State of Christ-Hospital* 67.
- Klaeber, F., *Bede's Story of Caedmon Again* 249.
- Koenig, V.-F. (ed.), *Le Conte de Poitiers* 67.
- Körner, J., *Marginalien zu Heine* 571.
- Kolb, P., *A Lost Article by Proust* 107.
- Krapp, G. P. and Dobbie, E. van K. (eds.), *The Exeter Book* 315.
- Krappe, E. S., *A Lapsus Calami of Jonathan Swift* 116.
- Kueth, J. L., *Brack* 597.
- Kurrelmeyer, W., *Wieland und die Lemgoer* 79.
- La Du, M. S. (ed.), *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre* 377.
- Lancaster, H. C. and others (eds.), *Five French Farces (1655-1694?)* 379.
- Lang, V., *Crabbe and Tess of the D'Urbervilles* 369.
- Lange, V., *Die Lyrik und ihr Publikum im England des 18. Jahrhunderts* 73.
- Leroy, E., *Guide pratique des Bibliothèques de Paris* 397.
- Levin, H., *Jonson, Stow, and Drummond* 167.
- Lewis, W. S. (ed.), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Vols. I and II: Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole. Edited by W. S. Lewis and A. D. Wallace* 629.
- Linskill, J. (ed.), *Saint Léger* 67.
- Livingstone, F. V. (ed.), *Charles Dickens's Letters to Charles Lever. Introduction by H. E. Rollins* 65.
- Logan, J. V., *The Poetry and Aesthetics of Erasmus Darwin* 295.
- Loomis, C. G., *Sir Clages and Unseasonable Growth in Hagiology* 591.
- Lowe, L. F. H., see *Armstrong, E. C.*



- McClelland, I. L., The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain 371.
- McColley, G. (ed.), *The Man in the Moon*, 1638, *Nunciūſ-Inanimatus*, 1629 478.
- McGarry, L., The Holy Eucharist in Middle English Homiletic and Devotional Verse 533.
- McKeithan, D. M., The Debt to Shakespeare in the Beaumont-and-Fletcher Plays 620.
- McKillop, A. D., *The Hero; or the Adventures of a Night* 414.
- MacLean, K., John Locke and English Literature of the 18th Century 215.
- McManaway, J. G., A Chaucerian Fisherman (?) 422.
- McNeal, T. H., Chaucer and *The Decameron* 257.
- McNeir, W. F., The Source of Simon Eyre's Catch-Phrase 275.
- Malone, K., Some Linguistic Studies of 1935 and 1936 24.
- Mariella, Sister, *The Parson's Tale* and the Marriage Group 251.
- Marni, A., Allegory in the French Heroic Poem of the 17th Century 237.
- Marzell, H., see Helbok, A.
- Meier, H. see Spitzer, L.
- Meier, J. (ed.), *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien* 316.
- Memmer, A., *Die altfranzösische Bertasage und das Volksmärchen* 476.
- Mills, L. J., One Soul in Bodies Twain 619.
- Mizener, A., Pope on the Duke of Buckingham 368.
- Morgan, B. Q., see Zippermann, C. C.
- Morice, E. G. (ed.), Two Pamphlets of Nicholas Breton 478.
- Morrisette, B. A., *Les Amours des grands hommes* of Mlle Desjardins and *Le Docteur amoureux* 344.
- Mossner, E. C., Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason 215.
- Mutschmann, H., Milton's Projected Epic on the Rise and Future Greatness of the Britannic Nation 381.
- Myres, J. N. L., see Collingwood, R. G.
- Nicolson, M., A World in the Moon 61.
- Nitze, W. A. and others, *Le Haut Livre du Graal: Perlesvaus*. Vol. II: Commentary and Notes 604.
- Noyes, G. R. and Potter, G. R. (eds.), Hymns Attributed to John Dryden 550.
- Orians, G. H., Hawthorne and "The Maypole of Merry-Mount" 159.
- Orsini, N., *Studi sul rinascimento italiano in Inghilterra* 623.
- Osgood, C. G., see Greenlaw, E.
- Padelford, F. M., see Greenlaw, E.
- Parker, W. R., Milton and Thomas Young 399; Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in *Samson Agonistes* 381; Shakespeare and Milton 556.
- Patch, H. R., The Tradition of Boethius 222, 398.
- Patrick, D. L., The Textual History of *Richard III* 391.
- Pearson, H. (ed.), The Swan of Lichfield 552.
- Pertsoff, P. A., Some Errors in Russian in Well-Known Dictionaries 183.
- Pfander, H. G., The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England 533.
- Philip, C., A Further Note on Old Age in Chaucer's Day 181.
- Poerck, G. De, Introduction à la *Fleur des Histoires* de Jean Mansel 67.
- Potter, G. R., see Noyes, G. R.
- Pottle, F. A. and Bennett, C. (eds.), Boswell's *Journal of A Tour to the Hebrides* 387; —, Foladare, J., Kirby, J. P., and others, Index to the Private Papers of James Boswell 384.
- Prioult, A. (ed.), Balzac, *Sténie ou les Erreurs philosophiques* 305; Balzac avant la *Comédie humaine* (1818-1829) 305.
- Quintana, R., The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift 389.
- Radoff, M. L., *tout craché and cher comme crème* 327.
- Rawson, G. (tr.), L. L. Schücking, The Meaning of *Hamlet* 633.
- Raysor, T. M. (ed.), Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism 156.
- Read, W. A., The Hitchiti Name of Silver Springs, Florida 513.

- Reding, K. P., The Generation of 1898 in Spain 372.
- Rehder, H., Die Philosophie der unendlichen Landschaft 302.
- Remak, H. H., Fontane über seine Ballade *Die Juden* 282.
- Rempel, H., Tragödie und Komödie im dramatischen Schaffen Lessings 457.
- Rhoads, H. G. (ed.), Wm. Hawkins' *Apollo Shroving* 450.
- Rhodes, S. A., Arthur Rimbaud's Readings 334.
- Richards, E. A., *Hudibras* in the Burlesque Tradition 453.
- Ringler, W., An Early Reference to Longinus 23.
- Rix, H. D., Spenser's Rhetoric and the "Doleful Lay" 261.
- Robbins, R. H., The Earliest Carols and the Franciscans 239.
- Roche, A. V., Les Idées traditionalistes en France 458, 633.
- Roedder, E., Volkssprache und Wortschatz des badischen Frankenlandes 46.
- Rollins, H. E., see Livingstone, F. V.
- Rosenberg, M. V., Eleanor of Aquitaine 477.
- Rosenthal, C. L., The *Vitae Patrum* in Old and Middle English Literature 533.
- Rositzke, H. A., High German Vowel Quantities 18.
- Rossi, J., Scott and Corducci 287.
- Rowbotham, A. H., La Mothe le Vayer's *Vertu des payens* and 18th Century Cosmopolitanism 10.
- Rubin, J. J., Whitman and Carlyle: 1846 370.
- Ryland, H., The Sources of the Play *Cyrano de Bergerac* 75.
- Sale, W. M., Jr., Samuel Richardson 218.
- Salinger, H., Some Heine Notes 430.
- Sanchez, J., Some Forgotten Works of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón 427.
- Sanderlin, G., A Note on *Beowulf* 1142 501.
- Schaffer, A., An Autograph Letter of Mathurin de Lescure 425.
- Schaller, H., Die Welt des Barock 225.
- Schelling, F. E., Shakespeare Biography 620.
- Schiller, W., Nochmals *Kathole* 634.
- Schofield, M. E. (ed.), Stephen Scrope, *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* 468.
- Schücking, L. L., The Meaning of *Hamlet* 633. See also Ebisch, W.
- Schultz, I., Bildhaftigkeit im französischen Argot 74.
- Scudder, T., The Lonely Wayfaring Man: Emerson and Some Englishmen 312.
- Sedgefield, W. J. (ed.); *Beowulf* 455.
- Sehrt, E. H. and Starck, T. (eds.), Notkers des Deutschen Werke 58.
- Selincourt, E. de, see De Selincourt, E.
- Sen, A., Studies in Shelley 71.
- Sen Gupta, S. C., The Art of Bernard Shaw 620.
- Senn, A., An Introduction to Middle High German 538.
- Shaaber, M. A., see Black, M. W.
- Shaver, C. L., The Date of *Revenge for Honour* 96, 238, Thomas Beedome 412.
- Shoemaker, E. C., Noah Webster 317.
- Siciliano, I., Medio Evo e Rinascimento 549.
- Sieber, C., see Sieber-Rilke, R.
- Sieber-Rilke, R. and Sieber, C. (eds.), Rainer Maria Rilke, Briefe aus den Jahren 1914 bis 1921 301.
- Sigurjónsson, S. (ed.), *Núma rimur* 616.
- Silverstein, T., "Il Giusto Mar-doceo" (*Purg.*, XVII, 29) 188.
- Simpson, E., see Herford, C. H.
- Simpson, P., see Herford, C. H.
- Sloane, W., Some Notes on Character-Writing 113.
- Smith, D. N., Some Observations on 18th Century Poetry 631.
- Smith, H., Masters of French Literature 472.
- Soergel, A., Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit 150.
- Sosset, L.-L., Introduction à l'œuvre de Charles De Coster 464.
- Spencer, T., Shakespeare and Milton 366; see also 556.
- Spitzer, L., Ancien provençal sec . . . son agre 186; À propos d'un article de M. H. Meier 554; *Kathole* 433; see also 634; *Lenguages dans Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, v. 209 20, 553.
- Spoerri, W. T., The Old World and the New 544.
- Starck, T., see Sehrt, E. H.
- Steiner, A., A French *Faustsplitter* of the 17th Century 515.

- Steinhauer, H., Hauptmann's Utopian Fantasy, *Die Insel der Grossen Mutter* 516.
- Strausbaugh, J. A., The Use of *auer* and *auer de* as Auxiliary Verbs in O. S. 371.
- Sturtevant, A. M., A Correction 238; The Future Auxiliaries Gothic *haban* and O. N. *munu* 423; Gothic Notes 120.
- Super, R. H., An Unknown Child of Landor's 415.
- Taylor, A., "Ze Künis erben ouch diu wip und niht diē man." Tannhäuser, 5. 29 509.
- Taylor, F. A., The Theatre of Alexandre Dumas fils 614.
- Taylor, W., A Note on English Figures of Speech 514.
- Telle, E. V., L'Œuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême 608.
- Thomas, R. (ed.), Plays and the Theater 450.
- Thompson, D. W., "Full of his roperipe" and "Roperipe terms" 268.
- Thorp, M. F., Charles Kingsley 1819-1875 454.
- Tilley, M. P., Borrowings in Grange's "Golden Aphroditis" 407; Charles Lamb, Marston, and Du Bartas 404; Two Notes on *Dr. Faustus* 119.
- Tillotson, K., Drayton's "Noah's Flood" 277.
- Tronchon, E., Le Jeune Edgar Quinet 307.
- Troxell, J. C. (ed.), Three Rossettis 547.
- Utley, F. L., "Mannyssh Wood"—*Merchant's Tale* (IV) 1530-1536 359.
- Van Dam, B. A. P. (ed.), The Text of Shakespeare's *Lear* 204.
- Vincent, E. R., Gabriele Rossetti in England 473.
- Vocht, H. de (ed.), Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* 204.
- Wallace, A. D., see Lewis, W. S.
- Weber, W., Herman Melville 551.
- Weinstein, S. R., The Genesis of Zola's *La Confession de Claude* 196.
- Weniger, E. (ed.), Wilhelm Diltheys gesammelte Schriften 146.
- Whitman, C. H. (ed.), Representative Modern Dramas 450.
- Wiley, A. N., The Miller's Head Again 505.
- Williams, C. A., Two Versions of the 16th Century Song *Es ist ein Schnee gefallen . . . Ich sollt zu meinem Bulen* 357.
- Williams, E. E., Furetière and Wycherley: *Le Roman bourgeois* in Restoration Comedy 98.
- Windler, E. (ed.), Das Bremer mitelniederdeutsche *Arzneibuch* des Arnoldus Donelley 76.
- Witte, W., Modern German Prose Usage 304.
- Woodhouse, A. S. P. (ed.), Letters in Canada: 1936 544.
- Woolf, H. B., The Personal Names in *The Battle of Maldon* 109.
- Wright, E. A., The Dissemination of the Liturgical Drama in France 233.
- Wright, H. B., Biographical Allusions in Prior's "The Mice, A Tale" 498.
- Wright, L. B., Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England 212.
- Yost, C. D., Jr., The Poetry of the *Gentleman's Magazine* 552.
- Zanco, A., Christopher Marlowe 623.
- Zippermann, C. C., Gottfried Keller Bibliographie 1844-1934. Mit einem Geleitwort von W. G. Howard. Einführung von B. Q. Morgan 49.
- Zwirner, E. and K., Textliste neuhochdeutscher Vorlesesprache schlesischer Färbung 316.

# REVIEWERS

- Bailey, M.: F. A. Pottle and C. Bennett (eds.), Boswell's *Journal of A Tour to the Hebrides* 387.
- Baudin, M.: F. A. Taylor, The Theatre of Alexandre Dumas fils 614.
- Baum, P. F.: J. C. Troxell (ed.), Three Rossettis 547.
- Beall, C. B.: A. Marni, Allegory in the French Heroic Poem of the 17th Century 237; I. Sciliano, Medio Evo e Rinascimento 549.

- Beatty, A.: E. de Selincourt, *The Early Wordsworth* 546.
- Blankenagel, J. C.: M. Karlweis, Jakob Wassermann 299; R. Sieber-Rilke and C. Sieber (eds.), Rainer Maria Rilke, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1914 bis 1921* 301.
- Byrne, M. St. C.: L. B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* 212.
- Campbell, O. J.: D. L. Patrick, *The Textual History of Richard III* 391.
- Carr, M. B.: G. P. Faust, *Sir Degare* 153.
- Chapman, C. O.: L. McGarry, *The Holy Eucharist in Middle English Homiletic and Devotional Verse* 533; H. G. Pfander, *The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England* 533; C. L. Rosenthal, *The Vitae Patrum in Old and Middle English Literature* 533.
- Chazin, M.: H. Tronchon, *Le Jeune Edgar Quinet* 307.
- Chinard, G.: G. Atkinson, *Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance française* 230; E. Leroy, *Guide pratique des Bibliothèques de Paris* 397.
- Clark, H. H.: T. Scudder, *The Lonely Wayfaring Man Emerson and Some Englishmen* 312; E. C. Shoemaker, *Noah Webster* 317.
- Clubb, M. D.: T. Brooke (ed.), *Shakespeare's Sonnets* 201.
- Coffman, G. R.: E. A. Wright, *The Dissemination of the Liturgical Drama in France* 233.
- Cooper, L.: H. R. Patch, *The Tradition of Boethius* 222; see also 398.
- Craig, H.: B. A. P. Van Dam (ed.), *The Text of Shakespeare's Lear* 204; H. de Vocht (ed.), *Ben Jonson's Sejanus* 204.
- Croll, M. W.: W. de la Mare, *Poetry in Prose* 471; W. Weber, *Herman Melville* 551.
- Day, C. L.: G. R. Noyes and G. R. Potter (eds.), *Hymns Attributed to John Dryden* 550.
- Dobbie, E. Van K.: R. Girvan, *Beowulf and the 7th Century; Language and Content* 455; W. J. Sedgefield (ed.), *Beowulf* 455.
- Draper, J. W.: H. Pearson (ed.), *The Swan of Lichfield* 552.
- Durham, W. H.: M. C. Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy* 211.
- Edelstein, L.: E. M. Butler, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* 53; E. Weniger (ed.), *Wilhelm Diltheys gesammelte Schriften* 146.
- Einarsson, S.: S. Sigurjónsson (ed.), *Núma rimur* 616.
- Eliason, N. E.: L. M. Hollander (tr.), *Old Norse Poems* 540; M. E. Schofield (ed.), *Stephen Scrope, The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* 468.
- Fagin, N. B.: C. R. Flory, *Economic Criticism in American Fiction, 1792 to 1900* 311.
- Faust, C. H.: K. MacLean, *John Locke and English Literature of the 18th Century* 215; E. C. Mosner, *Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason* 215.
- Forsythe, R. S.: C. R. A. Anderson (ed.), *Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean* 446.
- Frank, G.: E. C. Armstrong and others (eds.), *Version of Alexandre de Paris* 377; R. L. Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages* 317; V.-F. Koenig (ed.), *Le Conte de Poitiers* 67; M. S. La Du (ed.), *The Medieval French Roman d'Aleandre* 377; J. Linskill (ed.), *Saint Léger* 67; A. Memmer, *Die altfranzösische Bertasage und das Volksmärchen* 476; G. De Poerck, *Introduction à la Fleur des Histoires de Jean Mansel* 67.
- Gaede, W. R.: H. Rempel, *Tragödie und Komödie im dramatischen Schaffen Lessings* 457.
- Gauss, C.: A. V. Roche, *Les Idées traditionalistes en France* 458; see also 633.
- Gilbert, A. H.: E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee* 214; N. Orsini, *Studi sul rinascimento italiano in Inghilterra* 623; A. Zanco, *Christopher Marlowe* 623.
- Gillet, J. E.: T. Babbitt, *La Crónica de Veynte Reyes* 371; P. Henríquez Ureña, *La Cultura y las Letras Coloniales en Santo Domingo* 371;

- H. Juretschke, *Das Frankreichbild des modernen Spanien* 371; I. L. McClelland, *The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain* 371; K. P. Reding, *The Generation of 1898 in Spain* 372; J. A. Strausbaugh, *The Use of *auer a* and *auer de* as Auxiliary Verbs in O. S.* 371.
- Goepp, P. H., 2nd: R. L. Grismer and E. Atkins (trs.), *The Book of Apollonius* 74.
- Greene, R. L.: C. C. Abbott, *A Catalogue of Papers Relating to Boswell, Johnson and Sir William Forbes* 384; F. A. Pottle and others, *Index to the Private Papers of James Boswell* 384.
- Greenfield, K. R.: E. R. Vincent, *Gabriele Rossetti in England* 473.
- Grierson, H. J. C.: E. Greenlaw and others (eds.), *The Works of Edmund Spenser* 59; J. T. Hillhouse, *The Waverley Novels and Their Critics* 199.
- Hastings, W. S.: A. Prioult, *Balzac avant la Comédie humaine* (1818-1829) 305; A. Prioult (ed.), *Balzac, Sténie ou les Erreurs philosophiques* 305.
- Havens, G. R.: H. Hastings, *Man and Beast in French Thought of the 18th Century* 466.
- Havens, R. D.: E. de Selincourt, "*Coleridge's Dejection: an Ode*" 395; E. de Selincourt (ed.), *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth* 395; B. Groom, *The Formation and Use of Compound Epithets in English Poetry from 1579* 550; *Huntington Library Lists* 78; *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 78.
- Heaton, H. C.: J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega* 461.
- Henning, G. N.: E. P. Dargan, *Anatole France 1844-1896* 378.
- Hillyer, R.: A. S. F. Gow, *A. E. Housman* 77.
- Hooker, E. N.: V. Lange, *Die Lyrik und ihr Publikum im England des 18. Jahrhunderts* 73.
- Hopkins, A. B.: J. W. Aberdein, *John Galt* 65; E. A. Baker, *The History of the English Novel* 470; F. V. Livingstone (ed.), *Charles Dickens's Letters to Charles Lever* 65.
- Howard, L.: R. B. Heilman, *America in English Fiction 1760-1800* 544; W. T. Spoerri, *The Old World and the New* 544; A. S. P. Woodhouse (ed.), *Letters in Canada: 1936* 544.
- Hughes, M. Y.: W. C. Curry, *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* 448.
- Johnson, F. R.: C. M. Coffin, *John Donne and the New Philosophy* 290; M. Nicolson, *A World in the Moon* 61.
- Jones, C. E.: C. D. Yost, Jr., *The Poetry of the Gentleman's Magazine* 552.
- Jones, H. S. V.: D. F. Atkinson, *Edmund Spenser* 475.
- Kirby, T. A.: M. V. Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine* 477.
- Kunstmann, J. G.: A. Helbok and H. Marzell, *Deutsches Volkstum* 615.
- Lancaster, H. C.: G. Atkinson, *Supplément au Répertoire bibliographique* 78; E. B. O. Borgerhoff, *The Evolution of Liberal Theory and Practice in the French Theatre 1680-1757* 227; C. D. Brenner, *Le Développement du proverbe dramatique en France* 227; M. S. Burnet, *Marc-Antoine Legrand* 612; O. E. Fellows, *French Opinion of Molière (1800-1850)* 227; R. Guiet, *L'Évolution d'un genre* 227; M. L. Johnson, *Beaumarchais and his Opponents* 227; H. Ryland, *The Sources of the Play *Cyrano de Bergerac** 75.
- Larkey, S. V.: R. Kirk, *Mr. Pepys upon the State of Christ-Hospital* 67.
- Levy, R.: U. T. Holmes, *A History of O. F. Literature* 467.
- Lindsay, J. I.: T. M. Raysor (ed.), *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism* 156.
- Lowry, H. F.: M. F. Thorp, *Charles Kingsley 1819-1875* 454.
- McElderry, B. R. Jr.: G. E. and E. L. Griggs (eds.), *The Letters of Hartley Coleridge* 157.

- McKerrow, R. B.: S. B. Hemingway (ed.), *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. Henry IV, Part 1* 207.
- McKillop, A. D.: K. Hornbeak, Richardson's *Familiar Letters* 551; W. M. Sale, Jr., Samuel Richardson 218.
- MacMillan, D.: E. McA. Gagey, *Ballad Opera* 297.
- Malakis, E.: F. C. Green (ed.), Diderot's Writings on the Theatre 476; H. Guillemain, *Le Jocelyn de Lamartine* 463; C. W. Hendel (tr.), *Citizen of Geneva* 476.
- Malone, K.: S. T. R. O. d'Ardenne (ed.), *De Lißade ant te Passium of Sainte Iulienne* 313; H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* 235; R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* 220; E. Van K. Dobbie, *The MSS. of Caedmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song* 236.
- Menner, R. J.: A. G. Kennedy, *Current English, a Study of Present-Day Usages and Tendencies* 293; G. P. Krapp and E. Van K. Dobbie (eds.), *The Elæter Book* 315.
- Meylan, E. F.: E. V. Telle, *L'Œuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême* 608.
- Murdock, K. B.: L. Howard (ed.), Philip Pain, *Daily Meditations* 72.
- Neuse, W.: W. Witte, *Modern German Prose Usage* 304; E. and K. Zwirner, *Textliste neuhochdeutscher Vorlesesprache schlesischer Färbung* 316.
- Nicoll, A.: M. J. Adler, *Art and Prudence* 469.
- Oras, A.: F. W. Hilles, *The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds* 295; J. V. Logan, *The Poetry and Aesthetics of Erasmus Darwin* 295.
- Osgood, C. G.: D. Bush, *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry* 439.
- Parry, J. J.: H. I. Bell, *The Development of Welsh Poetry* 543.
- Paulsen, W.: A. Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit* 150.
- Percival, M. O.: W. Bagdasarianz, William Blake 71.
- Perkinson, R. H.: *17th Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson* 627.
- Pons, E.: R. Quintana, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift* 389.
- Quintana, R.: E. A. Richards, *Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition* 453.
- Read, C.: R. W. Chambers, *The Place of St. Thomas More in English Literature and History* 536.
- Ridley, M. R.: C. L. Finney, *The Evolution of Keats's Poetry* 62.
- Root, R. K.: W. S. Lewis (ed.), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* 629.
- Rosenberg, B. B.: H. Schaller, *Die Welt des Barock* 225.
- Ross, W. O.: H. Caplan, *Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi* 473.
- Roulston, R. B.: L. F. Dahme, *Women in the Life and Art of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer* 49; R. T. Hardaway, *The Revision of C. F. Meyer's Novellen* 49; C. C. Zippermann, *Gottfried Keller Bibliographie 1844-1934* 49.
- Schinz, A.: J. Boorsch, *Etat présent des études sur Descartes* 610; M. L. Buchner, *A Contribution to the Study of the Descriptive Technique of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 309.
- Searles, C.: H. C. Lancaster and others (eds.), *Five French Farces (1655-1694?)* 379.
- Selmer, C.: E. Roedder, *Volksprache und Wortschatz des bairischen Frankenlandes* 46; A. Senn, *An Introduction to Middle High German* 538.
- Shafer, R.: A. R. Humphreys, William Shenstone 631; D. N. Smith, *Some Observations on 18th Century Poetry* 631.
- Singleton, C. S.: *Italian Studies* 549; *The Rivista of the Istituto Interuniversitario Italiano: Romana* 77.
- Spencer, H.: J. Q. Adams (ed.), *Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus* 314; M. W. Black and M. A. Shaaber, *Shakespeare's 17th Century Editors* 450; W. S. Clark, II (ed.), *The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle* 450; T. F. Currier,

- A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier 550; W. Ebisch and L. L. Selucking, Supplement for the Years 1930-1935 to A Shakespeare Bibliography 77; C. H. Herford and P. Simpson (eds.), Ben Jonson 450; L. Hotson, I. William Shakespeare, Do Appoint Thomas Russell, Esquire 450; G. Rawson (tr.), L. L. Schücking, The Meaning of *Hamlet* 633; H. G. Rhoads (ed.), Wm. Hawkins' *Apollo Shroving* 450; R. Thomas (ed.), Plays and the Theater 450; C. H. Whitman (ed.), Representative Modern Dramas 450.
- Spitzer, L.: A. Castro, Glosarios latino-españoles de la edad media 122, 554; W. A. Nitze and others, *Le Haut Livre du Graal: Perlesvaus*. Vol. II: Commentary and Notes 604; I. Schultz, Bildhaftigkeit im französischen Argot 74.
- Stimson, D.: F. R. Johnson, Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England 442; G. McColley (ed.), *The Man in the Moone*, 1638, *Nuncius Inanimatus*, 1629 478.
- Taylor, A.: P. M. Black, Nebraska Folk Cures 618; B. A. Botkin, The American Play-Party Song 618; J. W. Hendren, A Study of Ballad Rhythm 618; W. Kayser, Geschichte der deutschen Ballade 152; J. Meier (ed.), Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien 316.
- Thalmann, M.: H. Rehder, Die Philosophie der unendlichen Landschaft 302.
- Tillyard, E. M. W.: H. J. C. Grierson, Milton and Wordsworth 381; H. Mutschmann, Milton's Projected Epic on the Rise and Future Greatness of the Britannic Nation 381; W. R. Parker, Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in *Samson Agonistes* 381.
- Von der Mühl, E.: H. Brown (ed.), *The Discovery of a New World* 444.
- Walz, J. A.: J. A. Kelly, German Visitors to English Theaters in the 18th Century 70.
- Warren, A.: N. Ault (ed.), The Prose Works of Alexander Pope 474.
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